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The American Historical Review

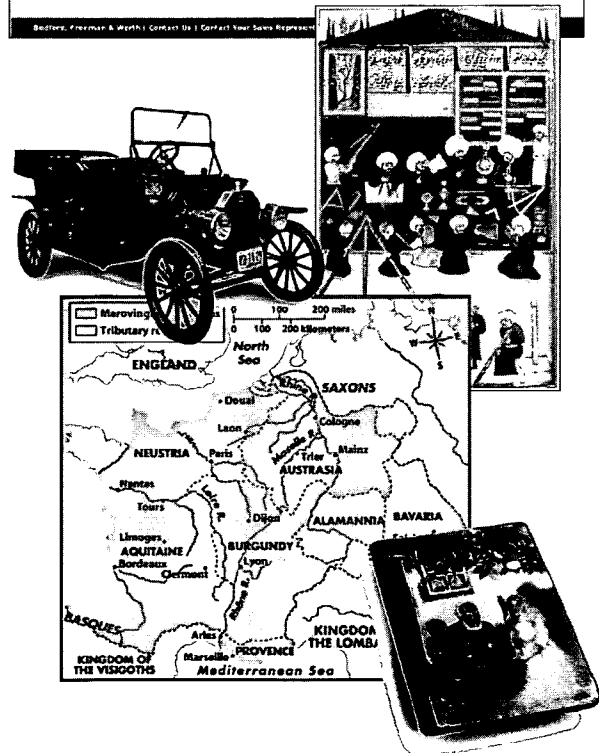
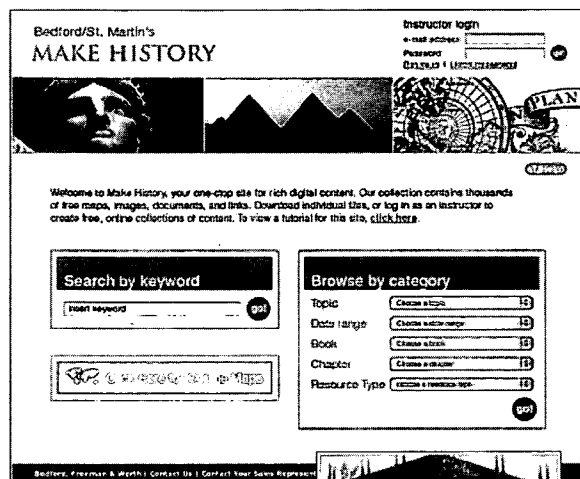
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Cover Illustration: Contrary to one popular myth about the premodern Middle East, few women were strictly secluded in their homes. They appeared in streets and markets, and could organize their own excursions to outlying spaces such as gardens, orchards, and cemeteries, which, owing to the dense construction of Middle Eastern towns, were favored locations for public recreation. Among the pleasurable activities that women, as well as men, pursued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the smoking of tobacco. As James Grehan shows us in "Smoking and 'Early Modern' Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East," tobacco caught on swiftly, and despite the fulminations of moralists, spread to all ranks of society. Here a party of women amuse themselves in the gardens of Kağıthane, in Istanbul. Two ladies are puffing contentedly on their pipes. Enderunlu Fazıl, *Zenanname* [*Book of Women*], detail from a miniature (1793). From Metin And, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1982).

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In This Issue

The December issue contains articles on the impact of Woodrow Wilson's vision in Asia, smoking in the Ottoman Empire, child welfare in early-twentieth-century Bohemia, and public healing in modern Africa. It should be noted that all four articles are transnational in scope, and thus serve as a fitting prelude to a new feature of the journal: an *AHR* Conversation on transnational history (about which, more below). The issue also includes our usual extensive book review section.

Articles

In "Imagining Woodrow Wilson: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919," **Erez Manela** examines how intellectual elites in China and India regarded this U.S. president as he emerged as a figure of global significance in the immediate aftermath of World War I. The article focuses on their conception of Wilson as a potential bridge between "East" and "West." For them he raised expectations of a statesman who could transform international relations that had previously been based on imperialism and domination into patterns of comity and equality, largely through the League of Nations, in which Asian nations would be members on an equal footing with those of the West. Despite Wilson's well-known racist background and support for imperialist policies, this hopeful view of his impact was sustained for a brief but crucial time, even in the face of the contemporary challenge of Lenin's own brand of internationalism, which also had broad appeal in Asia. Manela's article expands our view of the international history of 1919 beyond the usual concern with the deliberations and decisions of the Paris Peace Conference. It suggests a path for integrating the transformative developments that took place in Asian societies into the wider international and transnational contexts of the period. Although historians have noted how the horrors of the Great War provided support for a broad Asian critique of the West, this essay argues that it was the disappointments of the peace, rather than the devastation of the war, that sealed Asian intellectuals' postwar indictment of the West.

Historians have recently begun to wonder whether they can talk about "early modern" history on a worldwide scale. For some, support for this sort of global periodization is to be found in parallel developments across Eurasia in the realm of political economy. In "Smoking and 'Early Modern' Sociability: The Great Tobacco

Debate in the Ottoman Middle East,” **James Grehan** takes a different course and searches for common themes in cultural history. One theme he identifies is the growth of a public culture of entertainment, sustained by a diffusion of new consumer goods—mainly coffee, tea, and tobacco. The last was the most ubiquitous, helping to foster, in the Middle East and elsewhere, more relaxed attitudes toward pleasure and more open and routine forms of entertainment. The status of tobacco and the sociability that grew up around it is particularly important for our understanding of the Middle East, a region that is often mistakenly and simplistically depicted as essentially “Islamic.” It offers a corrective insight into a culture that was hardly as static, rigid, and under the thrall of religious authorities as the label implies. The article shows that ordinary people, as much as religious scholars, played an active role in shaping and redefining cultural norms and religious expectations. Indeed, in the Middle East, the debate over tobacco led, by 1700, to a consensus of tolerance based more on the public acceptance of smoking than on the maneuvers of religious and legal authorities.

In “‘Each nation only cares for its own’: Empire, Nation, and Child Welfare Activism in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1900,” **Tara Zahra** tells the story of how child welfare activists in the Bohemian lands built a nationally segregated welfare system in the context of a multinational empire. As German and Czech nationalist activists in this region competed for the loyalties of a bilingual and nationally mixed population, they lured children and parents into their respective schools with clothing, school lunches, and Christmas gifts; they colonized bilingual borderlands with their own orphanages; and they built a vast network of nationally segregated daycare centers, kindergartens, summer camps, and infant welfare clinics. During the social crisis of the First World War, Austrian government officials, in the hope of buttressing the state’s own flagging legitimacy, turned to these same nationalist welfare activists to build and manage an ambitious new Ministry for Social Welfare. But far from being disaffected, Czech and German nationalists in the late Austrian Empire willingly served as the state’s own trusted agents. This article not only offers a new perspective on the relationship of nation, empire, and state in Central and Eastern Europe, it also challenges established narratives of welfare-state formation during World War I as a top-down process of state initiative and intervention into the private realm of the family. In the Bohemian lands, children had long been considered the property of the nation. The wartime welfare state was built from the bottom up, out of local and private organizations and in response to popular demands.

“Conjuring the Modern in Africa: Durability and Rupture in Histories of Public Healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa,” by **David L. Schoenbrun**, argues that colonial and postcolonial studies of modernity tend to sever precolonial history from what comes after it. This separation is especially regrettable when it promotes an understanding of moral community and collective well-being as largely grounded in the European experience. Schoenbrun confronts this historiographical divide by presenting a long-term history of persistent clusters of meanings and practices relating to public healing in the African region of the Great Lakes. In the last millennium and beyond, the practice of public healing, and the ideas of health and power

it repeatedly enacts, have worked against other forms of authority rooted in intensive agricultural systems, centralized and expansionist monarchies, commodified economies, colonial states, and professional medicine. By analyzing a single field of historical experience, public healing, this article cuts across the tight spaces of ethnicity and deepens otherwise shallow chronologies to reveal a hetero-temporal modern Africa that contrasts with the hybrid or alternative modernity so prevalent in the literature. By relying on narratives from overlooked historical actors and unconventional sources, Schoenbrun raises new questions about the basis of moral community and the sources of collective well-being in Africa today.

Finally, a new feature makes its appearance in this issue, which we are calling an *AHR* Conversation. Titled “On Transnational History,” our first such conversation is the transcription of an online discussion among six scholars, moderated by the *AHR* Editor, on an approach to history that has become something of a buzzword in the writing and teaching of history. The conversation, which began in May and ended in October, offers a wide range of perspectives and insights that should allow readers to reflect on the possibilities and challenges of doing history in a global age.



Readers should note that this issue no longer lists Maria Bucur as Associate Editor. Indeed, Maria left that position, after three years of brilliant and energetic service, this last August. The *AHA* has had a tradition of extraordinary and extraordinarily active Associate Editors, and Maria set a new standard in this respect. Her worthy successor is Sarah Knott, a historian of colonial and early national America and the Atlantic world. Sarah has already begun applying her critical skills to the editorial process, and the pages of the journal will soon yield evidence of her own brilliance, wide historical knowledge, and acumen.



CAPTAIN WILSON: Hullo! What about India?
PASSPORT OFFICER (Ll--d G----e): No passport, Captain.

FRONTISPIECE: In the immediate wake of the First World War, many in India and China expected that with U.S. president Woodrow Wilson at the helm, the peoples of the "East" would soon win self-determination. This illustration depicts a diverse group of "Oriental" figures, including two who appear to be Chinese (*at center back*), boarding the *SS Self-Determination*, which "Captain Wilson" is about to pilot to "freedom." Only India, shown as a young, sari-clad woman, is held at the dock by a passport officer in the image of the British prime minister, David Lloyd George. From *Self-Determination for India* (London, 1919), enclosed in B. G. Tilak to Woodrow Wilson, January 2, 1919, Papers of Woodrow Wilson, Series 5F, Reel 446, Library of Congress.

Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919

EREZ MANELA

Imagination fails to picture the wild delirium of joy with which he [Woodrow Wilson] would have been welcomed in Asiatic capitals. It would have been as though one of the great teachers of humanity, Christ or Buddha, had come back to his home.

Srinivasa Sastri¹

WHEN WOODROW WILSON LANDED in the harbor of Brest on the French Atlantic coast on Friday, December 13, 1918, the city's mayor met him at the dock and greeted him as an apostle of liberty, come to release the peoples of Europe from their suffering. The next morning, Wilson drove along the streets of Paris through cheering throngs, and the French press across the political spectrum hailed him as "the incarnation of the hope of the future." The U.S. president met similar receptions in England and Italy over the next several weeks.² H. G. Wells captured the essence of popular sentiments a few years later, when he noted the intense yet fleeting nature of Wilson's apotheosis: "For a brief interval, Wilson stood alone for mankind. And in that brief interval there was a very extraordinary and significant wave of response to him throughout the earth . . . He ceased to be a common statesman; he became a Messiah."³ Despite such high passions, however, the story of the ecstatic reception accorded the U.S. president in Europe is remembered today as little more than an ironic footnote to the history of the Great War. Most of the hopes and expectations associated with Wilson were quickly disappointed, and the widespread reverence of

Many friends and colleagues offered advice and support in the development of the project from which this article emerged. An earlier version of the text was presented at the Radcliffe Seminar on the Transnational Bases of Idea Formation and Circulation, and I thank Mary Lewis and the other organizers and participants of the seminar. David Armitage, Christopher Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Mark Elliott, Durba Ghosh, Andrew Gordon, William Kirby, James Kloppenberg, Charles Maier, and Susan Pedersen deserve special thanks for reading and critiquing the manuscript at various stages. I am also grateful to Michael Grossberg, Robert Schneider, Gary Gerstle, and several anonymous readers for the *AHR* for their detailed and penetrating comments in the review and revision process. The research and writing of this article was supported with grants from the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

¹ *Woodrow Wilson's Message for Eastern Nations, Selected by Himself from His Public Addresses*, Foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (Calcutta, 1925), iv–v. Sastri (1860–1946) was a leading liberal intellectual and politician in pre-independence India. See Ray T. Smith, "V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and the Moderate Style in Indian Politics," *South Asia* 2 (1972): 81–100.

² "Two Million Cheer Wilson," *New York Times*, December 15, 1918, 1; Charles T. Thompson, *The Peace Conference Day by Day: A Presidential Pilgrimage Leading to the Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1920), 6, 55–56, 67–68. Also Arthur Walworth, *Woodrow Wilson*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1978), 2: 221–234.

³ H. G. Wells, *The Shape of Things to Come* (New York, 1933), 82.

the U.S. leader in Europe and elsewhere quickly turned into bitter disillusionment.⁴ The terms of the Treaty of Versailles, signed on June 28, 1919, fell far short of the expectations that Wilson had inspired, and it was repudiated by most of his former admirers around the world, and also by the U.S. Senate and the American public, who were eager to return to the comforting embrace of "normalcy."⁵

There is, of course, voluminous historiography on the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and the U.S. role in it, but it has remained rather single-mindedly focused on Europe, and specifically on the policies, decisions, and leaders of the Great Powers.⁶ Much of the literature, in fact, seems to follow closely the Great Power agenda at the negotiation table, with the volume of writings on specific issues and regions often matching the attention that the major Allied leaders paid to them at the time. This is hardly surprising, since many of the issues debated in Paris were indeed of momentous import, both for the immediate shape of the peace settlement and, in some cases, for the subsequent history of Europe. International historians, however, have tended to leave in the shadows the very same issues that were marginalized or ignored, whether by design or neglect, by the Great Power leaders themselves in their deliberations. Foremost among these issues were the demands for self-determination of representatives of peoples outside Europe, most especially in those cases—China, Korea, Egypt, Tunisia, India, Indochina, and others—in which the interests of one or more of the victorious Allied powers stood to be compromised if the demands were entertained. The spring of 1919 saw the launching of revolts against empire in numerous non-European societies and the expansion of anticolonial nationalism to unprecedented intensity and scope, and a few international historians have indeed noted in passing the significance of 1919 in the world outside Europe and identified it as a watershed in the rise of anticolonial nationalism as a broad, international phenomenon.⁷ However, these movements and the goals and perceptions that drove them, though of course prominent in their respective national and regional histories, have received little sustained or detailed attention in the international histories of 1919.⁸

⁴ Wilson himself seems to have foreseen this, telling his adviser George Creel that the expectations of the United States were so unrealistic that they would inevitably lead to a "tragedy of disappointment." Creel, *The War, the World and Wilson* (New York, 1920), 161–162. Another instance showing Wilson to be "very nervous" that the inflated expectation would lead to "revulsion" when people discovered that he could not do all they had hoped is recorded in the Diary of Edith Benham, February 2, 1919, in Woodrow Wilson, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson* [hereafter *PWW*], ed. Arthur S. Link et al., 69 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1966–1994), 54: 432–433.

⁵ John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations* (Cambridge, 2001); Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Woodrow Wilson and the American Diplomatic Tradition: The Treaty Fight in Perspective* (Cambridge, 1987).

⁶ Leading works include Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York, 2002); Manfred F. Boemeke et al., eds., *The Treaty of Versailles: A Reassessment after 75 Years* (Cambridge, 1998); Erik Goldstein, *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916–1920* (New York, 1991); Arthur Walworth, *Wilson and His Peacemakers: American Diplomacy at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (New York, 1986); Marc Trachtenberg, "Versailles after Sixty Years," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (1982): 487–506; Arno J. Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counterrevolution at Versailles, 1918–1919* (New York, 1967); Seth P. Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Princeton, N.J., 1961).

⁷ Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (New York, 1964), 151–155; Henri Grimal, *Decolonization: The British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires, 1919–1963* (Boulder, Colo., 1978), 17–18.

⁸ Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, devotes more attention than previous accounts to some of the demands for

Once we remove the Eurocentric lens through which the international history of 1919 is most often written, it becomes clear that the significance of the "brief interval" of Wilson's ascendance far transcended the confines of Europe. An examination of how the ascendance of Wilson and the United States during this period was interpreted by leading intellectuals and refracted in public discourses in Asian societies would expand our view of the international history of 1919; at the same time, it would illuminate the connections between the transformative events that took place in Asian societies during this period, which have typically been studied within historiographical disciplines that have remained separate and distinct,⁹ and the wider international context of the period. Though no single essay could capture the full story of Asian responses to Wilson, there is nevertheless a strong argument for a transnational approach, since an inquiry limited to a single Asian society, however valuable, would still produce a narrative confined within the enclosure of national history, one that would have persisted in naturalizing the nation "as the skin that contains the experience of the past."¹⁰ By examining responses to Wilson's rhetoric and the construction of his image within two major Asian societies—China and India—we can better capture the broad scope of the "Wilsonian moment" in Asia.

There were, of course, myriad differences in the historical experiences and circumstances of these two societies in 1919, not least in the specific characters of their respective relationships with empire. India had long been the crown jewel of the British imperial edifice and, despite some minor political reforms in the years immediately before the war, continued to be ruled directly and autocratically by a British-led bureaucracy. China, on the other hand, was recognized as an independent state in theory. In practice, however, China existed in a state of semicolonial subjugation, severely limited in the exercise of its sovereignty by a web of "unequal treaties" with the major powers; and Chinese intellectuals in 1919, like their Indian counterparts, viewed their struggle for self-determination as part of a broader revolt against imperialism.¹¹ Thus, the war and its immediate aftermath saw similar developments in China and India. Both societies at the time had emergent nationalist

self-determination ignored by the conference, but even so, the topic takes up no more than a few pages in the book (see 322–325, 339–341, 402–403). Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York, 2007, forthcoming), aims to begin closing this historiographical gap.

⁹ E.g., on China see Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), and Andrew J. Nathan, *Peking Politics, 1918–1923* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976). On India, see Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics, 1915–1922* (Cambridge, 1972), and DeWitt C. Ellinwood and S. D. Pradhan, eds., *India and World War I* (New Delhi, 1978). On Indochina, see Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992). On Korea, see Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–1925* (Seattle, Wash., 1988).

¹⁰ Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Challenge of National Histories," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 25. A number of leading international historians have written on the importance of eschewing what Akira Iriye has called a "uninational" approach to international history. See, e.g., Iriye, "Internationalizing International History," in Bender, *Rethinking American History*, 47–62; Michael H. Hunt, "Internationalizing U.S. Diplomatic History: A Practical Agenda," *Diplomatic History* 15, no. 1 (1991): 1–11.

¹¹ Madeleine Chi, "China and Unequal Treaties at the Paris Conference of 1919," *Asian Profile* 1, no. 1 (1973): 49–61. For China's place in the prewar international system and its impact on intellectual developments there, see Zhang Yongjin, *China in the International System, 1918–1920: The Middle Kingdom at the Periphery* (Oxford, 1991), 15–38.

movements and leaders that were engaged in a search for a greater measure of sovereignty in domestic and international affairs. In the heady months from the fall of 1918, when Allied victory was in sight, to the spring of 1919, when the actual terms of the peace began to emerge, leaders and publics in the two societies paid close attention to the shifts in the discourses of international power and legitimacy that Wilson's rise appeared to herald, and strove to interpret and shape the significance of these shifts for their specific circumstances.

Historians have often noted how the spectacle of material destruction and moral degeneration that was the Great War helped launch a broad critique among Afro-Asian intellectuals of the West's claim to superior civilization.¹² This insight, important as it is, elides the widespread if short-lived adulation in Asia of that quintessential product of the "West," Woodrow Wilson. The war itself, to be sure, brought dislocation and suffering and showcased European savagery, but it also inspired great expectations for a postwar transformation in which a chastened Europe would change its ways, and for a new international order that would accord non-European peoples their rightful place among nations. The war could be seen as evidence for the degeneracy of Europe, but Europe did not encompass the "West" in its entirety; the United States could still appear as a rising force that would salvage and fulfill the promise of "Western civilization." Indeed, it is arguable that during the 1918–1919 period, the United States appeared to Chinese and Indians to hold greater promise than at any time before or since.¹³ The disappointments of the peace, rather than the devastations of the war as such, sealed the postwar indictment of Asian intellectuals against the West.

Another artifact of the Eurocentric lens through which the international history of 1919 is often viewed is the common conceptualization of that moment as a clash of two opposing visions of world order: liberal internationalism vs. communist internationalism, or "Wilson vs. Lenin," to use Arno Mayer's memorable phrase.¹⁴ Mayer, however, coined the phrase specifically to describe the wartime struggle between Bolshevism and Wilsonian reformism over the hearts and minds of the European left, and in the context of the world outside Europe, that parallel opposition is less applicable.¹⁵ At least until the spring of 1919, when evidence of Wilson's failure to implement his vaunted principles began to emerge from Paris, it was Wilson, not Lenin, who loomed far larger in the imaginations of Asian intellectuals, both as an inspiration for expectations and rhetoric and as a putative source of practical support for self-determination. It was only after the collapse of the Wilsonian moment in mid-1919 that Lenin and Russian Bolshevism began to gain importance as a potential model and ally for many movements for self-determination in Asia.

While the moment lasted, however, many in Asia believed that President Wilson had both the intent and the power to construct a new mode of international relations

¹² Michael Adas, "Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 1 (2004): 31–63. Such critiques of Western modernity were, of course, also common in the West itself in the postwar period.

¹³ The American pursuit of a revised Wilsonian program in the wake of World War II was much more circumspect, and could not replicate the sense of possibility of 1918–1919. See Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

¹⁴ Arno Mayer, *Wilson vs. Lenin: Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917–1918* (New York, 1967).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 245–266.

predicated on the principles of "self-determination" and "the equality of nations," in which the prewar imperial arrangements, with Asian nations consigned to various forms of subjugation and subordination, would be rendered illegitimate. Along with the millions in Europe who cheered Wilson upon his arrival there, Indians and Chinese saw Wilson's wartime rhetoric as a blueprint for a more peaceful and inclusive international order, one in which Asian nations could achieve a greater measure of equality and sovereignty. Asian intellectuals pondered not only the responses that Wilson's arrival on the continent would have elicited, as Srinivasa Sastri did, but also, much more importantly, how his plans for the postwar world, as they understood them, might mediate the chasm in international relations between "East" and "West" and allow Asian peoples to put their relationships with the West on a footing of equality and mutual respect. In order to better understand that transformative juncture in international history, historians must imagine Woodrow Wilson in Asia, just as many of his contemporaries there did.

DESPITE THE PERCEPTION OF WILSON in the minds of many at the time and later as the leading champion of a postwar order based on a right to "self-determination," it was the Russian Bolsheviks, not Wilson, who introduced this term into the wartime international discourse. The principle of "national self-determination" and its relationship to socialist revolution had long been a staple of debate among European socialists, and some saw nationalism as a barrier to class solidarity and a dangerous diversion from the revolutionary mission. For Lenin, however, support for colonial liberation was an important tool for undermining the capitalist-imperialist world order.¹⁶ Even before his return to Russia in April 1917, Lenin declared that when the Bolsheviks came to power, their peace plan would include "the liberation of all colonies" and of "all dependent, oppressed, and unequal nations." Shortly thereafter, the Provisional Government in Russia, under pressure from the Bolshevik-controlled Petrograd Soviet, became the first among the belligerent governments to call officially for a peace settlement "on the basis of self-determination of peoples."¹⁷ After the Bolsheviks took control of the revolution in November, the newly appointed commissar of foreign affairs, Leon Trotsky, immediately demanded that the Allied powers "give the right of self-determination to the peoples of Ireland, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Indochina, et cetera." Otherwise, their claim to be fighting the war for the freedom of small nations would be little more than "the most naked, the most cynical imperialism."¹⁸

The Bolshevik calls in late 1917 for a settlement based on national self-deter-

¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," in Lenin, *Collected Works*, 45 vols. (Moscow, 1960–1970), 22: 143–156. This essay, completed in March 1916 and first published in October 1916, expressed ideas that Lenin formed in 1915–1916, in the course of writing his treatise *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. For a detailed analysis of the early socialist and Bolshevik debates on the national question, see Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917–1923* (London, 1999), 3–22.

¹⁷ V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Letter from Afar," March 25, 1917, in Lenin, *Collected Works*, 23: 338; "Statement by the Provisional Government regarding the War," April 9, 1917, in C. K. Cumming and Walter W. Pettit, eds., *Russian-American Relations, March 1917–March 1920* (New York, 1920), 9–10.

¹⁸ Address from the Bolsheviks "To Peoples and Governments of Allied Countries," December 31, 1917, *PWW*, 45: 412–413. See also John M. Thompson, *Russia, Bolshevism, and the Versailles Peace* (Princeton, N.J., 1966), chap. 1.

mination found great resonance within the anti-imperialist left in Europe. In Britain, it helped inflame the dissatisfaction of the Labour Party opposition with the vagueness of their government's war aims, a sentiment already stoked, after the American entry into the war in April 1917, by Wilson's repeated calls for a postwar settlement based on "the consent of the governed." Prime Minister David Lloyd George, concerned that the enthusiasm of the left in Britain and other Allied countries for the rhetorics of Wilson and Lenin would compromise popular support for the war effort, moved quickly to redefine British war aims in more progressive terms.¹⁹ Speaking before the British Trades Union League on January 5, 1918, Lloyd George performed an act of rhetorical legerdemain, merging the divergent discourses of Wilson and Lenin into one: the peace, he said, must be based "on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed."²⁰ By equating the Bolshevik call for "national self-determination" for ethnic minorities to Wilson's notion of a peace based on the principle of popular consent, Lloyd George managed to obfuscate the differences between the revolutionary agenda of the former and the liberal reformism implied in the latter.

Wilson himself completed this conflation in the following months. Although he had never before uttered, or perhaps even encountered, the term "self-determination," he quickly adopted it as his own, with growing fervor and emphasis. Despite popular conceptions to the contrary, the term itself was nowhere to be found in the Fourteen Points address. Several of the points, however—the resurrection of Poland, the evacuation of Belgium, and his call for the "autonomous development" of the peoples of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires—seemed to imply that peace depended on the rollback of imperial rule and conquest, at least in some cases.²¹ The following month, Wilson spoke explicitly for the first time of a right of "self-determination" in international affairs. The coming world settlement, he said in another address to Congress, must respect the voices of the people: "national aspirations must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent." Although he was introducing a new phrase into his political vocabulary, he was quite emphatic in advocating it: "'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."²² Wilson, then, did not present this principle as a theoretical construct that he wished to implement, but as an independent force already at work in world politics, one that must be recognized and accommodated.

In Wilson's usage, however, the meaning of "self-determination" was far vaguer and more elastic than it was in Lenin's. For the Bolsheviks, who almost always preceded the term with the adjective "national," it was a call for the revolutionary overthrow of imperial rule through an appeal to the national identity and aspirations of subject peoples. Wilson, on the other hand, rarely if ever uttered the specific term

¹⁹ Mayer, *Wilson vs. Lenin*, 385–387; Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations*, 26; George W. Egerton, *Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations: Strategy, Politics and International Organization, 1914–1919* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978), 57–59.

²⁰ David Lloyd George, *British War Aims: Statement by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable David Lloyd George, on January 5, 1918* (London, 1918). See also Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (New York, 1992), 143.

²¹ Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45: 534–539.

²² Address to Congress, February 11, 1918, *PWW*, 46: 321.

“national self-determination”; he used the more general, vaguer phrase “self-determination,” and usually equated the term with popular consent, conjuring an international order based on democratic forms of government. He did at times advocate redrawing borders along ethnic lines, as in the cases of Poland and Italy, but he saw the independence of ethnic or national units as only one among several ways to implement self-determination. In the case of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, for example, Wilson supported autonomy rather than full independence as compatible with the principle of self-determination until the collapse of the Vienna government made that option impractical. If Lenin saw self-determination as a revolutionary principle and sought to use it as a wrecking ball against the reactionary multiethnic empires of Europe, Wilson hoped that self-determination would serve precisely in the opposite role: as a bulwark against radical, revolutionary challenges to existing orders. If revolution, as Wilson and other Progressives believed, was a reaction to oppression by autocratic, unaccountable regimes, then the application of self-determination, defined as government by consent, would help to remove the revolutionary impulse and promote change through gradual reforms.²³

Wilson, then, grafted the new term onto his old ideas, and used it in his addresses as essentially synonymous with the notions of popular sovereignty and government by consent, which had long been central in his wartime rhetoric, and indeed in the tradition of Anglo-American political thought. If he saw any distinction between the new principle of “self-determination” and the old one of government by consent, the documentary record gives us no such clue. And like his old notions of consent, this new principle was phrased in universal language; theoretically, at least, it applied to all peoples everywhere. But if Wilson, in his speeches, did not explicitly limit the application of the principle to Europe, it is clear that as a practical matter, he saw it as immediately relevant only to the European territories of the defeated empires—German, Austrian-Hungarian, and Ottoman. Eventually, he imagined, it might apply in other colonial situations, but if so, it would be through gradual processes of tutelage and reform such as he himself had initiated in the U.S. colonial administration of the Philippines—not, if he could help it, through the violent overthrow of colonial rule.²⁴

In the final months of the war, calls for a peace based on “self-determination” recurred regularly and with increasing emphasis alongside references to the “consent of the governed” in Wilson’s public rhetoric. In his Independence Day address in July 1918, the U.S. president described the war as an epic struggle between oppressive regimes whose time had passed and the progressive ideals to which the future belonged. In the aftermath of the struggle, he said, American ideals of government by

²³ For more extended discussion of Wilson’s usage of “self-determination,” see Michla Pomerance, “The United States and Self-Determination: Perspectives on the Wilsonian Conception,” *American Journal of International Law* 70 (1976): 1–27; Betty Miller Unterberger, “The United States and National Self-Determination: A Wilsonian Perspective,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26 (1996): 926–941; Lloyd E. Ambrosius, “Dilemmas of National Self-Determination: Woodrow Wilson’s Legacy,” in Ambrosius, *Wilsonianism: Woodrow Wilson and His Legacy in American Foreign Relations* (New York, 2002), 125–143; William R. Keylor, “Versailles and International Diplomacy,” in Boemeke et al., *The Treaty of Versailles*, 475 and n. 12.

²⁴ N. Gordon Levin, *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America’s Response to War and Revolution* (New York, 1968), 247–251. The literature on Wilson’s policy in the Philippines is surprisingly sparse, but see William Christopher Hamel, “Race and Responsible Government: Woodrow Wilson and the Philippines” (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 2002), esp. chap. 6.

consent must extend over the entire globe, encompassing people of many races and regions. The postwar settlement must include "the settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned."²⁵ In the end, Wilson's incorporation of Bolshevik rhetoric may not have significantly altered the essence of his vision in his own mind, but it lent his pronouncements a more radical tone, amplifying their impact on the imaginations of colonial peoples worldwide who heard them.

Once Wilson adopted the rhetoric of "self-determination" as his own, it spread quickly around the world, and by the time of the armistice it was intimately identified with the figure of the U.S. president. Wilson's proclamations were carried across Asia on the infrastructure for the production and dissemination of news about international events that was in place across much of the globe by the time of the war. It included the cable and wireless telegraph networks that disseminated the information,²⁶ but also, no less importantly, the global press agencies that often provided the content of the news and the local newspapers that carried it. As early as 1905, India already had more than 1,300 newspapers in English and in Indian languages, which were estimated to reach 2 million subscribers and an unknowable number of additional readers.²⁷ In China, the popular press, launched in the coastal cities in the 1890s, also burgeoned in the first decades of the twentieth century. Those with access to such information remained, to be sure, a small minority; nevertheless, by 1918 there had emerged in both societies nationally aware, articulate publics who were interested in and informed about international developments.²⁸

By the last year of the war, the U.S. president's words were widely available in the print media across Asia, echoing far beyond the American and European audiences to whom they were primarily addressed. Partly, this was due to the global propaganda campaign, entirely unprecedented in its scale and purpose, that the Wilson administration had launched after the United States entered the war. The campaign, carried out by the Committee for Public Information (CPI) that Wilson established in 1917, aimed "to drive home the absolute justice of America's cause, the absolute selflessness of America's aims." CPI propaganda, reported its chairman, made use of the recent advances in communication and media technologies, such as

²⁵ Address at Mount Vernon, July 4, 1918, *PWW*, 48: 515–516.

²⁶ On the expansion of telegraphy into Asia, see Daniel R. Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851–1945* (New York, 1991), esp. chap. 4.

²⁷ On the rise of the popular press in India, see S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India* (Bombay, 1962), 147–225; Nadig Krishna Murthy, *Indian Journalism: Origin, Growth and Development of Indian Journalism, from Asoka to Nehru* (Mysore, 1966), chap. 8; Judith M. Brown, *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1994), 139.

²⁸ Leo Lee and Andrew J. Nathan, "The Beginnings of Mass Culture," in David Johnson et al., eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 368–378; Stephen R. MacKinnon, "Toward a History of the Chinese Press in the Republican Period," *Modern China* 23, no. 1 (1997): 3–32. Benedict Anderson famously identified mass print media as agents of national identity construction, delineating the boundaries of the nation while at the same time locating it within the context of a wider world of structurally equivalent and morally equal national entities. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London, 1991), esp. chaps. 2–3. For a development of these ideas in the specific context of the rise of nationalism and of global historical consciousness in early-twentieth-century China, see Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham, N.C., 2002); and Karl, "Creating Asia: China in the World in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century," *AHR* 103, no. 4 (October 1998): 1096–1118.

wireless telegraphy and moving pictures, in pursuit of that goal: "The printed word, the spoken word, the motion picture, the poster, the signboard—all these were used in our campaign."²⁹ Wilson's public addresses and declarations, from the Fourteen Points on, were the linchpin of CPI propaganda, especially in its foreign operations. Although the focus of the committee's work abroad was Europe and Latin America, it also opened a branch in China, where CPI agents distributed news summaries, posters, and newsreels.³⁰

But the impact of the CPI in creating and disseminating Wilson's image in Asia was not nearly as decisive as its boosters imagined. Far more important was the role of the global commercial news agencies, especially the British agency Reuters. In both China and India, indeed in most of Asia at the time, the "foreign news" sections of mainstream newspapers, which usually lacked the funds to employ foreign correspondents of their own, consisted primarily of copy from pro-Allied news services.³¹ News and analyses sympathetic to the Allied cause dominated the global flows of information, and Wilson's wartime addresses and proclamations were widely and favorably reported in Asia. In India, where no significant American propaganda machinery existed, knowledge of Wilson's words spread no less rapidly than in China, and his major addresses were prominently featured in the press, often verbatim. Interest among educated Indians and Chinese in the U.S. president and his plans for the postwar world, as reflected in press reports and editorials, grew steadily during the first part of 1918, and then increased exponentially in the last months of that year, as Allied victory began to appear imminent and news spread that the peace would be based on Wilson's principles.³²

Nationalists in Asia quickly recognized the potential utility of Wilson's rhetoric for their causes, even if its scope and intent remained unclear. A leading nationalist paper in Calcutta, commenting in February 1918 on the address in which Wilson first used the term "self-determination," immediately probed the possible application of his words to India. The American president, it noted, had declared that the "whole

²⁹ George Creel, *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information* (Washington, D.C., 1920), 1–2. For accounts of the CPI and its activities during the war, see Gregg Wolper, "The Origins of Public Diplomacy: Woodrow Wilson, George Creel, and the Committee on Public Information" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991); James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917–1919* (Princeton, N.J., 1939); and Creel's own celebratory account, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information That Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe* (New York, 1920).

³⁰ Carl Crow, "The Great War on the China Front," unpublished typescript, Carl Crow Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia. Also Hans Schmidt, "Democracy for China: American Propaganda and the May Fourth Movement," *Diplomatic History* 22, no. 1 (1998): 1–28; Kazuyuki Matsuo, "American Propaganda in China: The U.S. Committee on Public Information, 1918–1919," *Journal of American and Canadian Studies* 14 (1996): 19–42.

³¹ On the role of Reuters as the main supplier of international news across the British Empire and East Asia during this period, see Donald Read, *The Power of News: The History of Reuters*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1999), chaps. 3–6.

³² See, e.g., "America Asks for War," *Amrita Bazar Patrika* [hereafter *ABP*], April 5, 1917; "President Wilson's Speech and Needed Change in British Policy," *Mahratta*, October 6, 1918, 473–474. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was a major nationalist daily, published in Calcutta but read widely across India. See Murthy, *Indian Journalism*, 81. *Mahratta* was a weekly magazine published in Pune by the scholar, journalist, and nationalist leader B. G. Tilak. The *New York Times* boasted at the time: "Extracts from President Wilson's speeches are being quoted by villagers in the remotest part of India," and his words "have gripped their hearts as nothing else has done since the war began." See "Wilson's Words in India," *New York Times*, October 5, 1918, 12.

world” was affected by the issues at hand, but it remained unclear whether India, and the rest of Asia and Africa, was to be included in the postwar reconstruction of world order. The real cause of wars was the condition of “the helpless and unprotected regions and peoples of Asia and Africa,” and peace would not come “until Asia and Africa have secured full national autonomy.”³³ In China, too, the publication of Wilson’s important speeches was accompanied by commentary that related his rhetoric to Chinese concerns. A major Shanghai daily accompanied the text of the Fourteen Points with an editorial comment noting that the U.S. president’s ideas for peace were “a beacon of light for the world’s peoples.” They were credible, too, the editorial added: the United States already had enough resources to become the most powerful nation in the world, and therefore Wilson could not be suspected of ulterior motives in promoting these ideals.³⁴

Shortly after the armistice, Ganesh, a prominent nationalist press in India, published a collection of the U.S. president’s addresses under the rousing title *President Wilson: The Modern Apostle of Freedom*. In numerous ads that ran in the Indian press in early 1919, the book prominently headlined Ganesh’s list of patriotic publications. The text of the ads described the U.S. president as “the most striking personality in the world” and a “man of destiny,” whose speeches, “one of the finest and sweetest fruits of the deadly war,” would “bring solace to a war-weary world and hope to small and weak nationalities.”³⁵ Such glowing copy was surely, at least in part, an adman’s pitch, but the publisher clearly believed that it would strike patriotic Indians as plausible. Indeed, one reviewer exclaimed that “the eloquent addresses of this great inspiring apostle of Modern Freedom . . . must find a place in every household of a true patriot,” and would enormously help the “itinerant Home Rule propagandist to advocate, in sober but clear and emphatic terms, the cause of liberty before his countrymen.”³⁶ In Shanghai, the venerable Commercial Press published a similar volume that compiled the texts of Wilson’s wartime speeches. The book was published in two editions: one in Chinese translation only, and a second, more costly edition containing the original English texts with their Chinese translations alongside. This collection, too, was widely advertised in the press and became something of a bestseller, going through several printings.³⁷ (See Figure 1.)

³³ Wilson’s speech, made on February 11, was reported with extensive excerpts by Reuters and carried in “President Wilson, Address to Congress, Situation Reviewed,” *ABP*, February 14, 1918; the paper’s editorial analysis appeared two days later, “Dr. Wilson’s Peace Pronouncement,” *ABP*, February 16, 1918. See also Natarajan, *Press in India*, 183.

³⁴ “Mei zongtong zhi yihe tiaojian,” *Shibao*, January 11, 1918, 2. Also see “Mei zongtong yanshuo heping tiaojian,” *Dagongbao*, January 11, 1918, 3. *Shibao* was a major Shanghai daily; on its emergence and impact, see Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: “Shibao” and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford, Calif., 1996). *Dagongbao* was a major daily published in Tianjin.

³⁵ The advertisement appeared numerous times in January and February 1919, e.g., in *New India*, January 6 and 11, 1919; *ABP*, February 18, 1919. Other books advertised in the same list, below the Wilson collection, included volumes by such luminaries of the national movement as C. R. Das and Sarojini Naidu and a biography of Mahatma Gandhi. *New India* was published daily in Madras and associated with Annie Besant’s India Home Rule League.

³⁶ “Reviews and Notices,” *Mahratta*, February 2, 1919, 59.

³⁷ “Meiguo zongtong Wei-er-xun canzhan yanshuo chuban,” *Shibao*, November 16, 1918, 1; the advertisement appeared several more times in this newspaper over the next weeks. Also in *Shenbao*, November 21, 1918, 1. *Shenbao* was a major daily published in Shanghai but read across China. On its reach into the countryside during this period, see Henrietta Harrison, “Newspapers and Nationalism in Rural China 1890–1929,” *Past & Present* 166 (2000): 181–204.

When Wilson arrived in Europe to great fanfare in December 1918, he appeared easily as the most imposing and influential figure among the gathering world leaders, a man of almost transcendent significance whose travels and utterances were closely followed in Asia, as they were in Europe and America. Newspapers in India and China featured daily items that reported in colorful detail on the president's whirlwind tours through the major Allied countries. Readers in China, for example, could learn that Wilson had received an honorary degree at the Sorbonne, and that in the streets of London, as in Paris, he was greeted by cheering crowds that numbered in the millions. Indians could follow the details of Wilson's pilgrimage to his mother's birthplace in Carlisle, in the north of England, where his maternal grandfather had served as Presbyterian minister, and read all about his triumphant visit to Italy and his historic meeting with the pope in Rome.³⁸

Wilson's rhetoric and his stature on the world stage, however, were not merely sources of entertainment or topics of speculation among Asian nationalists; they were calls to action. In October, a leading nationalist magazine implored the Indian National Congress, the main nationalist organization, to make a direct plea to Wilson for his support for Indian self-determination, since the president "has exactly voiced the issues at stake in India and he has given an unequivocal answer to them." If Wilson's principles were to be the basis of the peace conference, then the British would have to govern India in accordance with them; if they did not, then Indians would ask Wilson to compel them to do so.³⁹ When news of the armistice came, editorial writers in Indian newspapers hailed the Allied victory as meaning nothing less than "the freedom of nations, their right of self-determination." It would be "a sin," declared one, "if India does not lay her ailments before Dr. Wilson."⁴⁰ Another editorial was even more emphatic:

If Poland, Belgium, Serbia [*sic*] and even the African colonies are to be given the right of 'self-determination,' will not there be the same standard of right and privilege for India? . . . We appeal to India to rise to the occasion. Nations are not granted such opportunities often. The salvation is at hand and it can be affected now or never. Let India bestir herself and move heaven and earth to get a hearing at the Peace Conference.⁴¹

This sense of unprecedented opportunity, punctuated with religious terminology of "sin" and "salvation," pervaded the nationalist press in India in the weeks leading up to the conference.

Chinese writers also called on their compatriots to seize the opportunity that Wilson appeared to represent. They exhorted political leaders to abandon their struggle for personal power and gain and instead open a new era of a society ruled by law, and held hopes that Wilson's leadership could bring about a real improve-

³⁸ See *Shibao*, December 24, 1918, 1, on the degree from the Sorbonne; *Shibao*, December 29, 1918, 1, on the welcome in London. Also "Yingwang yu Mei zongtong zhi yanshuo," *Shenbao*, December 30, 1918. In India, "President Wilson Visits His Mother's Birthplace," *ABP*, January 3, 1919; "Wilson's Address to Italian Parliament," *ABP*, January 7, 1919.

³⁹ "President Wilson's Speech," *Mahratta*, October 6, 1918, 473-474. For the impact of the war on the Indian nationalist movement, see Ellinwood and Pradhan, *India and World War 1*, esp. the essays by Brown, Barrier, Bose, and Wolpert.

⁴⁰ "The Lesson of the War," *Tribune* (Lahore), December 20, 1918, L/R/5/201, 3; "India after the War," *Kesari* (Pune), n.d., L/R/5/200, 596. India Office Records, British Library, London.

⁴¹ "India and the Peace Conference," *Mahratta*, December 1, 1918, 559.

中華民國七年十一月十六日即舊歷戊午年十月十三日

西歷一千九百十八年十一月十六日 星期六

時報

THE EASTERN TIMES

號六十六百一千五第

分三洋大售報三天午

號零二一電六街望上開本
一百千話號第平海設館

廣告刊例
第一版每行一元
第二版每行八角
第三版每行六角
第四版每行四角
第五版每行三角
第六版每行二角
第七版每行一角
第八版每行半角
第九版每行半角
第十版每行半角
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本報今日日本海隨報附送衛生月報如有遺漏請向送報人索閱

美國總統威爾遜參戰演說出版 蔣夢麟先生譯

▲諸君欲知美國參戰之主義乎？
▲諸君欲知世界種種問題之解決方法乎？
▲諸君欲知吾國對於參戰之地位乎？
▲諸君欲知吾國應盡之責任如何而後可以參與此次議和大會乎？

◎戰事已停
◎和議將始
◎凡關心時勢者
◎不可不讀是書

▲漢文單印本二角半(業已出版)
▲華英合璧本五角(不日即出)

館書印務商

FIGURE 1: These advertisements announced the publication of collections of Wilson's wartime addresses in China and India, respectively. The Chinese advertisement (*above*), from the November 16, 1918, issue of the Shanghai daily *Shibao*, called the volume a "must-read book" for anyone who wanted to know "how the world's most important problems are to be settled." The Indian advertisement (*facing page*), from the January 11, 1919, issue of the Madras daily *New India*, billed the book as "a welcome addition to the world's classics." Although the praise was designed to sell copies, it also reflected a widespread perception at the time of the significance of Wilson's words for the peoples of Asia. Harvard University Library.

President Wilson :

The Modern Apostle of Freedom

Dr. Woodrow Wilson is the most striking personality in the world at present time. He has been described as the "Man of the Hour," or the "Man of Destiny" by the admiring world which he has aroused with a remarkable message of peace and freedom. President Wilson's speeches are surely one of the finest and sweetest fruits of the deadly war, and it is universally hoped that his ideals will be realised as far as practicable at the Peace Conference. The speeches which Dr. Wilson delivered since American entry into the war have been collected and published in a single volume by the enterprising publishers, Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras, who have thereby done a service to civilisation. These speeches bring solace to a war weary world and hope to small and weak nationalities. They bring out indeed a new spiritual vision of human progress, and are not of an ephemeral or territorial interest. The book is therefore a welcome addition to the world's classics. It includes a spirited foreward by Dr. S. Subramania Iyer and an excellent character sketch of the President by Mr. K. Vyasa Rao. The get up of this book is splendid. Price Rs. 1. Ganesh & Co., Madras --W. C. Reformer.

India for Indians

(Second Edition revised and enlarged.)

This is a collection of the speeches delivered by Mr. C. R. Das on Home Rule for India wherein he has also tellingly exposed the fallacy of Anglo-Indian Agitation against Indian aspirations. The book opens with an introduction by Bibu Motilal Ghose, Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Price Rs. 1/2

India's Claim for Home Rule

New India writes: -- The growth of political literature in India is, in recent times, becoming very rapid and remarkable, and with the great National awakening in this land also has arisen a keen and fervent desire to spread it by means of cheap and useful books. Messrs. Ganesh & Co., the enterprising publishers of Madras, stimulated by this desire, have brought out many popular books on Indian problems and their recent venture is India's Claim for Home Rule. This book contains a comprehensive collection of speeches and writings of eminent Indians and veteran English publicists, with an attractive appendix and an exhaustive index. Price Rs. 2

The Soul of India

A vision of the past and future, by MRS. BANORNI NAIDU. Price Rs. 4

The Indian Nation Builders

This is the only Publication which gives the biographies and speeches of thirty six eminent Indians, with their portraits in three comprehensive volumes at such a cheap cost, of Rs. 48, (Volume I, Rs. 18, Volume II, Rs. 18; Volume III, Rs. 18). Each Volume contains the biographies and select speeches of 12 eminent Indians with their portraits and is bound in cloth. Revised and enlarged edition.

Heroes of the Hour

This is a collection of exhaustive biographical studies of Mahatma Gandhi, Lok Sarmaj and Dr. B. Subramanya Aiyar wherein is given a pious account of the virtuous activities of these three heroes in building up the Indian Nation. Price Rs. 1/8

GANESH & Co., Publishers
MADRAS

ment in China's international position, framed as a question of "human rights." A leading journalist wrote that the U.S. president, respected both abroad and at home, was "the best qualified statesman to assume the role of champion of human rights generally and of the rights of China in particular." And he was equal to the task, known as a "wonderful man" with "a firm grasp of the world situation," who was "kind hearted in dealing with a weak and oppressed nation; just in his relationship with a strong power; and extremely severe in his treatment of predatory countries."⁴² Their degree of accuracy aside, these images of the United States and its leader were widespread and influential in Chinese public discourse at that time.

When the war ended, enthusiasm for Wilson and his promise of a new world order reached new heights among Chinese intellectual and political elites. The adoption and implementation of the president's ideals, ran the common view, were crucial to improving both China's domestic political situation and its international status. Chen Duxiu, one of the most influential intellectuals of the period, the dean of letters at Beijing University and a future co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party, said in December 1918 that the triumph of Wilson's principles in the war meant the victory of right over might, both in relations between states and in relations between peoples and their governments. For this, Chen concluded, the U.S. president should be seen as the "number one good man in the world."⁴³ Hu Shi, another influential intellectual, who had recently returned to China with a Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia University, had already concluded that Wilson's success in combining high human ideals with practical politics made him a model of the Confucian ideal of the scholar-administrator as well as "the supreme product of Western civilization."⁴⁴ In the U.S. president's person, Hu could imagine the contradictions between East and West beginning to dissipate.

AS CHINESE AND INDIANS SOUGHT TO USE the postwar flux in international affairs to advance the cause of their national dignity and sovereignty, many of them saw Wilson as an appealing and powerful ally who might be capable of bridging the yawning gap that, in prewar international society, separated the peoples of the "East" from those of the "West." Prior to the Great War, and certainly after it, many Asian intellectuals, such as the influential scholar and journalist Liang Qichao and the poet and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore, framed the problems of international society in terms of the differences between East and West, the aggression of a materialist West against the materially weaker but spiritually more refined societies of the East. The solution, it seemed, was to combine the best aspects of both Western and Eastern

⁴² "Cejin yongjiu hepinghui xuanyan shu," *Shibao*, December 16, 1918; Hollington K. Tong, "What Can President Wilson Do for China?" *Millard's Review*, November 16, 1918, 431–434. This article was reprinted in Chinese translation as "Zhongguo yu heping huiyi," *Shibao*, December 18, 1918.

⁴³ Editorial in *Meizhou pinglun*, December 22, 1918, in Chen Duxiu, *Duxiu wencun* (Hefei, 1987), 388. On Chen, see Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu, Founder of the Chinese Communist Party* (Princeton, N.J., 1983).

⁴⁴ "Jielu Wei-er-xun 'xunci,'" in Hu Shi, *Hu Shi liuxue riji* (Changsha, 2000), 334. On Hu Shi and his role in the May Fourth movement, see Jerome B. Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917–37* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).



FIGURE 2: A crowd celebrating the armistice in Beijing in November 1918, carrying signs with Wilsonian slogans. The one on the left reads "THE WORLD MUST BE MADE SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY," famous words taken from Wilson's address to Congress on April 2, 1917, asking for a declaration of war on Germany. The Chinese-language sign at the center of the photo reads "shijie datong," which might be rendered as "global harmony." The term *datong*, a vision of utopian peace in Confucian thought, was commonly used at the time to refer to Wilson's idea of a League of Nations. Photograph from the Sidney Gamble Collection, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University.

"civilizations" in the pursuit of global harmony.⁴⁵ In the immediate wake of the war, therefore, many Asian intellectuals, for a brief but significant time, read in the U.S. president's rhetoric a universalist message capable of transcending the East-West chasm and thus auguring a new era of universal human brotherhood. Hu Shi, for example, wrote of Wilson as the ideal ruler in Confucian philosophy, one who could "make philosophical ideas the basis of politics, so that although he enters into the political arena, he maintains his uprightness and stresses humane principles in all things."⁴⁶ Similarly, Tagore, despite his critical attitude toward the West in general and his ambivalent impressions of the United States during his visits there, still saw the U.S. as the potential "meeting place" of East and West. The poet also held Wilson in "great admiration" for "introducing idealism in the domain of politics," and even wanted to dedicate the U.S. edition of his 1917 book *Nationalism* to him.⁴⁷

The celebrated reformer and philosopher Kang Youwei viewed Wilson's plan for the League of Nations in similar terms, as a potential bridge between the ideals of East and West. The League, he thought, would unite all of humanity under its covenant, and thus constitute the realization of the traditional Confucian notion of *datong*, a vision of universal harmony on which Kang had elaborated in a manuscript he had written some years earlier.⁴⁸ Kang believed that through Wilson's global leadership, the ideal of *datong* could be on the verge of fulfillment. America, he wrote, "achieved a great victory, and sponsored a peace conference based on right and justice," where it "would support the weak and small countries." China should consider itself fortunate to participate in the peace conference, where it would have the opportunity "of one thousand years" to recover its lost sovereignty and achieve equality and freedom among nations. "I have never dreamed of the good luck to see the formation of a League of Nations in my own days," Kang wrote to his son-in-law in early 1919. "The impossible is about to

⁴⁵ Stephen N. Hay, *Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China, and India* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 126–143.

⁴⁶ Hu, "Wei-er-xun," July 12, 1914, and *Hu Shi liuxue riji*, 208.

⁴⁷ Tagore to Wilson, May 9, 1918, and Tagore interview with Gertrude Stevenson, *Boston Journal*, December 2, 1916, cited in Stephen N. Hay, "Rabindranath Tagore in America," *American Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1962): 449, 451. Tagore's publisher, Macmillan, wrote the president requesting his permission for the dedication, but Wilson's adviser, Colonel Edward M. House, counseled against it because his British contacts had warned him that Tagore was involved with Indian revolutionaries living in the United States. When news of this reached Tagore, he wrote Wilson a long, outraged letter of protest against such "lying calumny." The letter was shuffled around at the Department of State; Wilson probably never saw it. Woodrow Wilson to Macmillan and Company, April 9, 1917, *PWW*, 42: 21; Rabindranath Tagore, *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore*, ed. Sisir Kumar Das, 3 vols. (New Delhi, 1994–1996), 2: 770–771; Hay, "Tagore in America," 451–452.

⁴⁸ The phrase "League of Nations" was commonly rendered into Chinese at the time using the term *datong*, e.g., as "wanguo datong meng" or "guoji datong meng." Like other terms in Confucian philosophy, *datong* has no single accepted translation into English. Laurence G. Thomson, who translated Kang's book, rendered it as "One World," but noted more than a dozen other possibilities. Jonathan D. Spence translated it as "Great Community," and Kang Youwei himself rendered the term into English literally as "Great Concord." See Kang Youwei, *Ta Tung Shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei*, trans. Laurence G. Thompson (London, 1958), esp. 29–30; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution* (New York, 1981), 64–73; Chow, *The May Fourth Movement*, 97–98 and note n there. For more on Kang and his ideas, see Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900–1945," *AHR* 102, no. 4 (October 1997): 1034–1035; Kung-chuan Hsiao, *A Modern China and a New World: Kang Yu-wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1858–1927* (Seattle, Wash., 1975), esp. pt. 4; Jung-pang Lo, ed., *K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and a Symposium* (Tucson, Ariz., 1967), esp. 341–354.

happen. You can't imagine my happiness."⁴⁹ What for Kang had been until recently a vision for the distant future now seemed, for a brief moment, to be on the verge of realization.⁵⁰

The credibility of Wilson's pronouncements among Indians and Chinese was underpinned by a common image of the United States as the first nation to emerge from a successful revolt against empire, and one that, although born of the West, represented a more benign version of Western modernity when compared with the habits of imperial aggression and exploitation associated with the European powers. Tagore, an eloquent critic of European imperialism, gave expression to this view even before the war, as he completed his first visit to the United States: "Somehow, I have an impression that America has a great mission in the history of Western civilization," he wrote to a friend. Unlike other Western nations, the U.S. was "rich enough not to concern itself in the greedy exploitation of weaker nations," and was therefore "free and perhaps it will hold up the torch of freedom before the world."⁵¹ A few years later, upon his second sojourn to the United States, he repeated the same theme, declaring that "America is unhampered and free to experiment for the progress of humanity . . . Of course she will make mistakes, but out of this series of mistakes she will come to some higher synthesis of truth and be able to hold up the banner of Civilization. She is the best exponent of Western ideals of humanity."⁵² Chinese intellectuals, intensely engaged during this period in a quest to remake China into a modern nation, also commonly saw the United States as a model and pioneer of the popular democratic government to which they aspired.⁵³ The future lay with democracy, wrote Luo Jialun, a prominent intellectual of the May Fourth era, and Chinese therefore had to adopt democratic rather than autocratic leaders as role models: "Instead of admiring Peter the Great, we should admire Washington; instead of admiring Bismarck, we should admire Franklin," he admonished his compatriots.⁵⁴

Moreover, the millenarian, quasi-religious imaginings of Woodrow Wilson that were common among Asian intellectuals—as "Christ or Buddha," an agent of "salvation," or the purveyor of *datong* utopia—reflected a powerful if fleeting sense, widespread in the immediate wake of the war, that a moment in history had arrived in which humankind might transcend the straitjackets of Darwinian competition and of long-established power relationships and bring forth an international community in which all nations would enjoy sovereignty and dignity. Wilson, as the leading icon of the moment and its possibilities, appeared to Chinese and Indians as a figure who could refashion the relationship between Europe and Asia to transcend the usual

⁴⁹ "Cu Nan Bei su yihe yi ying Ouzhou heju dian," *Shibao*, December 30, 1918, reprinted in Kang Youwei, *Kang Youwei zhenglun ji*, ed. Yang Zhijun, 2 vols. (Beijing, 1981), 2: 1061–1063; Hollington Tong, "Kang Yu-wei as Chinese Advocate of League of Nations," *Millard's Review*, February 8, 1919, 342–345.

⁵⁰ In 1919, Kang noted that when he had written his book on *datong* in the 1880s, he had hoped that its principles would be realized "in the century to come," and was surprised to see them realized so soon. Lo, *K'ang Yu-wei*, 238.

⁵¹ Tagore to Rothenstein, April 1(?), 1913, in Mary M. Lago, ed., *Imperfect Encounter: Letters of William Rothenstein and Rabindranath Tagore, 1911–1941* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 106–107.

⁵² *Portland Telegram*, September 26, 1916, cited in Hay, "Tagore in America," 447.

⁵³ E.g., "Mei zhi duli jinian," *Shenbao*, July 4, 1918, 11, which emphasized the United States' "democratic spirit" and its commitment to "uphold justice and humanity in the world."

⁵⁴ Luo Jialun, "Jinri shijie zhi xinchao," *Xinchao* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 1919): 19–23.

dichotomies of East vs. West often employed to represent it: powerful vs. weak, imperialist vs. colonized, advanced vs. backward, material vs. spiritual, might vs. right. Hu Shi's view of the president as someone who could remain uniquely pure and unworldly even while wielding political power in the world depended on imagining Wilson as at once bridging and transcending these poles, which in the past had seemed all but inescapable.

Such views of Wilson, of course, hardly reflected the man himself. As a prominent public intellectual at the turn of the century, Wilson had been an ardent supporter of the U.S. conquest of the Philippines, arguing that the native population required a period of American "trusteeship" before they could be allowed to govern themselves.⁵⁵ Indeed, this remained his basic approach to the question of self-government for non-European peoples: although his wartime rhetoric did not explicitly exclude them from self-determination, he never articulated how precisely that principle would apply to them beyond a vague promise, perfectly compatible with the reigning theory of colonial trusteeship, to take into account the "interests of the populations concerned."⁵⁶ Moreover, Wilson, who was born and raised in the American South and who, as a politician in the Democratic Party, drew much of his support from that region, never challenged the racial assumptions and practices of his time and place. Although his reformist credentials initially attracted the support of some prominent African American leaders, they were quickly disillusioned after his election in 1912. The Wilson administration did nothing to advance racial equality, and instead introduced racial segregation in the U.S. federal government.⁵⁷

Many Chinese and Indian intellectuals, moreover, were well acquainted with U.S. racial prejudice and often criticized the United States for its racist practices as well as its imperialist conduct in the Philippines and elsewhere. The Indian nationalist leader Lala Lajpat Rai, who spent the war years in the United States, carefully documented the state of American race relations in a 1916 book, and Tagore himself, during his tour of the U.S. that same year, warned Americans that their treatment of Asians was "one of the darkest sides" of their society.⁵⁸ In China, the ill-treatment and exclusion of Chinese immigrants to the United States had long excited protest, including a movement to boycott U.S. goods in 1905, and Chinese intellectuals often condemned U.S. imperialism in the Philippines.⁵⁹ Even within such critiques, however, there was often embedded a perception of the United States as exceptional among the Western powers in its anticolonial origins, in its creed of liberty, and in

⁵⁵ Woodrow Wilson, "Democracy and Efficiency," *Atlantic Monthly* 87 (March 1901): 289–299.

⁵⁶ Address to a Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918, *PWW*, 45: 537.

⁵⁷ The Wilson administration's policies on race and their broader context are explored in Michael Dennis, "Looking Backward: Woodrow Wilson, the New South, and the Question of Race," *American Nineteenth Century History* 3, no. 1 (2002): 77–104; Nicholas Patler, *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration: Protesting Federal Segregation in the Early Twentieth Century* (Boulder, Colo., 2004). For the encounters with Wilson of two prominent African American leaders at the time, see Christine A. Luardini, "Standing Firm: William Monroe Trotter's Meetings with Woodrow Wilson, 1913–1914," *Journal of Negro History* 64, no. 3 (1979): 244–264; Kenneth M. Glazier, "W. E. B. Du Bois' Impressions of Woodrow Wilson," *Journal of Negro History* 58, no. 4 (1973): 452–459.

⁵⁸ Lala Lajpat Rai, *The United States of America: A Hindu's Impressions and a Study* (Calcutta, 1916), 77–172; Tagore quoted in "Rabindranath Tagore in America," *Modern Review* 21, no. 6 (1917): 663.

⁵⁹ On the boycott, see Guanhua Wang, *In Search of Justice: The 1905–1906 Chinese Anti-American Boycott* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001). On Chinese views on U.S. conquest and rule in the Philippines, see also Karl, *Staging the World*, chap. 4; Michael H. Hunt, *The Genesis of Chinese Communist Foreign Policy* (New York, 1996), 90.

the enormity of its domestic resources, which made overseas conquests less necessary. In 1911, when Kang Youwei criticized the U.S. conquest of the Philippines in an essay in which he contemplated how China could escape complete dissolution under the pressures of imperialism, he noted that if even the United States, with its long traditions of "equality" and "justice," could engage in such acts, what could one expect of other imperialist powers?⁶⁰

During the height of the Wilsonian moment, many Asian intellectuals were willing to overlook or downplay the deficiencies of the United States and its president as they sought Wilson's support for their struggles for self-determination. Wishing to see the United States as the one world power that could lead international society away from imperialism and toward the brotherhood of humanity, they often took a forgiving view of even the most glaring American iniquities. Wilson's apparent assault on the imperial order, it seemed, could redeem his record of support for colonialism and segregation. Moreover, his advocacy of international cooperation made him an attractive figure not only to nationalists, who saw his League as a way for their nations to find their rightful place within a reconstructed international society, but also to those, such as Tagore, who opposed nationalism as an obstacle to the unity of humanity. Thus, even as he criticized American racism, Tagore could still believe that the United States had a "unique" role in the journey of humanity, engaged as it was in the project of "taking the people of all countries and harmonizing them into one people." Eventually, he thought, it would succeed in solving "the problems of the human race, national, political, religious," and help give rise to "the nationality of man."⁶¹ And U.S. colonial rule in the Philippines, rather than undermining Wilson's credibility, was instead commonly held up in the Indian press at the time as an example of successful and benevolent imperial rule, which the British would do well to emulate.⁶² Similar themes appeared in contemporary Chinese analyses of the world situation: the United States, although a colonial power, had far fewer colonies than other powers, ruled them more liberally, and did not depend on them economically; therefore, it could remain a plausible champion of colonial freedom.⁶³

Some Asian intellectuals did doubt the president's intentions and his importance for the struggle against empire even at the height of his acclaim. The Indian revolutionary M. N. Roy, who would become a leading figure in the Comintern in the 1920s, spent much of the war years in exile in Mexico, where he had close contacts

⁶⁰ Kang Youwei, "Jiu wang lun," in Kang, *Kang Youwei zhenglun ji*, 2: 653.

⁶¹ "Greatest Living Poet of Hindustan Arrives," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1916, 11. Tagore laid out his opposition to nationalism in the book *Nationalism* (New York, 1917), which he unsuccessfully attempted to dedicate to Wilson (see n. 47 above). Since Wilson understood his advocacy of "self-determination" as a step toward international cooperation rather than as a call to ethnic exclusivism, Tagore's wish was perhaps not as ironic as it might initially appear.

⁶² See, e.g., "Educational Policy in the Philippines," *Mahratta*, June 11, 1916, 281; "America's Work in the Philippines," pts. 1 and 2, *Modern Review* 21, no. 3 (March 1917): 328–336, and no. 4 (April 1917): 455–460; "Parallel between India and the Philippines," *ABP*, February 22, 1919; Lajpat Rai, *The United States*, 296–325. In its favorable review of the latter book, the *Mahratta* (December 17, 1916) noted that the chapter that dealt with U.S. rule in the Philippines should be studied by every Indian, and especially by "our rulers," but that the topic was so well-known to readers that it need not be elaborated.

⁶³ Zhi Fei, "Zhimin de wenti," *Guominggongbao*, December 6, 1918, 5. *Guominggongbao* was a major Beijing daily and considered a venue for "liberal opinion"; see Hu Shi, "Intellectual China in 1919," *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 4, no. 4 (December 1919): 345–355.

with Mexican revolutionaries. Roy noted the hostility of his hosts to their overweening northern neighbor—Wilson himself, after all, had ordered a months-long U.S. military occupation of the Mexican port city of Veracruz in 1914—and remained therefore highly skeptical of the president's commitment to self-determination outside of Europe.⁶⁴ In China, Li Dazhao, the chief librarian at Beijing University and future co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party, was perhaps the first prominent Chinese thinker to note the gap between Lenin's call for world revolution and Wilson's notions of international reform. China, he wrote, should celebrate Lenin, not Wilson, since the defeat of militarism by socialism was the true harbinger of the new "dawn of humankind."⁶⁵ But Li's perspicacity was unusual, and at least until mid-1919 his view remained at the far margins of the Chinese public discourse about the potential significance of the peace for China.

For the time being, Wilson and Lenin could hardly have appeared as comparable figures in terms of their international renown or their perceived power to influence international affairs. Indian and Chinese intellectuals had long been interested in socialist thought, and the events of the Russian Revolution were widely reported in the press there. But the initial collapse of the tsarist regime in Russia in March 1917 was commonly viewed as part of the emergence of the new, democratic world order that Wilson's rhetoric had conjured.⁶⁶ After the Bolshevik takeover of the revolution in November, moreover, much of the news on the Russian situation available in China and India turned bleak, even ominous. The Bolsheviks, most often represented in the Chinese and Indian press through the Reuters lens (or that of the French Agence Havas), were usually presented in a singularly unattractive light, especially after they capitulated to the Central Powers in March 1918 with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and left the war. Reports on developments in Russia often warned of the "Bolshevist peril" spreading "destruction," and at the same time depicted the Bolsheviks as standing on the verge of defeat. In stark contrast to Wilson's ubiquitous presence and the great acclaim he received in news items and editorials on international affairs, Lenin was commonly described in reports as a "mysterious" and shadowy figure.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Open letter to Wilson, written in late 1917, in M. N. Roy, *Selected Works of M. N. Roy*, ed. Sibrarayan Ray, 4 vols. (Delhi, 1987), 1: 67–83.

⁶⁵ Li Dazhao, "Bolshevism de shengli," *Xin qingnian* 5, no. 5 (November 1918): 442–448. The word "Bolshevism" appeared in English in the title of the piece. Li nevertheless noted elsewhere Wilson's "deep love of world peace," praised the United States as the leading example of a successful federal system, and described the League of Nations as leading toward the ideal of world federation. Li Dazhao, "Wei-er-xun yu pinghe," February 11, 1917, in Li Dazhao, *Li Dazhao wenji*, 5 vols. (Beijing, 1999), 1: 271; Li Dazhao, "Lianzhizhuyi yu shijie zuzhi," *Xinchao* 1, no. 2 (February 1, 1919): 151–156. On Li's role as a pioneering Chinese Marxist, see Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); Li Danyang, "Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui yu Zhongguo gongchanzhuyi zuzhi de qiyuan," *Shixue yuekan* 6 (2004): 51–59.

⁶⁶ "Pining for the Perfect Day," *Mahratta*, April 22, 1917.

⁶⁷ For India, see, e.g., *ABP*, July 6, 1918, 3, where a laudatory report of Wilson's July Fourth address sat next to headlines announcing "Further Bolshevik Submission to Germany" and reporting on the march of White forces on Moscow. *ABP*, January 16, 1919, "Reuters Telegrams" section, reported on "Bolshevik Destruction" in Poland and losses in Estonia; a separate item associates the spread of Bolshevism in Germany with riots and criminality. *New India*, January 15, 1919, also reported on the "Bolshevist Peril" in numerous items on p. 9. In China, see similar themes in "Eguo geming xiaoxi," *Shibao*, January 8, 1918, 2, and January 15, 1918, 2; and items on the Russian Bolsheviks in *Shibao*, December 17, 1918, 1; December 30, 1918, 1; and January 7, 1919, 2. *Shenbao*, January 13, 1919, 6, reported on the "miserable conditions" of Chinese laborers in Russia who were being conscripted into the Red Army.

Moreover, for Chinese and Indian leaders who wanted to make a bid for self-determination at the peace conference, the crucial distinction between Wilson and Lenin lay in their perceived power to support such demands at the peace table and to shape a postwar settlement that would take them into account. The Bolsheviks, excluded from Paris and, at least until late 1919, widely thought to be close to defeat in the civil war against the White forces and their foreign supporters among the great powers, were hardly in a position during this period to lend much succor to movements in Asia that pursued self-determination.⁶⁸ With the other major powers present at the peace negotiations—Britain, France, Japan—clamoring for the reconstruction and expansion of the prewar imperial order in international relations, Wilson remained, at least until the spring of 1919, the only major figure in the international arena who appeared to have both the will and the power to promote the implementation of self-determination as a central principle of the new international order.

When the Indian National Congress convened in Delhi for its annual session in December 1918, it called on the peace conference to apply the principle of self-determination to India and urged that elected delegates represent India at the peace table.⁶⁹ B. G. Tilak, a renowned Hindu scholar and one of the leading figures in the national movement at the time, was already in London, orchestrating a broad public campaign designed to bring the Indian demand for self-determination before the conference.⁷⁰ At his urging, dozens of local and provincial organizations in India dispatched petitions to the peace conference carrying the same message: India wanted self-determination in accordance with President Wilson's principles.⁷¹ Tilak also wrote Wilson directly, telling him that "the world's hope for peace and justice"

See also "Full Story of How China Is Menaced by the Bolsheviks; Horrors in Russian Turkistan," *Peking Leader*, July 12, 1918, 3. On Lenin as a "mysterious" figure, see Sudhindra Bose, "The Russian Situation," *Modern Review* 25 (1919): 131; "Lenin," *Mahratta*, February 3, 1918, 60.

⁶⁸ Michael Weiner, "Comintern in East Asia, 1919–39," in Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, eds., *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (London, 1996), 158–163. Weiner notes that at the First Comintern Congress in March 1919, "very little time or discussion was devoted to the 'colonial' question," and that Asian representation there was insignificant. By the Second Comintern Congress in the summer of 1920, however, the failure of the European revolutions, on the one hand, and the eruption of mass anticolonial protests in Asia, on the other, gave Asian communists a more substantial role, which was reflected in M. N. Roy's forceful contestation of Lenin's views on the colonial question. On the Roy-Lenin debate, see John P. Haithcox, "The Roy-Lenin Debate on Colonial Policy: A New Interpretation," *Journal of Asian Studies* 23, no. 1 (1963): 93–101. Although many Indian and Chinese intellectuals had some general familiarity with socialist ideas before the war, specific interest in Marxist-Leninist doctrine and its potential relevance for India and China began to develop only in late 1919, after expectations for the peace conference collapsed and the Bolsheviks began to consolidate their regime. See Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism* (Oxford, 1989), 23–25; Sankar Ghose, *Socialism and Communism in India* (Bombay, 1971), 8–16.

⁶⁹ Thirty-third Indian National Congress Session, Delhi, December 1918, All-India Congress Committee Papers [hereafter AICC], File 1, pt. 2, p. 347, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi [hereafter NMML].

⁷⁰ Memorandum, dated London, December 11, 1918, enclosed in Tilak to Khaparde, December 18, 1918, G. S. Khaparde Papers, File 1, pp. 1–2, National Archives of India, New Delhi [hereafter NAI]; Tilak to D. W. Gokhale, dated London, January 23, 1919, Khaparde Papers, File 1, pp. 4–7, NAI.

⁷¹ Burma Provincial Congress Committee [hereafter PCC] to secretary of AICC, January 15, 1919, AICC Papers, File 7, pp. 3–5; secretary of Bihar & Orissa PCC to secretary of AICC, February 1, 1919, AICC Papers, File 6, p. 171; secretary of Bengal PCC to secretary of AICC, February 7, 1919, AICC Papers, File 6, p. 183; secretary of Madras PCC to AICC, February 13, 1919, AICC Papers, File 6, p. 193, all in NMML.

was “centered in you as the author of the great principle of self-determination,” and asking that the principle be applied to India.⁷² Wilson, however, ignored the Indian pleas, as he did in other cases in which demands for self-determination conflicted with the interests of one or more of the victorious powers. While there is little direct evidence about what the president thought of the Indian demands, it is clear that he considered it neither possible nor desirable for the peace conference to become a forum for challenging the established empires of the Allied powers. Such questions, he hoped, would be resolved in due course by the League of Nations.⁷³

While Indian nationalists were excluded from Paris, China did have official representatives there, and the Chinese delegates believed that with President Wilson on their side, China might obtain the abrogation of the “unequal treaties” and full recognition of its sovereignty—most especially over the former German-controlled enclave in Shandong Province, which Japan had captured during the war and was now claiming a right to keep.⁷⁴ The two leading Chinese delegates, Gu Weijun (V. K. Wellington Koo) and Wang Zhengting (C. T. Wang), were young and American-educated—Gu had a Ph.D. from Columbia University, and Wang was a Yale graduate. Both were nationalists who wanted to see China emerge from its state of weakness, disunity, and humiliation, and both were also cosmopolitans, acculturated and accomplished in both the Chinese and the Western worlds, who wanted to see China accepted fully into the “family of nations.” In a co-authored pamphlet published to promote the Chinese cause in Paris, Gu and Wang—like Kang, Tagore, Hu, and Sastri—depicted Wilson as a figure of global significance who could bridge the divide between East and West, and even a direct heir of the ancient Sage: “Confucius saw, just as the illustrious author of the present League of Nations has seen, the danger to civilization and humanity involved in the continued existence of [war], and therefore spared no effort in emphasizing the need of creating and preserving a new order of things which would ensure universal peace.”⁷⁵ Wilson’s project of fashioning a more harmonious international order, they suggested, was nothing less than the culmination of thousands of years of Confucian teachings, and the establishment of a League of Nations would thus fulfill the best traditions of both East and West.

When the conference decided in late April to award the former German concessions in Shandong to Japan, Chinese around the world were shocked.⁷⁶ On May 4, after students in Beijing learned of the decision, they took to the streets in protest.

⁷² Tilak to Wilson, January 2, 1919, Series 5F, Reel 446, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Wilson’s personal secretary acknowledged receipt of this missive and implied that the president had seen it, but upon receiving word of the exchange, an official at the British Foreign Office commented: “not much attention need be paid to Pres. Wilson’s acknowledgement.” Still, in the Indian press, Wilson’s terse acknowledgment was a topic of much hopeful discussion and speculation. Close to Tilak, January 14, 1919, cited in Foreign Office memo, February 12, 1919, FO 608/211, fol. 124–125, UK National Archives, Kew; “India before the U.S.A. Senate,” *Mahratta*, October 19, 1919, 499; “International Forum,” *Mahratta*, November 9, 1919, 518.

⁷³ See, e.g., Wilson to Tumulty, June 27, 1919, *PWW*, 61: 291. Other claims for self-determination that Wilson and the peace conference ignored include those of Koreans and Egyptians, but also of Irish and Catalan nationalists. The story is recounted in detail in Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*.

⁷⁴ “Ouzhan hehui yu woguo guanxi,” *Shenbao*, November 22, 1918, 6; Wunsz King, *China at the Peace Conference in 1919* (Jamaica, N.Y., 1961), 3.

⁷⁵ V. K. Wellington Koo and Cheng-ting T. Wang, *China and the League of Nations* (London, 1919), 2.

⁷⁶ For the Supreme Council discussions on Shandong, see Paul Mantoux, *The Deliberations of the Council of Four (March 24–June 28, 1919): Notes of the Official Interpreter*, trans. and ed. Arthur S. Link, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 1: 399–408, 425–427.

The students, who not long before had hailed Wilson as a hero, now denounced him as a liar, his promise of a new world exposed as an illusion. Protests and strikes spread throughout the country over the next several weeks. One student recalled that he "at once awoke to the fact that . . . we could no longer depend upon the principle of any so-called great leader like Woodrow Wilson . . . we couldn't help feel that we must struggle!"⁷⁷ In the ensuing months, the May Fourth protests reverberated far beyond the specific grievances that had initially ignited them, galvanizing the emerging strands of political, social, and cultural discontent among Chinese intellectuals into a broad movement that marked a defining moment in the evolution of the modern Chinese nation.⁷⁸ In India, too, the surge of high hope in the winter of 1918–1919 gave way by early spring to disillusion and anger. In March 1919, when the British Parliament passed a bill that extended the government of India's emergency powers, Indians were livid. Mahatma Gandhi, a staunch supporter of the empire throughout the war, now realized that his hopes for equality for Indians within the empire had been in vain, and he called for a national campaign of passive resistance. The British response was violent, most infamously the killing on April 13, 1919, of nearly four hundred protesters in the city of Amritsar. Like the May Fourth protests in China, the Amritsar Massacre quickly became a symbol of the oppressive nature of British rule and marked a new stage of resistance to it.⁷⁹

These simultaneous upheavals, which were widely reported, also cemented among nationalists in Asia a sense of kinship with others who felt betrayed by Wilson.⁸⁰ In China, the twenty-five-year-old Mao Zedong, in some of his earliest published political commentary, noted that China was hardly alone in having entertained high hopes for a new era only to be thoroughly disillusioned. "India," he wrote, "has earned herself a clown wearing a flaming red turban as representative to the Peace Conference"—Mao was referring to the Maharaja of Bikanir, selected by the British to represent the Indian princely states—but "the demands of the Indian people have not been granted . . . So much for national self-determination!"⁸¹ In India, the twenty-nine-year-old Cambridge-educated Jawaharlal Nehru lamented that the war, which "was to have revolutionized the fabric of human affairs," had "ended without bringing any solace or hope of permanent peace or betterment . . . The 'fourteen points,' where are they?"⁸² But as Wilson stood defeated, both Mao and Nehru detected another force rising to rally the newly mobilized peoples of Asia: Bolshevism

⁷⁷ From an interview with a student at Beijing University, quoted in Tsi C. Wang, *The Youth Movement in China* (New York, 1928), 161–162.

⁷⁸ On the central role of the May Fourth movement in the history of modern China, see Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (New York, 2004).

⁷⁹ On the impact of the events of the spring of 1919 on the course of the nationalist movement in India, see R. Kumar, ed., *Essays on Gandhian Politics: The Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919* (Oxford, 1971), esp. 1–16.

⁸⁰ See, e.g., *Shibao*, April 23–26 and 29, 1919, for numerous reports of "riots" and "chaos" in India, as well as in Egypt and Korea. In India, see, e.g., *Mahratta*, October 19, 1919, which reports on "President Wilson's Betrayals" of numerous nations, including Korea, Ireland, and Egypt.

⁸¹ Mao Zedong, "Afghanistan Picks Up the Sword" and "So Much for National Self-Determination!," *Xiangjiang pinglun*, July 14, 1919, reprinted in Stuart R. Schram, ed., *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912–1949*, 7 vols. (Armonk, N.Y., 1992–), 1: 335, 337. Mao added with characteristic sarcasm that he "felt sorry" for "poor Wilson," who was in Paris "like an ant on a hot skillet," and "could not speak his mind." Mao Zedong, "Poor Wilson," *Xiangjiang pinglun*, July 14, 1919, reprinted in Schram, *Mao's Road to Power*, 1: 338.

⁸² Incomplete and unpublished review of Bertrand Russell, *Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism*,

was making headway in Asia, Mao wrote, and its ideas must now be taken seriously. Nehru, too, noted that with the decline of Wilson, "the spectre of communism" now appeared on the horizon in Asia.⁸³ No longer obscured by millennial visions of Wilson, Lenin now came into focus as a potential champion of colonial liberation.

THE IMPORTANCE OF WILSON'S RHETORIC for Chinese and Indian intellectuals during the "brief interval" of 1918–1919 did not stem primarily from the novelty of the U.S. president's ideas or from their theoretical appeal. Indeed, although it was Wilson who popularized the term "self-determination" in the international discourse of the period, the idea behind it—government by popular consent—was hardly new or original, and had long been the subject of philosophical and political debates in Europe and elsewhere.⁸⁴ Before 1919, however, it was consigned to the realm of theoretical speculation, at least with regard to much of the non-European world; the notion that the practices of international relations outside Europe would be bound by it seemed utopian, or at best deferred to an indeterminate, distant future.⁸⁵ The Great War appeared to render the prewar international system illegitimate, and in its wake many in Asia and elsewhere believed that the U.S. president possessed the will, the opportunity, and the power to construct a new international order consistent with the ideals expressed in his wartime speeches. It is in that context that Woodrow Wilson could be imagined as "Christ or Buddha," a figure of millennial significance who would transcend the longstanding dichotomies of "East" and "West" and replace the practices of imperialism with the universal application of the principles of equality and self-determination.

In retrospect, it is clear that the expectations for a more inclusive international order that Wilson's rhetoric and global stature raised among Asian intellectuals went far beyond the U.S. president's intentions, and even farther beyond what he would achieve. This knowledge makes it easy to assume that his failure was inevitable, and therefore that it would have been foreseen by those who adopted Wilsonian language at the time. Given the implausible promises and spectacular failures of the Wilsonian moment when viewed in hindsight, it may be tempting to assume that the praise that Chinese and Indian intellectuals showered on Wilson, their apparent admiration for him, and their adoption of his rhetorical flourishes were little more than tactical maneuvers, perhaps even designed to expose the emptiness of the president's words and thus to mobilize their peoples against the false promises and internal contradictions of Western liberalism. This interpretation, however, finds little support in

and *Syndicalism* (London, 1918), undated but written sometime in the summer of 1919. Jawaharlal Nehru Papers, Writings and Speeches, serial no. 21, NMML.

⁸³ Ibid.; Mao Zedong, "Study of the Extremist Party," *Xiangjiang pinglun*, July 14, 1919, reprinted in Schram, *Mao's Road to Power*, 1: 332 and n. 1.

⁸⁴ The full intellectual genealogy of Wilson's thinking on self-determination ideas is traced in Pomerance, "The United States and Self-Determination." But compare Knock, *To End All Wars*, esp. chaps. 2–4.

⁸⁵ On the evolution of international society toward the inclusion of non-Western nations, see Hedley Bull, "The Emergence of Universal Society" and "The Revolt against the West," both in Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, eds., *The Expansion of International Society* (New York, 1984), 117–126, 217–228; Gerrit W. Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society* (Oxford, 1984), esp. chaps. 2–4.

the contemporary documents. Many people at the time, in Asia and even more so in Europe, were clearly convinced that the recent horrors of the war would lead humanity to change its ways in a radical fashion, a conviction that made Wilson's rhetoric appear plausible. Wilson's unusual background as an intellectual in politics, his rhetorical eloquence, his conceptual promiscuity, and the relatively benign image that many Asian intellectuals had of the United States, as compared to other Western powers, also helped make him credible. The multiple expressions, both private and public, of admiration for Wilson from intellectuals such as Kang and Tagore—in Kang's letter to his son-in-law, in Tagore's desire to dedicate his book to the U.S. president—can leave little doubt that they viewed him as genuine in his convictions and hoped that he would be effective in implementing them. The fulsome praise of Wilson in the advertisements for the respective editions of his collected wartime addresses in China and India clearly had a practical purpose—to sell copies—but it also suggests that positive images of Wilson, however fleeting, were widespread and genuine, since otherwise such praise could hardly have been expected to achieve its purpose.

During the Wilsonian moment, most opinion leaders in India and China believed, together with the throngs who lined the streets of Europe to cheer the U.S. president, that the peace conference could bring about a radically transformed international order. His proposal to advance international cooperation through the establishment of a League of Nations, they hoped, would help bridge the prewar gap in sovereignty and dignity between the nations of Europe and those of Asia. Thus, while the mobilizations among Chinese and Indians behind the campaigns for self-determination and international equality during this period had varied roots in the domestic dynamics of the respective societies, they were also deeply embedded in the international context of the time. The realization by the spring of 1919 that the postwar settlement would fall far short of expectations quickly dissipated the spectacular visions of East-West harmony that Wilson had evoked, and helped launch a series of near-simultaneous revolts against empire that shaped the subsequent evolution of the movements for national self-determination in India and China. Although the war had prepared the ground for these events, it was the failures of the peace rather than the war as such that precipitated the crisis of 1919 in the colonial world. The ideal of self-determination, honored largely in the breach in the peace settlement as far as the world outside Europe was concerned, served to draw the battle lines between imperialism and its enemies in the succeeding decades.

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Smoking and “Early Modern” Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

JAMES GREHAN

IN APRIL 1699, an unusual disturbance broke out in the streets of Cairo. As part of the annual pilgrimage caravan, which escorted Muslim pilgrims through the Sinai Desert to the holy cities of Arabia, a solemn procession was conveying a new silk covering destined for the Ka'ba, or Sacred Shrine, in Mecca. Among the most notable participants were a group of North Africans, who created an uproar as they moved through the streets. Fired by religious zeal, they insisted on applying their own brand of Islamic morality to the crowd of onlookers. In choosing targets for chastisement, they were very specific, beating all the people whom they found smoking tobacco. As the tumult grew, they made their decisive mistake. Seizing a member of a local paramilitary group, they smashed his pipe, and during the ensuing quarrel, went so far as to hit him over the head. The crowd had apparently seen enough. Even as soldiers rushed to the scene, the “people of the marketplace” took matters into their own hands and began attacking the North Africans. The violence ended only with the arrival of a Janissary officer, who hauled the North Africans off to prison.¹

Looking back on this incident from a very different time and place, with our own concerns and passions about tobacco, it is hard not to be struck by the deep emotions that smoking, even then, was capable of eliciting. Walking around Middle Eastern towns today, one could never imagine that such struggles ever took place. Nearly everyone has now accepted smoking as a public freedom. Few people would dream of condemning it as a moral scourge, or of banishing it from the streets and markets. If smokers today hear medical warnings about the dangers of tobacco, they remain oblivious to the acrimony that it once unleashed. This tolerant consensus did not emerge all at once. After its first arrival in the Ottoman Middle East at the end of the sixteenth century, tobacco would ignite intense debates about its legality and morality. The altercation in the streets of Cairo highlights these divisions in opinion. Invoking religion and morality, the rowdy North Africans were determined to put an end to smoking, and felt justified in using extreme measures. On the other side, the “people of the marketplace” completely denied this presumptive right to intervene in the affairs of others or to act independently on behalf of religion. To make their point, both camps were willing to come to blows.

Why had tobacco become the subject of such bitter controversy? As contempo-

¹ ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1754–1822), *‘Aja’ib al-athar fi al-tarajim wa al-akhbar*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rahim ‘Abd al-Rahim, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1997), 1: 55.

aries could not have fully realized, the spread of smoking was a major cultural watershed that was both profoundly liberating and unsettling. It helped to accelerate cultural transformations that earlier generations could hardly have foreseen. In its strictly physical aspects, it brought about a revolution in the use of the body, which in the act of inhaling smoke now performed an operation that medieval populations across the planet would have found startling and perplexing. More troubling were its hedonistic overtones. In the long term, smoking would help to redefine patterns of social interaction, promoting more relaxed attitudes about pleasure and opening up new avenues for leisure and escapism. In coming to grips with these seductions, the Ottoman Middle East would acquire some of the most salient characteristics of an "early modern" culture.

It may seem surprising to link tobacco so directly with a discussion of early modern history. One might even object to the use of the terminology itself. Did the Middle East—or, for that matter, any other part of the world outside Western Europe—have an "early modern" period? Or is it simply a concept recklessly borrowed from the historiography of Europe, for which it was first devised? Skeptics foresee a repetition of the same mistakes that once doomed modernization theory, and worry that the search for "early modernity" will lead to a vain attempt to find—or artificially impose—European norms on non-European societies.² Arrayed against them are historians, often with one eye on a new narrative for world history, who are searching for common threads in the worldwide experience stretching roughly from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. As they see it, an "early modern" history can be built upon signs that, during this period, large parts of the world were undergoing an unprecedented level of economic integration.³ They would point mostly to parallel trends in political economy: the rise of large "gunpowder" empires; common recourse to experiments in imperial administration such as tax farming and venality of office; the increasing synchronization of price waves around Eurasia; and a burgeoning trade in precious metals and luxury commodities across long-distance commercial networks. These deep structural forces, slowly gathering momentum, would eventually lay the foundation for the modern era of "globalization."

One feature of all these theories is that they seek the defining characteristics of "early modernity" in the actions of political and commercial elites. Without dismissing the great weight that these groups carried, one might easily ask whether any discussion can afford to overlook transformations in popular culture. Were there any overarching cultural movements, beyond those specific to Western Europe (such as the growth of a print culture), that might have produced common "early modern" responses? One likely catalyst was the worldwide diffusion of new commodities that, winning almost instant favor, would later be integral to the creation of a modern consumer culture. This history of early modern consumption is still being recon-

² For one of the most trenchant critiques, see Jack Goldstone, "The Problem of the 'Early Modern' World," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41 (1998): 249–284.

³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997): 735–762; John F. Richards, "Early Modern India and World History," *Journal of World History* 8 (1997): 197–209; Evelyn Rawski, "The Qing Formation and the Early Modern Period," in Lynn Struve, ed., *The Qing Formation in World Historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004); David Ludden, "Urbanism and Early Modernity in the Tirunelveli Region," *Bengal Past and Present* 114 (1995): 9–40. For a more Eurocentric perspective on this debate, see the collection of essays in *Daedalus* 127, no. 3 (1998).

structed, and outside northwestern Europe and colonial North America, it remains particularly obscure.⁴ What seems certain, however, is that throughout much of Eurasia, growing numbers of consumers were indulging a taste for entirely new luxuries. Taking its place among these coveted consumer goods was tobacco, which, along with tea and coffee, caught on more quickly and did more to shape a recognizably "early modern" lifestyle than any other commodity.

THE ORIGINS OF TOBACCO, as is well known, are to be found in the New World. In the wake of the Spanish conquests around the Caribbean basin, where the practice of smoking was first noticed and imitated by European sailors, tobacco speedily made its way to Europe. At first it won fame as a newfound panacea, touted as a treatment for everything from head colds to visitations of the plague. From these early pharmacological applications, it soon passed into recreational use. It had branched out as a popular addiction in England, Holland, and Spain by the end of the sixteenth century, and in a matter of decades reached the rest of Europe. At the same time, smoking was becoming a truly worldwide recreation. The first leaves of tobacco had probably arrived in South Asia by the mid-1500s, and from this launching point the plant moved on to China and Japan by the early decades of the seventeenth century. Well before 1700, tobacco had become a major cash crop throughout much of Asia, which was now growing its own ample supplies.⁵

In the Middle East, as in Europe, tobacco first attracted interest among physicians, and was appearing in medical manuals by the last years of the sixteenth century.⁶ The most likely channel for this knowledge was non-Muslims who had contacts with Europeans or were capable of translating works from their languages.⁷ Facilitating the transfer of ideas and techniques was a common medical framework from one end of the Mediterranean to the other: the theory of humors inherited from antiquity. Within this familiar medical scheme, tobacco was hailed as a versatile treatment. Displaying the same unfounded optimism as their European counterparts, Ottoman physicians were soon applying packs and poultices of tobacco leaves for ailments such as bites and burns. In tribute to its emetic properties, they even

⁴ For a recent discussion of consumerism in the Ottoman Empire, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2000); Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922* (Albany, N.Y., 2000). For one other recent attempt at finding "early modernity" in the Middle East, mainly in the architecture of eighteenth-century Istanbul, see Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004): 32–51.

⁵ In South Asia, for example, tobacco had conquered a huge market for itself by the middle of the seventeenth century; Ashin Das Gupta, *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant, 1500–1800* (New York, 2001), 208; B. G. Gokhale, "Tobacco in 17th-Century India," *Agricultural History* 48 (1974): 484–492; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mogul India (1556–1707)* (New York, 2001), 50–51. On the spread of tobacco to East Asia, see Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York, 1979), 262–264; V. G. Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London, 1991), 25; Berthold Laufer, *Tobacco and Its Use in Asia* (Chicago, 1924), 1–5, 10–11.

⁶ See, for example, the comment in İbrahim Peçevi (1574–1649?), *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1866), 1: 365.

⁷ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman Science in the Classical Period and Early Contacts with European Science and Technology," in İhsanoğlu, ed., *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World* (Istanbul, 1992), 39–40.

recommended drafts of tobacco juice as an antidote for poisons or prescribed it as an abortifacient.⁸

The jump to recreational smoking took place very quickly. As one Palestinian scholar reported in the first decades of the seventeenth century, tobacco was already smoked openly in "gathering places of the people, like the markets and streets."⁹ Most of these early aficionados were probably townspeople, who could have more readily afforded an expensive import from across the Atlantic.¹⁰ From these relatively affluent and privileged beginnings, the number of smokers rapidly multiplied. Alert to this buoyant demand, and instrumental in feeding it, were regional merchants, who soon began overtaking European suppliers and tapping sources closer to home. By 1700, the Ottoman market was producing most of its own tobacco, which was grown most widely in Macedonia, Anatolia, and northern Syria, supplemented by highly esteemed imports from Iran, where the plant had also established itself. Thanks to this early self-sufficiency, the price of tobacco would decline steadily throughout the eastern Mediterranean from the late seventeenth century onward. Urban markets bore witness to this pronounced expansion of the trade. In Cairo alone, the first guild of tobacconists had appeared by the middle decades of the seventeenth century; the French expedition (1798–1801) would later count two others, together with five involved in the manufacture of different kinds of pipes. This commercial success meant that tobacco was more accessible to Ottoman consumers than coffee, which had gotten an earlier start, and yet was probably drunk with much less frequency outside the towns. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, tobacco was already cheaper by weight, and by 1800 the difference had grown to roughly threefold.¹¹ Smoking, not coffee drinking, would quickly become the most affordable diversion of the Ottoman population.

All segments of Middle Eastern society contributed to this ever-widening demand. Surveying tobacco's progress in his own lifetime, the Damascene jurist 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi confidently declared in 1682, "Tobacco has now become extremely famous in all the countries of Islam . . . People of all kinds have used it and devoted themselves to it . . . I have even seen young children of about five years

⁸ For examples of medical uses, see 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1641–1731), *al-Sulh bayn al-ikhwan fi hukm ibahat al-dukhan*, ed. Ahmad Muhammad Dahman (Damascus, 1924), 26–28.

⁹ Mar'i bin Yusuf al-Karmi (d. 1623/1624), *Tahqiq al-burhan fi sha'n al-dukhan aladhi yashrabuhu al-nas al-an*, ed. Mashhur bin Hasan Al Salman (Beirut, 1974), 109. On the spread of tobacco to Arabia around the same time, see Muhammad al-Muhibbi (1651–1699), *Khulasat al-athr fi a'yan al-qarn al-hadi 'ashar*, 4 vols. (Beirut, n.d.), 2: 80.

¹⁰ Seventeenth-century authors suggest that West Africa may have acted as a second source for the diffusion of tobacco (at least along the southern shores of the Mediterranean). See, for example, Ibrahim al-Laqrani (d. 1631/1632), *Nasihah al-ikhwan bi-ijtina al-dukhan*, ed. Ahmad Mahmud Al Mahmud (Manamah, 1990), 59; al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 19. Lending credibility to these claims is the archaeological evidence. Pipes from seventeenth-century Palestine, for example, have shown a distinct resemblance to West African styles; Uzi Baram, "Entangled Objects from the Palestinian Past: Archaeological Perspectives for the Ottoman Period, 1500–1900," in Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, eds., *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York, 2000), 149–150.

¹¹ To take a key benchmark: the price of tobacco would remain low even as, in Egypt and Syria, wheat roughly doubled in price over the same period; André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1974), 1: 76–77, 79, 216; 2: 514. For a comparison with the price of coffee, *ibid.*, 1: 70. For similar trends in Syria, see James Grehan, *Everyday Life and Consumer Culture in Eighteenth-Century Damascus* (Seattle, Wash., forthcoming), chap. 4. On the limited role of coffee drinking in the countryside, see Michel Tuchscherer, "Les Cafés dans l'Égypte ottomane (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)," in Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon, eds., *Cafés d'Orient revisités* (Paris, 1997), 93.

applying themselves to it."¹² Among these early enthusiasts were many women. In the early seventeenth century, one Egyptian scholar, al-Barzali, was already lamenting that it caused women to lose their "buxomness." By the eighteenth century, as tobacco continued to gain popularity, some had grown bold enough to flaunt their pipes in public. In Damascus in 1750, one startled townsman noticed a number of women "greater than the men, sitting along the bank of the [Barada River]. They were eating and drinking, and drinking coffee and [smoking] tobacco just as the men were doing."¹³ By this time, smoking had become commonplace in large parts of the countryside as well.¹⁴ The prosperity of the Ottoman regional trade, sustained by its own cheap and readily available supplies, may very well have ensured that Ottoman consumers had better access to tobacco than their European counterparts, who had to contend with colonial monopolies and high import taxes.¹⁵

As an added enticement, beyond the falling price of tobacco alone, smoking required only the most rudimentary equipment, which made it simpler than coffee drinking. The most practical device was the ordinary pipe, which was made out of wood or clay and was available to consumers of nearly any means. As the market grew, so too did the range of models, which by the eighteenth century had undergone a noticeable proliferation in shape, style, and color.¹⁶ All held the attraction of convenience and portability. Some were short enough to be tucked into a sleeve when not needed or—as we shall see—when discretion was the order of the day. Even the longer pipes, fancied by grandees and others who wished to cut a good figure, consisted of several shorter segments, which could be easily carried and assembled.¹⁷ In Ottoman Egypt, their slender stems became the perfect hiding place for secret messages carried between Janissaries.¹⁸ The main alternative was the water pipe, or hookah. First popularized in India and Iran during the early seventeenth century, it had quickly migrated westward to the Ottoman Middle East.¹⁹ The market offered a wide selection of styles: everything from elegant crystal bottles to sturdy clay vessels and polished coconut shells. The one drawback of the water pipe was that it required

¹² Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 36.

¹³ Al-Laḡani, *Nasihat*, 72; Ahmad al-Budayri (d. 1763?), *Hawadith dimashq al-yawmiyya*, ed. Ahmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Karim (Cairo, 1959), 140. See also *ibid.*, 130; William Wittman, *Travels in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, and across the Desert into Egypt* (London, 1803), 245, 390.

¹⁴ Joseph Tournefort (d. 1708), *A Voyage into the Levant*, 3 vols. (London, 1741), 3: 56, 173; Egmond van der Nijenburg (d. 1747), *Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mt. Sinai &c.*, 2 vols. (London, 1759), 2: 48, 204; Richard Pococke (d. 1765), *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London, 1743), 1: 72–73, 128; Vivant Denon (d. 1825), *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, trans. Arthur Aikin, 2 vols. (London, 1803), 1: 155, 320; C. F. Volney, *Travels in Syria and Egypt in the Years 1783, 1784, and 1785*, 2 vols. (London, 1794), 2: 409; John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia* (London, 1829), 426; Napoleon I and Gilles Néret, *Description de l'Égypte*, 9 vols. (Alexandria, 1943), 6: 548–549.

¹⁵ These barriers ensured that even at the end of the eighteenth century, many parts of the countryside in Western Europe could not count on regular supplies of tobacco; Jacob M. Price, "Tobacco Use and Tobacco Taxation: A Battle of Interests in Early Modern Europe," in Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, eds., *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* (New York, 1995), 166–169.

¹⁶ Baram, "Entangled Objects," 149–150.

¹⁷ See the description in Edward Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1908), 138.

¹⁸ See, for example, al-Jabarti, *'Aja'ib*, 1: 417, 483.

¹⁹ Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 19; see also Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (New York, 1993), 86–87.

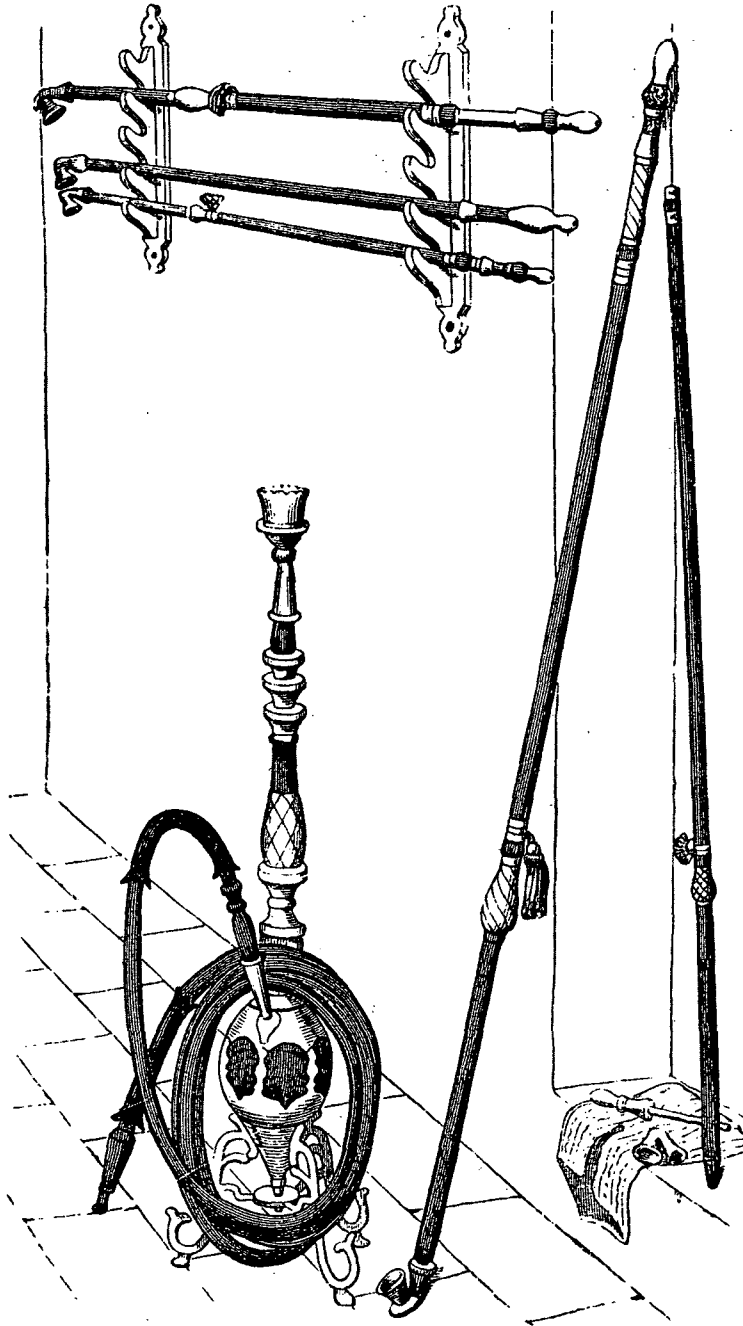


FIGURE 1: Examples of pipes and hookahs used by Ottoman consumers. From Edward Lane (d. 1876), *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836; 5th ed., New York, 1973), 135.

stationary leisure. Relatively bulky and time-consuming in its preparations, it was nonetheless perfect for the most relaxed venues, such as the coffeehouse or bathhouse, where patrons and their employees were always on hand to bring more tobacco and replenish burning coals. Only in Iran, where affluent smokers eschewed

the pipe altogether, did the hookah attain some degree of mobility, carried in saddlebags by attentive servants.²⁰ Other means of taking tobacco were unknown or failed to catch on. Snuff established itself in China early on, and by the eighteenth century had swept through Catholic Europe, where in countries such as France, it briefly managed to overtake smoking.²¹ In the Middle East, it generated little interest.²² Cigarettes, the avatars of modern tobacco culture, would not make their first appearance until the second half of the nineteenth century.²³

THE VICTORY OF TOBACCO was by no means foreordained. Throughout Eurasia, one can follow its progress from a wave of prohibitions—nearly all of them equally futile and short-lived—wherever smokers began to take up the habit.²⁴ In one place after another, it aroused the furor of religious and moral commentators and spurred governments to take action and try to root out the new pastime. To secure its place in early modern consumer culture, tobacco would have to overcome formidable barriers in opinion and policy.

This moral and legal struggle would become unusually intense in the Ottoman Middle East. From the time of its first entry, tobacco would have to rebuff strenuous challenges from political and religious authorities, who in the most critical tests of its appeal would join forces in sporadic anti-smoking campaigns. The depth of their indignation, matched only by the ultimate futility of their policies, needs to be explained. What was so offensive about tobacco that would turn it into such a contentious issue? In fact, many of the anxieties and uncertainties that infused discussions about tobacco had their origins in an earlier controversy over coffee. If tobacco could later march to fame (or infamy for unrelenting conservatives), it owed a great debt to coffee, which had prepared the way and whetted the appetites of Middle Eastern consumers for new tastes and recreations.

Coffee started as a regional phenomenon. Indigenous to Ethiopia and Yemen, it did not emerge as a popular beverage until the late fifteenth century. Originally touted by Sufi shaykhs as an aid to wakeful meditation in their all-night vigils, the new drink had already burst onto the scene in Mecca by the beginning of the sixteenth

²⁰ Rudi Matthee argues that one key difference between Ottoman and Iranian tobacco culture was that in Iran, the choice of smoking implement was more directly correlated with class. Wealthy Iranians showed an unshakable devotion to the hookah, whereas the pipe was definitely plebeian; Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 2005), 132–133.

²¹ On snuff in China, see Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, 88–89; on snuff-taking in Europe, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York, 1992), 131–146.

²² Contemporary reports mention desperate smokers in Istanbul who resorted to snuff during the height of Murad IV's anti-smoking campaign in the 1630s. Apart from this brief episode, it seems not to have attained much popularity. Katib Çelebi (1609–1657), *The Balance of Truth*, trans. Geoffrey Lewis (New York, 1957), 58.

²³ Muhammad Raghib al-Tabbakh (1877–1951), *I'lam al-nubala' bi-tarikh halab al-shahba'*, 7 vols. (Aleppo, 1988), 3: 355; Muhammad Sa'id al-Qasimi (d. 1900), *Qamus al-sana'at al-shamiyya*, ed. Zafir al-Qasimi (Damascus, 1988), 330. On the origins of the cigarette industry in the Middle East, see Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration* (New York, 1983), 17–18; Relli Schechter, "Selling Luxury: The Rise of the Egyptian Cigarette and the Transformation of the Egyptian Tobacco Market, 1850–1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003): 51–75.

²⁴ Braudel, *Structures*, 262.

century, and within a few short years had made the jump to Egyptian markets, which would rapidly transmit coffee throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In its wake came coffeehouses, which began to sprout up in towns throughout the Middle East. As novel as the drink itself, they became renowned for the loose, worldly atmosphere that they harbored. Coffeehouses had already opened in Mecca before the Ottoman conquest (1516–1517), and by 1555, two Syrians had set up the first establishment in Istanbul itself.²⁵ Moralists were aghast. Drawn mostly from the ranks of the ulama (members of the Muslim religious establishment), they inveighed against coffee as an intoxicant fully comparable to wine.²⁶ Their disquiet extended to official circles as well. In the initial reaction to the new beverage, the local Mamluk authorities had tried to stamp out coffee drinking in Mecca in 1511, but the campaign made no progress.²⁷ The tide of popular and legal opinion was already turning rapidly. Defenders of coffee, who boasted their own scholarly credentials, dismissed the legal objections of the opposition as groundless, praised coffee for its medical benefits, and authorized drinking within the bounds of propriety—if, for example, it did not accompany immoral activities or in any way impede religious obligations.²⁸ Consumers did not wait for the outcome of the debate. By the end of the sixteenth century, coffee drinking had entrenched itself as one of the consolations of everyday life. The coffee trade, centered in Yemen and directed mostly from Egypt, boomed, and by the early seventeenth century had largely taken up the slack from the decline in the international spice trade in the eastern Mediterranean.²⁹

The furor over the new drink had hardly subsided when tobacco first ventured into the Middle East. To understand the moral and legal reaction to this newcomer, we need to keep in mind the earlier travails of coffee, which set up much of the framework that subsequent debates would follow. One of the great difficulties concerning tobacco, carried over from the earlier wrangling about coffee, was that jurists could not count on any explicit guidance from scriptural sources, which could not possibly have had anything to say about substances that would not appear until later times.³⁰ This silence bred ambiguity, which soon manifested itself as full-blown scholarly dissension. Lacking clear scriptural authority, which could have definitively settled the debate one way or another, foes of tobacco tried to justify their objections on several different grounds. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and even in later times), the arguments were fairly consistent.³¹ Authors tended to

²⁵ Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1: 363–364; Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, Wash., 1985), 77–78.

²⁶ For biographies of prominent opponents, see Muhammad ibn al-Hanbali (1502/1503–1563), *Durr al-habab fi tarikh a'yan halab*, ed. Mahmud Ahmad al-Fakhuri and Yahya Zakariya 'Abbara, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1972), 1: 701; 2: 124, 225; Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi (1570–1651), *al-Kawakib al-sa'ira bi-a'yan al-mi'a al-ashira*, ed. Jibra'il Sulayman Jabbur, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1979), 2: 111–112, 152–153; 3: 222–223.

²⁷ 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jaziri (1505/1506–1569), *Umdat al-safwa fi hall al-qahwa*, ed. 'Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Habashi (Abu Dhabi, 1996), 132–134, 65–66; Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 43.

²⁸ On the views of opponents, see al-Jaziri, *Umdat*, 69–73; for a rebuttal of these positions, see *ibid.*, 74, 108, 130. For biographies of leading supporters, or those who had quietly incorporated coffee into their daily lives, see ibn al-Hanbali, *Durr*, 1: 1007–1008; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib*, 1: 185, 321; al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 1: 261, 301–302, 389–390; 2: 196–197. See also Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Modern Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani* (London, 1982), 190–191.

²⁹ Raymond, *Artisans*, chap. 5.

³⁰ See the discussion in Faruk Beşer, "İslam Fikhi," in Nail Erhan, ed., *Sigara ve İnsan Sağlığı* (Istanbul, 1993), 50.

³¹ For a historical overview of the arguments against tobacco, collected into a single volume, see

differ only on what they stressed as tobacco's most odious qualities. Some concentrated on a few select points; others tried to lay out a more elaborate case and dutifully recited the whole panoply of criticisms from the legal literature.

One common strategy was to argue by analogy, casting tobacco as an intoxicant and equating it with wine, which the Qur'an had unequivocally banned. As a legal tool, this method was fully enshrined in the long tradition of Islamic law. If no explicit rulings were to be found in the Qur'an and traditions of the prophet Muhammad (*hadith*), it might be possible to infer the correct course of action by reasoning from analogy. A number of sixteenth-century scholars had tried precisely this line of attack against coffee. They tried to show that it produced the same visible signs of intoxication as wine, from excessive laughter and animation to unseemly slips of the tongue. To clinch their case, a few critics cited the early custom, before drinking at coffeehouses became the norm, of passing a coffee cup around a group of drinkers, in imitation of wine-drinking rituals. Rebuttals were immediately forthcoming as defenders of coffee—and later, of tobacco—declared that nothing in either substance produced anything resembling intoxication. In the full flush of conviviality, some individuals might become louder and less restrained in their behavior. But what might at first seem like evidence of intoxication proceeded, in reality, from an entirely innocent excitation of mind and spirit. The true causes of these symptoms, they maintained, were warm fellowship and lively conversation, to which coffee and tobacco were nothing more than accompaniments.³² Anti-tobacco authors did not give up, responding that novice smokers experienced a suspicious dizziness and, like wine drinkers, took time to grow accustomed to it. Even if they later showed no baleful aftereffects, they would have secretly fallen under the influence of a proscribed intoxicant.³³ As these quibbles about physical and medical properties were potentially endless, or at any rate exceedingly difficult to resolve, the debate was soon extended to other fronts.

In the search for supplementary arguments, one favorite theme, which looks quite fitting and prescient from a modern perspective, was to decry smoking because it was bad for the health. Critics chose several targets. Some classified tobacco as a source of "fatigue" that perceptibly undermined physical vigor. Others focused on the foul odor that it left on the breath.³⁴ Building on these feelings of revulsion, one argument simply placed tobacco in the category of "disgusting substances" (pl. *khaba'ith*) that

Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Kittani (d. 1927), *I'lan al-hujja wa iqamat al-burhan 'ala man 'ma 'amma wa fasha min isti'mal 'ushbat al-dukhan* (Damascus, 1990). Al-Kittani was a Moroccan scholar who carried the legal battle against smoking into the early twentieth century. One of the virtues of his work, which is really a compendium of some three hundred years of Islamic denunciations of tobacco, is that it draws on all four Sunni legal schools (*madhhab*). Many arguments are preserved in full through long quotations, making it an ideal source for charting the evolution of the debate from its origins to the end of the Ottoman period. Most interesting is the pan-Islamic consistency of the anti-tobacco legal attacks, which transcended sectarian divisions. For Shiite denunciations of smoking, which followed roughly the same lines as Sunni critiques, see the discussion of Iranian debates in Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 135–137.

³² Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 76–77.

³³ Muhammad ibn Mustafa al-Khadimi (1701/1702–1762/1763), *Bariqa mahmudiyya fi sharh tariqa muhammadiyya wa shari'a nabawiyya fi sira ahmadiyya*, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1900), 4: 111. See also the writings of Muhammad 'Ali ibn 'Alan al-Siddiqi; for his biography, see al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 4: 187.

³⁴ Al-Khadimi, *Bariqa*, 4: 111; al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 114–122; al-Kittani, *I'lan*, 57–59.

Islamic tradition deemed unfit for use.³⁵ The most adamant moralists could not imagine how anyone could possibly enjoy the act of smoking. They cited reports of mischief in which individuals had deceived smokers by substituting all kinds of foreign ingredients, such as "dried clover and horse manure," for their usual supplies of tobacco. The victims of such pranks, they claimed, could never tell the difference.³⁶ This dulling of the senses, alleged as one of the primary harms of smoking, became part of a more general attack. If smokers could not really taste their noisome delicacy, they could not really notice the deficiencies in hygiene from which they progressively suffered. Enemies of tobacco (in Europe as well as the Middle East) dwelled on the offensive sights and smells that it was held to produce.³⁷ Smokers dirtied their beards, mustaches, clothes, even the insides of their homes, as they left behind a trail of ashes and spent coals.³⁸

Emotions ran highest in discussions of tobacco's immorality. These writings, which lead into the recesses of the social imagination, treated tobacco as deeply menacing to spirit and character, far beyond any harm posed to physical health. Fearful critics saw smoking as an inducement to idleness and profligacy.³⁹ And the very novelty of tobacco, like coffee before it, was unsettling to a religious and legal tradition that looked with suspicion upon nearly any "innovation" (*bid'a*). Some jurists made it a central part of their case against smoking, which, as a clear departure from earlier behavior, seemed to erode the foundations of the Islamic moral order.⁴⁰ Nearly every aspect of the habit was troubling. In the most extravagant visions, the fire and smoke that accompanied the act of lighting a pipe conjured up hellfire and eternal damnation.⁴¹ Critics warned that smokers would appear on the Day of Judgment with blackened faces and hookahs hung around their necks; until that time, they would burn in their graves, like the tobacco in their pipes. Offering proof of these future torments, some "reliable authorities" testified about nocturnal visions in which they opened the graves of former smokers and found them to be full of smoke; looking inside, they discovered corpses with altered faces and pipes still lodged in their mouths.⁴² Thus smoking was not an innocent pastime. It had moral ramifications for the afterlife that smokers could understand simply by reading the clues from their pipes: fire, smoke, blackened bowls, disfiguring vapors and residues.

In exposing the evils of smoking, the most persistent critics traced their unease to the connection with Christian Europe, mainly through its merchants, who had first brought tobacco to eastern Mediterranean ports. If coffee had been bad enough as an "innovation," it had at least originated within the Muslim world. Tobacco, as most people knew, came from outside. Ottoman authors were familiar enough with the trade to single out "English" merchants, who had access to colonial tobacco from

³⁵ Al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 136–140.

³⁶ See, for example, the stories in al-Laqani, *Nasihah*, 86–88.

³⁷ Sarah Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane: Tobacco in 16th-Century Literature* (New York, 1954), 154.

³⁸ Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1: 365. See also al-Laqani, *Nasihah*, 80.

³⁹ Al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 111–113; al-Laqani, *Nasihah*, 92. For a rebuttal, see al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 72–73.

⁴⁰ See, for example, al-Khadimi, *Bariqa*, 4: 111–112.

⁴¹ Al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 122–126. For a scornful refutation, see al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 79. See also the entry for smoke in al-Nabulsi's dictionary of dreams; 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, *Ta'tir al-anam fi tafsir al-ahlam*, ed. Taha 'Abd al-Ra'uf Sa'd, 2 vols. (Damascus, n.d.), 1: 211.

⁴² Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 8; al-Khadimi, *Bariqa*, 4: 112.

the Atlantic trade.⁴³ As smoking spread, the role of European merchants as the early suppliers fed underlying anxieties about Christian contamination of the lands of Islam. Some denunciations bordered on hysteria. Perhaps no author was more lurid in evoking the dangers than the Egyptian scholar Ibrahim al-Laḡani (d. 1631/1632), who viewed tobacco as a kind of Christian plot against Islam. As the new import passed from Christian hands to Muslim consumers, al-Laḡani saw only endless opportunities for mischief, and darkly warned of bales of tobacco being soaked in wine or pig lard, which would have secretly violated Muslim taboos against alcohol and pork and left believers in a state of ritual impurity. His message was dire: in taking up the habit of smoking—which in his view had first been perfected and propagated among Christians—people were unwittingly succumbing to the “Christian *sunna*.” His use of the term was quite deliberate. Lifted straight out of the Islamic religious tradition, it represented the model of piety and behavior first demonstrated by the prophet Muhammad himself. So the implication was clear: in emulating Christian conduct, smokers were essentially committing apostasy.⁴⁴ In battling tobacco, few authors were willing to go to the extreme of maligning non-Muslim communities. But the circulation of wild rumors, which probably functioned as the “urban legends” of their day, reveals subtle cultural tensions that smoking would provoke throughout the Ottoman Middle East.

THE OTTOMAN AUTHORITIES, like governments elsewhere around seventeenth-century Eurasia, did not take long to join the early opposition.⁴⁵ The first push for prohibition dates from the reign of Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617), a young and unusually pious sultan who seems to have given his personal backing to the cause. Sometime around 1611, he outlawed the sale of tobacco throughout the empire. The decree seems to have produced some effect. From the distant province of Egypt, we hear that the incoming governor (a future grand vizier who may have been eager to please the sultan) enacted a series of local reforms: issuing new money, repairing the pilgrimage route, and founding a new Sufi lodge. Most conspicuous was his burning of large quantities of tobacco, which was now declared contraband. His successor upheld the edict, which remained in force for a short time and then was allowed to lapse after his term.⁴⁶ In other words, the initial campaign was brief, and in at least some provinces energetic, but it made no lasting impression beyond the first proclamations. The war on tobacco, though not entirely forgotten, would not be revived for more than two decades.

⁴³ See, for example, Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1: 365.

⁴⁴ See the discussion in several places in al-Laḡani, *Nasihāt*, 61, 65, 74, 82, 93. Another author who made disparaging comments about non-Muslims in connection with tobacco was Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, who thought that smoking created a “slovenliness” that he associated with these minorities; cited in al-Kittani, *Iʿlān*, 134.

⁴⁵ The Ottomans were not alone among Muslim states in their attempt to stamp out smoking. At roughly the same time, both Safavid Iran (c. 1610) and Mughal India (1617) would announce their own anti-tobacco laws. See, respectively, Rudi Matthee, “Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, 16th to 18th Centuries,” in Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich, eds., *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge, 1995), 35; and Gokhale, “Tobacco in 17th-Century India,” 487.

⁴⁶ Mustafa Naima (1655–1716), *Tarih-i Naima*, 6 vols. (Istanbul, n.d.), 2: 58–61; al-Laḡani, *Nasihāt*, 85.

The second attempt at suppression was more vigorous. The main impetus came from the so-called Kadızadeli movement, which was centered in Istanbul. It took its inspiration from Mehmed Efendi Kadızade, a fiery preacher whose call for a strict reinterpretation of Islamic teachings had won a large following among the population of the capital, and even among some officials in the palace itself.⁴⁷ Among his demands, which were aimed mainly at popular and Sufi religious practices, was the immediate proscription of both coffee and tobacco, which were condemned as intoxicants. The charismatic preacher soon caught the ear of the sultan himself, Murad IV (r. 1623–1640), who endorsed the reformist agenda. The coffeehouses of Istanbul were shut down in 1633, and smoking became a capital offense. The sultan became personally involved. In secret tours of the city, he began to oversee the application of his new laws with uncompromising severity. Smokers unfortunate enough to be caught red-handed were executed on the spot.⁴⁸ On campaign, too (mostly in central Iraq, which was briefly occupied by Safavid Iran, 1623–1638), he presided over further executions during the long marches between the front and the capital.⁴⁹

Contemporaries offered several justifications for Murad IV's crackdown. The most practical arose from the threat of fires, which permanently menaced the capital and its mainly wooden buildings.⁵⁰ Other authors hint at political motivations for the closures, which had more to do with coffeehouses as a breeding ground for gossip and sedition than with any direct objections to tobacco itself.⁵¹ Perhaps more revealing than either of these explanations were pervasive anxieties about shifts in consumption and sociability, which seemed to undermine long-standing social hierarchies. By the late sixteenth century, the Ottoman state, now in the throes of a deep structural transformation, had become concerned about possible blurrings of rank and distinction, and issued a burst of sartorial regulations that sought to restrain a growing exuberance in popular fashion.⁵² Holding even greater potential for social leveling was the coffeehouse. During the very same decades, it was bringing together a diverse cross-section of Istanbul society: "former officials searching for appointments, judges, teachers, and a bunch of the unemployed and idle," all of whom were now rubbing shoulders in close and unaccustomed quarters. As with early English coffeehouses, this promiscuous mingling over cups and pipes—or even the perception that it might be happening regularly—seemed to invite social instability and

⁴⁷ On the rise of the Kadızadeli movement, and its wide influence within Istanbul society, see Madeline Zilfi, "The Kadızadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986): 251–269.

⁴⁸ Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, 3: 170–171.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Kamal al-Ghazzi (1853?–1933), *Nahr al-dhahab fi tarikh halab*, 3 vols. (Aleppo, 1988), 3: 220–221; Katib Çelebi, *Fezleke-yi Katib Çelebi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1870), 2: 197.

⁵⁰ The Ottomans were not alone in viewing public smoking as a menace. Governments in Germany and Russia also sought bans as a means of preventing fires. Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 125–129; Count Corti, *A History of Smoking*, trans. Paul England (New York, 1932), 140.

⁵¹ See, for example, Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, 3: 168–169; 6: 230–231; Katib Çelebi, *Fezleke*, 2: 154–155.

⁵² Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 406. On the anxieties produced by the restructuring of the Ottoman state, see, for example, Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-el-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany, N.Y., 1991); Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Douglas Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988): 52–77.

moral corruption.⁵³ It was now possible to find pleasure-seekers and ordinary townsmen crowding alongside “polite members of literate society,” with whom they played games, recited poetry, and discussed literature.⁵⁴ Indeed, one could hear this refrain about social and moral confusion whenever new patterns of consumption seemed to expand to wider social groups. The sight of women openly enjoying tobacco deeply unsettled Mikha’il Burayk, a Greek Orthodox priest from Damascus, who in 1759 found them smoking “in homes, bathhouses, and gardens, even along the river while people were passing by.” As he put it, they were blatantly “crossing boundaries,” which made their temerity all the more corrosive to public mores (incidentally demonstrating that these anxieties were by no means confined to an “Islamic” sensibility).⁵⁵ Further shaking his notions of decency were the persistently masculine and negative connotations of tobacco. Even in the eighteenth century, it was still associated with rough or unsavory social types: soldiers, bachelors, idlers, and anyone who seemed unattached, uprooted, and threatening to the social order.⁵⁶

These scruples about smoking seem to have mattered most in polite company, where a few smokers continued to feel self-conscious. To avoid giving any offense to companions, they might excuse themselves from social gatherings before lighting their pipes.⁵⁷ But even in these exclusive social circles, which prided themselves on refined manners, many others, including eminent judges, felt no inhibition and smoked wherever they wanted. ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, who penned one of the most important treatises on tobacco (1682), originally found it prudent to distance himself from the habit. He might enjoy the smell of tobacco, and he sometimes prescribed it for himself as a medical treatment, but he carefully added that he was not a smoker himself. It was a show of piety that would last only another decade. During a long journey to Egypt and the Hijaz, he would succumb and become an enthusiastic smoker for the rest of his life.⁵⁸ This complicity of members of the social and religious elite, who appreciated tobacco no less than other subjects of the sultan, made official pressure harder to organize and sustain.

By the eighteenth century, few officials would bother themselves about tobacco. In the capital itself, all the most brutal measures, summarily enforced, had done little to blunt its popularity. Within the sultan’s own army, smoking had flourished even during the height of his anti-tobacco persecutions. The chronicler Katib Çelebi (d. 1657), who accompanied the army as a scribe during the Iraq expeditions, relates that as smokers were being apprehended and executed, many of their comrades, called

⁵³ On the anxieties provoked by the appearance of coffeehouses in seventeenth-century England, see Brian Cowen, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), chaps. 4, 8.

⁵⁴ Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1: 364. The arrival of the coffeehouse seems to have partly disrupted what one historian has called an “etiquette of controlled visibility.” Members of the Ottoman elite, both male and female, preferred to minimize social interaction in public space. For a discussion of this “etiquette” in the sixteenth-century Middle East, see Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003), 156.

⁵⁵ Mikha’il Burayk (d. 1782?), *Tarikh al-sham*, ed. Ahmad Ghassan Sabbanu (Damascus, 1982), 74.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi (1759–1791/1792), *Silk al-durar fi a’yan al-qarn al-thani ‘ashar*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1988), 4: 130.

⁵⁷ See, for example, al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 4: 179.

⁵⁸ Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 37; al-Nabulsi, *al-Haqiqah wa al-majaz fi al-rihla ila bilad al-sham wa misr wa al-hijaz*, ed. Ahmad ‘Abd al-Majid al-Haridi (Cairo, 1986), 58. See also Barbara von Schlegell, “Sufism in the Ottoman Arab World: Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 90.

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FIGURE 2: An upper-class lady of Aleppo, relaxing with her pipe as she awaits a cup of coffee (c. mid-18th century). From Alexander and Richard Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo* (London, 1794).

to attend the proceedings, quietly puffed from pipes that they had stashed in their sleeves. Others took to smoking in the latrines, out of sight of their officers.⁵⁹ The central state soon gave up, and by 1650 had formally legalized the use of tobacco again. Sporadic campaigns against smoking would continue in the provinces, but they failed to act as a meaningful deterrent.⁶⁰ Some advisors tried to make the most of the setback. As early as 1654, Katib Çelebi was openly advocating the equivalent of a sin tax on tobacco. Official policy would not come around to this way of thinking until 1691.⁶¹ Strapped for cash and pressed by defeats on the Austrian frontier, the

⁵⁹ Katib Çelebi, *The Balance*, 52.

⁶⁰ See the remarks by Naima, who believed that the ban had merely made smoking seem more alluring; Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, 3: 169. In another sign of the widespread resistance or indifference to anti-tobacco campaigns, the closure of the coffeehouses in Istanbul ordered by Murad IV seems not to have taken place in the Arab provinces. Ayşe Saraçgil, "L'Introduction du café à Istanbul (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)," in Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon, eds., *Cafés d'Orient revisités* (Paris, 1997), 36–37. On the legalization of tobacco under Baha'i Efendi, the *şeyhülislam* (chief jurisconsult) of Istanbul who issued the relevant fatwa, see Katib Çelebi, *The Balance*, 52.

⁶¹ Mehmed Raşid Paşa (d. 1735), *Tarih-i Raşid*, 6 vols. (Istanbul, n.d.), 2: 377–378.



FIGURE 3: A party of ladies entertaining themselves in the gardens of Kağıthane, in Istanbul, c. 1793. Detail. From Metin And, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1982), 96.

Ottoman Empire, like many other European states of the time, surrendered to fiscal exigency and the lure of extra revenue.⁶² The treasury had trumped the pulpit.

Only in the Arab provinces do we later hear an echo of the anti-smoking campaigns of the Kadızadeli movement. In 1743, the *sharif* of Mecca tried to outlaw public smoking, which was no longer permitted in the markets or coffeehouses. If “riffraff” were found indulging in their addiction openly, he and other prominent residents would admonish them to keep it out of sight. Acting as part of the same campaign, the governor of Egypt took up the cause the same year in Cairo. His men patrolled the markets, and in moments of particularly acute rage forced smokers to eat their own tobacco bowls. In neither place, however, does the persecution seem to have lasted long or stirred up much popular approbation. In Mecca itself, “the

⁶² Corti, *A History of Smoking*, 94–96, 151, 156–157, 160, 177.

distress [caused by the decree] was general among the *ashraf* [recognized descendants of the prophet Muhammad], ulama, and commoners." In muted protest, the ulama refused to issue fatwas that would either legalize or condemn tobacco; through ambiguity, they withheld their endorsement of a measure that most people regarded as obnoxious and overzealous. In Cairo, mass indifference soon gained the upper hand, and the anti-smoking edict was quietly dropped by later governors.⁶³ The final attempt at prohibition came a few years later in Damascus, where the powerful governor As'ad Pasha al-'Azm was quicker to learn these lessons. Having announced his own decree against tobacco in 1749, he had it hastily withdrawn, probably because of its immediate unpopularity.⁶⁴ No provincial governor would ever again try to carry out such an ambitious plan. The last outbreak of anti-tobacco fervor was left to the Wahhabi movement, which under the first Saudi dynasty had extended its sway throughout central Arabia by the late eighteenth century. Wherever the Wahhabi raiders went, they insisted on applying their own puritanical version of Islamic law. After capturing Mecca in 1806, the new regime quickly outlawed smoking. Squads of enforcers gathered pipes and hookahs and burned them in great bonfires.⁶⁵ The arrival of Egyptian troops in 1812, sent to retake the Hijaz, reversed the decree and helped tobacco to surmount its last official hurdle.

What touched off the delayed campaigns in the Arab provinces, which seem so obviously out of fashion by the eighteenth century? For the edicts of 1743, the most likely inspiration was not local but imperial, and came in response to renewed warfare with Persia, which had fallen under the rule of Nadir Shah (r. 1736–1747), a tribal warlord. As hostilities mounted, eventually escalating into a full-blown border conflict, the Ottomans began an anti-Shi'ite propaganda campaign, which in Mecca featured sermons preached against the "shah of the Persians."⁶⁶ The anti-tobacco measures had come at the height of these preparations, and should be interpreted as part of a broader claim of religious orthodoxy, aimed deliberately at leading centers of Islamic tradition and an international audience of Muslim pilgrims. Presenting itself as the defender of the true faith, as well as the world's preeminent Muslim dynasty, the Ottoman state was eager to remove the least doubt about its own religious credentials, which would need occasional burnishing as the old assumption of Ottoman military superiority permanently vanished during the eighteenth century. These ideological strains later reached their culmination with the rise of the Wahhabi movement, whose message of social and religious reform, audible from the Arabian interior by at least the 1760s, was slowly gaining notice in neighboring regions.⁶⁷ In this atmosphere of intensifying religious rhetoric, Istanbul was willing to

⁶³ Ahmad ibn Zayni Dahlan (1816/1817–1886), *Khulasat al-kalam fi bayan umara' al-balad al-haram* (Cairo, 1977), 193–194; al-Jabarti, *'Aja'ib*, 1: 260.

⁶⁴ Al-Budayri, *Hawadith*, 130. One can gauge the scale of the problem from the reaction of al-Budayri, an ordinary barber who identified with conservative opinion: "The smoking [of tobacco] has become one of the greatest afflictions in Damascus."

⁶⁵ 'Uthman ibn Bishr al-Najdi, *'Unwan al-majd fi tarikh Najd*, 2 vols. (Port Said, 2001), 1: 191; ibn Zayni Dahlan, *Khulasat*, 292; M. A. Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (New York, 2000), 168.

⁶⁶ Ibn Zayni Dahlan, *Khulasat*, 193–194.

⁶⁷ Dina Rizk Khoury, "Who Is a True Muslim? Exclusion and Inclusion among Polemicists of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Baghdad," in Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, eds., *Early Modern Ottoman History: A Reinterpretation* (Cambridge, forthcoming), cited by David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (New York, 2005), 30 n. 95.

authorize its local agents to take action against tobacco, which now offered itself as a convenient target for symbolic reassertions of order and legitimacy. Only in the anti-tobacco law briefly proclaimed in Damascus (1749) did an Ottoman governor, As'ad Pasha al-'Azm, take the initiative for entirely local reasons. Coming at a time of high prices, in the tense days after a full-scale bread riot, the decree appears as a symbolic measure designed to shore up his public image in the face of rumors that accused him of manipulating the urban grain market. In dealing with their own local pressures and crises, provincial officials might thereby resort to the same moral posturing that had once served the central state itself.

That these last attempts at prohibition were at all conceivable testifies to the tenacity of tobacco's opponents, who, even after shrinking to a small minority of shrill conservatives, never abandoned their convictions. In nearly every part of the Ottoman Middle East, stern moralists carried on with the cause and railed against the immorality of smoking. Only within the restive Wahhabi borderlands did they win state backing and successfully impose their doctrines on others. Inside the Ottoman Empire, their opinions remained marginal, and at best, helped to ensure that smoking would still be seen as somewhat disreputable and impolite. Acting in a private capacity, they exhorted smokers to mend their ways. Some, accepting smoking as a legitimate form of consumption, simply tried to place it within religious and customary regulations. Hence an Egyptian official, passing through the village of al-Bahnasa in Egypt in 1725, felt no compunction about punishing a peasant who had been smoking openly in daylight during the Ramadan fast.⁶⁸ Others of a more zealous cast—usually strict ulama—took personal action to uphold what they insisted was the rightful interpretation of the law. One Egyptian scholar, 'Ali al-'Adawi, was so disturbed by smokers that he absolutely forbade anyone from using tobacco in his presence. The entire city knew about his intense revulsion for smoking. It was said that while he walked through the marketplaces in Cairo, shopkeepers and peddlers would secretly alert one another and put out their pipes as he moved down the street. No one was immune from his rebukes. He was known to break the pipes of military officers, even powerful beys who unwittingly tried to smoke in the same room, and then subject them to long harangues about the evils of tobacco.⁶⁹

Through sheer force of personality, ulama such as al-'Adawi were able to prevent colleagues, or even total strangers, from violating their own stringent interpretation of Islamic law. If other scholars were not going to apply the full letter of the law, these firebrands would not shrink from what they saw as their duty to stamp out immoral and irreligious customs. In taking this activist stance, they self-consciously drew on a long tradition within Islamic law that required believers to "enjoin the right and forbid the wrong." The definitions of these terms, together with the prescriptions for attaining these ideals, were matters of prolonged debate, and never reached anything close to unanimity or resolution. But many people understood the spirit that guided such confrontational meddling, even if they were likely to ignore it. An activist such as al-'Adawi might be tolerated or humored simply because of his in-

⁶⁸ Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Ghani (d. 1737), *Awdah al-isharat fi-man tawalla misr al-qahira min al-wuzara' wa al-bashat*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahim 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Rahim (Cairo, 1978), 447.

⁶⁹ Al-Jabarti, *'Aja'ib*, 1: 648. For other cases of scholars taking matters into their own hands, see al-Muradi, *Silk*, 2: 31.

dividual piety and charisma. Out of respect for this personal religious authority, smokers might momentarily yield. But having averted an unpleasant scolding, they would at once return to their pipes.

BY THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, in a cultural movement that was noticeable in other areas of the Mediterranean basin such as Italy,⁷⁰ legal opinion was swinging around more emphatically to a tolerant view of tobacco. Even in the early days, the anti-tobacco camp had faced considerable criticism from ulama who were more inclined to permit smoking and saw attempts at prohibition as morally misguided and legally unfounded. The Palestinian scholar Mar'i al-Karmi (d. 1623/1624) had arrived at this conclusion reluctantly. He personally regarded tobacco as deeply repugnant, but after searching legal sources, found insufficient grounds for outlawing it. He consoled himself with the thought that it was at least better than opium and hashish.⁷¹ Other jurists had absolutely no apprehensions about it and, taking advantage of their own rulings, embraced the new pastime. One of tobacco's early champions, the Cairene jurist al-Ajhuri, became an avid smoker himself. A visitor in 1632 found him studying late into the night, reading his books and smoking from a water pipe that was continually restocked by a companion.⁷² For still other ulama, who fell between these two extremes, the entire controversy hardly seemed worth the effort. They wondered aloud why the debate had ever started, and why some ulama so insistently returned to it and raised it to such prominence when other problems, such as bribery and corruption, seemed to be more pressing and damaging to the social order.⁷³ The court historian Naima (d. 1716), looking back from several decades, was completely scornful of the Kadızadeli leadership, dismissing them as reckless rabble-rousers and opportunists consumed with worldly fame and ambition.⁷⁴ One cannot simply assume that the ultra-pious were able to pose as the guardians of morality without facing popular skepticism and resentment, which, though muted and indirect, did not automatically bow down to the spiritual authority claimed by conservative ulama.

Perhaps the most forceful critic of intolerant conservatism was 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1641–1731), one of the most accomplished religious scholars and Sufi adepts in all of Ottoman Syria. In a treatise written in 1682, he declared smoking to be fully legal, and sought to parry what he regarded as the excessive zeal (*ta'assub*) of moral purists. His arguments sum up the basic propositions of more flexible and

⁷⁰ Corti, *A History of Smoking*, 134.

⁷¹ Al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 142, 152–157. For a similar ruling by a later scholar, see Muhammad Ibn 'Abdin (1783/1784–1836), *Radd al-muhtar 'ala durr al-mukhtar*, 6 vols. (Beirut, 1994), 2: 295–296.

⁷² Al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 58. Another jurist who liked to smoke was Ahmad Baba al-Sudani, who made his home in Timbuktu. While passing through Cairo on the pilgrimage, he met Ibrahim al-Laqqani, the arch-nemesis of tobacco, and began corresponding with him. After al-Sudani composed a fatwa legalizing smoking and forwarded it to Cairo, their friendship soured; al-Nabulsi, *al-Haqiqa*, 429. On the avid smoking of Baha'i Efendi, the *seyhülislam* who eventually reauthorized the use of tobacco (c. 1650), see Katib Çelebi, *The Balance*, 56–57.

⁷³ See, for example, 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, *Nihayat al-murad fi sharh hadiyat Ibn al-'Imad*, ed. 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Halabi (Limmasol, 1994), 581–582.

⁷⁴ Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, 6: 228.

accommodating ulama as their ideas had evolved by the late seventeenth century.⁷⁵ His treatise would stand as a landmark in legal thinking on tobacco, and would continue to be cited by later generations of scholars.

Al-Nabulsi was, first of all, unwilling to leave the issue of tobacco's legality to the discretion of the state. Some ulama had taken precisely this position, openly certifying that any law decreed by the sultan should be obeyed as long as it did not stand in conflict with religious law, which was sacred and beyond the scope of any temporal authority. From this premise, the campaigns against tobacco had received religious backing as a sultanic initiative that, regardless of any scholarly debates which might be taking place, ought not to be questioned.⁷⁶ Al-Nabulsi flatly rejected this idea. Sultan law derived its validity, he countered, insofar as it took its guidance from religious law. He had little faith in the judgment or character of rulers. The anti-tobacco sweeps carried out periodically in the markets of Damascus in the last decades of the seventeenth century struck him as little more than an exercise in hypocrisy. He mocked the governors and their soldiers who "were drunk as wine wafted from their mouths" and yet, in the name of piety, fined and punished shopkeepers whom they found smoking in their stalls.⁷⁷ If tobacco was a matter of dispute, it could only be the ulama, not the political authorities, who would decide on its legality.

He showed the same impatience with medical objections to tobacco. Embracing the early medical literature, which had hailed the new leaf as a welcome supplement to the repertoire of treatments, he dismissed arguments about the harm that resulted from smoking. Doctors knew what was best for patients, and if they were willing to prescribe tobacco, then scholars unskilled in the medical arts should simply take their word unless they could claim the same expertise. At no point did he concede a link between smoking and bad health. Were there not many smokers who lived to an old age? Were there not many others who had never taken up the habit and nonetheless suffered from worse health? He further asked why anti-tobacco activists should regard smoke as inherently damaging to the body. Were people harmed equally by the fires that burned in the marketplace or in the bathhouse? In making these determinations, he claimed, people should only allow experience to act as their guide, and the evidence so far offered insufficient support. People should recognize, moreover, that everyone had a different bodily constitution. Some people would doubtlessly tolerate smoking better than others. And like other substances, tobacco would tend to produce harmful reactions if used in excess.⁷⁸ As for the charge that it was an intoxicant, or that it somehow "weakened" the body, he explained the dizziness that often afflicted the uninitiated as an ambiguous symptom that could arise from entirely different causes, such as whirling around or looking down from high places, which left no lasting mark on the health. For those who would bypass these objections and simply place tobacco among "disgusting substances" that ought not to be handled, he calmly noted that onion and garlic belonged in this category, mostly for the lingering odor that they left on the breath, but that they had always remained per-

⁷⁵ By the late seventeenth century, mainstream scholarship in Iran had also turned toward a more tolerant view of tobacco; Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 140–141.

⁷⁶ See, for example, the opinion of the Damascene scholar Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi; Ibn 'Abdin, *Radd*, 2: 296.

⁷⁷ Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 39. For his views on obedience to political authority, see *ibid.*, 54–70.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 21, 24, 33–34; al-Nabulsi, *Nihayat*, 580.

fectly legal. The insertion of tobacco would imply nothing about its ultimate legality. Indeed, he questioned whether it could really be considered disgusting. Tobacco smoke, he maintained, had a rather pleasant fragrance, which to many people was more delicious than incense.⁷⁹

Moving on to the more strictly legal arguments, al-Nabulsi found no reason to condemn smoking. Despite the insistence of staunch moralists, he asserted that tobacco was no more an intoxicant than coffee, which had undergone similar legal travails and emerged unscathed. Addressing charges that it was an impious "innovation," he responded that not all innovations were bad. Muslim jurists had learned to distinguish between innovations in "religion," which were impermissible, and those that pertained to "custom," which posed no problem as long as they conformed with Islamic laws and values. The ordinary things of everyday life—food, drink, and clothing—stood outside the realm of these dangers.⁸⁰ In general, such moral concerns about tobacco were entirely unfounded. Some ulama had tried to outlaw tobacco for encouraging "profligacy"; but on this count, too, they fell short. In promoting wakefulness, stimulating the body and mind, and "drying out moist humors," it was a boon to well-being that compensated for any extra expense. Most ridiculous were the warnings about smoke as a foretaste of hellfire. If tobacco were thereby outlawed, he reasoned, then the authorities would need to take measures against the smoke issuing from chimneys and kitchens or from sticks of incense.⁸¹ All attempts to taint tobacco with undertones of infidelity had no basis and ought to be rejected. Aware of earlier suspicions against tobacco on account of its original connection with Europeans, he declared that "we eat and drink as they do," and that non-Muslim customs should be discarded only if they were "blameworthy." He credited the Europeans with great knowledge in such "ancient sciences" as medicine, engineering, and astronomy. If Muslims wanted to use this expertise, which had no bearing on the Islamic religious sciences, they faced no restrictions.⁸² Few "Franks" actually came to Damascus in his day, but he had heard something of their exploits in fields such as medicine, which in debates about tobacco could prove quite valuable. In matters outside religion, he was willing to listen to whatever he could learn; and in this receptivity, however tentative and ill-informed, we can perhaps catch a glimpse, even in an inland town such as Damascus, of an "early modern" Mediterranean culture, where ethnic and religious boundaries were more porous, blurry, and unstable than we are used to assuming.⁸³

Beyond his efforts to build a solid defense for smoking, al-Nabulsi had much broader complaints about anti-tobacco authors. He saw their arguments as growing

⁷⁹ Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 50–53, 77–78.

⁸⁰ Al-Nabulsi, *Nihayat*, 576–577; see also 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadiqa al-nadiyya: Sharh al-tariqa al-muhammadiyya*, 2 vols. (Lailbur, 1977), 1: 128. Not every jurist made the same distinction, but the principle of evaluating innovations, and not necessarily rejecting them out of hand, was fairly well established. One scholar fit them into the same five categories—mandatory (*wajib*), recommended (*mandub*), permitted (*mubah*), disapproved (*makruh*), and forbidden (*muharram*)—used for judging all other questions. Only the most uncompromising scholars, such as the leaders of the Kadizadeli movement, would have dismissed them altogether. See, for example, the discussion in al-Karmi, *Tahqiq*, 146.

⁸¹ Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 72–74, 79.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 16–17.

⁸³ See, for example, Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

out of an unhealthy self-righteousness that clouded their judgment. In essence, they were simply imposing their prejudices on others by improperly citing a legal tradition that called on all believers "to command the right and forbid the wrong." Al-Nabulsi did not dispute the validity of this doctrine, but asked whether anyone alive was fit to apply it. Drawing on a long line of Muslim thinking, he declared that the generation of the prophet Muhammad was the purest in piety and understanding, and that each succeeding generation was inferior to the previous one. Who in his age, he demanded, now possessed the qualifications to judge others and tell them, with absolute confidence, how to act rightly and avoid error? He denied that it was possible. As an alternative, he exhorted all believers to turn inward and concentrate on reforming their own hearts.⁸⁴ Most poisonous to religion, he believed, was the determination to find fault. Good faith required good faith in others. People might indeed have bad intentions, he said, but one could not easily discern them from the outside. If individuals were not engaged in activities that directly contravened religious law, they should enjoy a presumption of innocence. Unwarranted suspicions can only lead to "fanaticism."⁸⁵

One of the most arresting implications of these arguments is a greater openness toward pleasure. In his treatise on tobacco—and elsewhere, too, in writings on singing and dancing—al-Nabulsi very explicitly spoke for a newfound self-indulgence. His goal was to reassure believers that in the midst of fun-loving pursuits, they could still be good Muslims as long as they committed no acts that explicitly trampled on Islamic norms and duties. No one, he frankly stated, should feel shame about taking pleasure from this world.⁸⁶ In working out this position, he was very consciously trying to expand the limits of debate about fun and recreation. And in crafting more lenient interpretations of the law, he seems to have been aware of a more easygoing outlook among his unlettered contemporaries. He was prepared to go along. If not taken to excess or harnessed to deviant desires, positive attitudes about pleasure posed no threat to morality and religion.

The boldness and originality of al-Nabulsi's position are more obvious when set against the views of earlier generations of writers, who had felt a great deal of ambivalence about what they called "fun and games" (*lahw wa lu'b*). These were troublesome words that generated their own stubborn taboos and carried deep connotations of wayward indolence and temptation. Moral commentators were determined to contain this danger. They conceived of life as serving an essentially serious purpose. People ought to be preparing themselves for the afterlife and, in pursuit of this reward, dedicating themselves to upright living and worshipful contemplation. Ulama applauded stories of prodigal sons, trapped in the "valley of fun and idleness" (as one biography put it), who later repented and reformed themselves.⁸⁷ The main-

⁸⁴ 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi, *Idah al-dallalat fi sima' al-alat* (Damascus, 1884), 17–18; al-Nabulsi, *Nihayat*, 581; al-Nabulsi, *al-Hadiqa*, 1: 128. As Michael Cook notes, al-Nabulsi's position was slightly eccentric in placing such firm restraints on commanding the right. No other scholars seem to have taken up his ideas and extended them; Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong*, 325–327.

⁸⁵ Al-Nabulsi, *al-Sulh*, 6, 17.

⁸⁶ For the most explicit statement of this position, al-Nabulsi, *Idah*, 12–14, 24–25.

⁸⁷ Al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 3: 4, 244. For other derisive references to a life of pleasure-seeking, see ibn al-Hanbali, *Durr*, 1: 590; Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *Lutf al-samar wa qatf al-thamr*, ed. Mahmud al-Shaykh, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1981), 1: 75–76, 124–125; al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 2: 240. See also 'Ali al-Nuri

stream moral writing that celebrated these spiritual reclamations had little use for love of this world, which in the harsh light of eternity held nothing of lasting value.

The ulama were not entirely unforgiving. In small doses, the pursuit of pleasure might be permissible. But they were prepared to sanction it only if it were harnessed to fundamentally religious goals and enjoyed in sober moderation.⁸⁸ For the sake of mental and physical rest and recuperation, they conceded the need for periodic breaks from routine. The recommended options were entertainments of an edifying character: picnics in gardens, literary gatherings, and of course religious devotions.⁸⁹ Beyond these limits lay the zone of deviance and unbridled self-indulgence. Mindful of these distractions, which constantly called people from more pressing affairs, moral authorities appealed first to a sense of duty and responsibility, and discouraged habitual play as unbefitting for adults and spiritually perilous for sincere believers.⁹⁰ Few pastimes were truly innocent. They deplored games such as chess and backgammon, and frowned upon musical performances (especially outside religious settings).⁹¹ Ordinary acts of consumption, as a potentially sensual experience, held their own dangers. Beverages, in particular, were inherently suspect. The Hanafi legal tradition, which had become the preeminent legal school within the Ottoman Empire, had long looked upon them with misgiving. People had to be careful about using them with the right intentions. Any drinks consumed solely for wanton diversion and amusement were strictly forbidden.⁹² In fact, jurists seem to have assumed, working mostly from their experience with wine and other alcoholic potions, that the enjoyment of drinks would naturally produce illicit pleasure or encourage questionable conduct.

Tobacco fit precisely into this category: as Middle Easterners still say today, individuals "drank" their smoke, which was treated as a virtual beverage. To some observers, tobacco therefore harbored all the potential dangers of any other pleasurable drink. As if to confirm these fears, the act of smoking—which, from a physical standpoint, was new and unconventional—soon expanded to plainly illicit substances such as hashish and opium.⁹³ Condemned as intoxicants, and allowed only for specific medical purposes, these drugs had first appeared in the Middle East around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁹⁴ Addicts had originally satisfied their cravings by

al-Safaqisi (d. 1706), *Risala fi hukm al-sama' wa fi wujub kitabat al-mushaf bi'l-rasm al-'uthmani* (Beirut, 1986), 17.

⁸⁸ Al-Khadimi, *Bariqa*, 3: 18.

⁸⁹ Al-Jaziri, *Umdat*, 94.

⁹⁰ Ibn Hajar al-Haythami (d. 1566), *Kaff al-ra'a' 'an muharramat al-lawh wa al-sama'*, ed. 'Adil 'Abd al-Mun'im Abu al-'Abbas (Cairo, 1989), 94–122; Shihab al-Din al-Qalyubi (d. 1659) and 'Umayra al-Burullusi (d. 1550/1551), *Hashiyatan: al-Qalyubi wa 'Umayra*, 4 vols. (Bombay, 1970), 4: 319–320; Murtada al-Zabidi (d. 1791), *Ithaf al-sada al-muttaqin bi-sharh asrar ihya' 'ulum al-din*, 10 vols. (Cairo, 1893), 7: 431. On disapproval of "fun and games" in medieval Islamic literature, see Franz Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam* (Leiden, 1975), 9–26.

⁹¹ For disapproving references to chess playing, see al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 2: 276; 3: 101–102.

⁹² Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeeshouses*, 55.

⁹³ For a general discussion of this transition, see Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, 88. In China, too, the smoking of opium followed the spread of tobacco, and the two were soon mixed together; Laufer, *Tobacco and Its Use*, 23–24.

⁹⁴ For a summation of rulings on hashish and opium, see Ibn 'Abdin, *Radd*, 2: 295. Note also the legal interpretation cited by al-Jaziri, *Umdat*, 77. For references to Ottoman scholars who wrote about hashish and cannabis (*banj*), see ibn al-Hanbali, *Durr*, 1: 92; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib*, 2: 79; al-Tabbakh, *I'lam*, 6: 165–166.

eating small pellets, usually flavored with sweeteners such as sugar, honey, or tahini.⁹⁵ Consumption was furtive and shameful, confined to disreputable back streets and private spaces. Tobacco brought these habits into the open, mostly in the form of *barsh*, the name for nearly any mixture of tobacco and narcotic drugs, which were now brazenly smoked in the middle of coffeehouses and markets.⁹⁶ The problem reached into nearly all sectors of society, from tradesmen to itinerant laborers. Most scandalous were members of the religious establishment who succumbed to these addictions.⁹⁷ If leading religious figures might partake of such unlawful pastimes, others surely had fewer scruples. Throughout the Middle East, tobacco emboldened a growing leisure culture that, now armed with pipe and hookah, inadvertently liberated illicit drugs such as hashish, which made their own unwelcome debut in public. This guilt by association would further fuel the anti-tobacco furor.

A more insidious danger was the social context of smoking, which did not escape the notice—or censure—of the guardians of morality. Ulama sought to contain social routines within the bounds of religion and propriety. Gatherings ought to be tame, sedate, and steadfastly moral in purpose. Smoking was a dubious pastime because it seemed to overcome all these taboos and prim expectations. It delivered a sensual gratification that seemed to defeat inhibition, much to the dismay of moralists. When asked why they smoked, fumed İbrahim Peçevi, smokers would brazenly respond, “It is an amusement; apart from this, it’s all about pleasure.” In addition to this blatant hedonism, which was galling enough, smokers were prone to odd antics. Most likely thinking of the young literati who frequented coffeehouses, Peçevi indignantly talked of smokers who recited poetry at “inappropriate times” and engaged in a boisterous camaraderie that defied all the rules of polite conduct and conversation.⁹⁸ Smokers accepted this connection between tobacco and unalloyed pleasure. Undoubtedly aware of these provocative undertones, one Aleppan poet found a resemblance between the sighs of a lover and the exhalation of smoke from the lungs.⁹⁹ Thus on all sides, there was general agreement. Tobacco seemed to undermine restrictive mores and offer a new outlet for sensuality that some eagerly embraced and others abhorred as a moral snare.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of the consumption of opium in the medieval Middle East, see Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden, 1971), 57–71.

⁹⁶ The first references to *barsh* date from the 1530s, when narcotics were probably added to coffee. Al-Jaziri, ‘*Umdat*, 132–134; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib*, 3: 185. On complaints lodged against coffeehouses where patrons smoked opium and other drugs, see Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the 18th Century* (New York, 1989), 233. One European observer, resident in early nineteenth-century Cairo, noted the existence of special shops (*mahshasha*) where patrons smoked nothing but hashish; Edward Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1973), 334. Women, too, might consume opium or opiated mixtures. Evliya Çelebi (d. 1672?), the renowned Ottoman traveler, heard that husbands in the town of Afyon (which had already become a major region of poppy cultivation in Anatolia) sometimes had to hide their supplies from their wives; Faroqi, *Subjects of the Sultan*, 217. On the mixing of tobacco and drugs in seventeenth-century Iran, see Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 131.

⁹⁷ See, respectively, al-Muhibbi, *Khulasat*, 4: 6; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib*, 2: 9–10. For other ulama who smoked drugs, see al-Ghazzi, *Lutf*, 1: 377; 2: 541; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib*, 1: 306. To the Syrian chronicler al-Ghazzi, it seemed as though “many Ottoman judges” had acquired this habit; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib*, 3: 35–36.

⁹⁸ Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1: 365–366. On the presence of rowdy litterateurs in late-sixteenth-century Istanbul, contemptuously termed “city boys” (*şehir oğlanları*) by learned commentators, see Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 223.

⁹⁹ Al-Tabbakh, *I’lam*, 6: 257.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF SMOKING has to be understood as the extension of a new sociability that first emerged with the spread of coffee drinking. The most obvious landmark in this reworking of patterns of everyday life was the coffeehouse, which was an innovation of far-reaching repercussions. One cannot find comparable social institutions at any earlier date in Middle Eastern towns. Only the bathhouse comes close. Part of the legacy of antiquity, it survived throughout the medieval and Ottoman periods all over the Mediterranean basin. Yet unlike the bathhouse, which was semiprivate and enclosed, away from public view, the coffeehouse constantly offered itself as a spectacle, which, tempting and visible, beckoned to the surrounding markets and neighborhoods throughout the daylight hours and into the night. The allure was powerful. Many religious observers were alarmed precisely because it diverted so much traffic from older areas of public congregation. In sixteenth-century Istanbul, they lamented, the mosques now stood empty, as worshippers—including many members of the religious establishment—whiled away their hours in the inviting precincts of the coffeehouse.¹⁰⁰

Contemporaries tell of a lively, if not entirely wholesome, social scene in which people came to exchange news, to gossip, or simply to enjoy each other's company. The coffeehouse became a cultural harbor where people might watch musical performances and puppet plays, attend literary recitals, and play games such as chess and backgammon. Moralists looked on with horror. To Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi (d. 1651), an inveterate foe of both coffee and tobacco, the coffeehouse was nothing less than "a refuge of Satan." If others threw themselves into the carefree and relaxed atmosphere of the place, he could find only a sink full of the worst possible vices: frivolity, promiscuity, debauchery, and outright intoxication.¹⁰¹ And yet by al-Ghazzi's time, the coffeehouse had already become a permanent fixture in the neighborhoods and markets of his hometown of Damascus. In short order, it had emerged as the main bastion of a public culture of fun that had not previously existed. Until the silent cultural revolution of the Ottoman centuries, conviviality had been almost entirely private, or at least banished to the outskirts of town in the orchards, gardens, and cemeteries that discreetly offered their open space for picnics and other outings. Taverns had operated a shadowy business, which, owing to the Islamic proscription of wine and other alcoholic beverages, ensured them a marginal place in urban society. Disreputable and subject to sudden closure, they had no chance to nourish their own distinctive social life.¹⁰² Measured against these earlier outlets for social contact, the significance of the coffeehouse immediately stands out as a major cultural achievement. The creation of this open social space was undoubtedly a first step in the emergence of a very different kind of sociability.

The pivotal role of tobacco was to broaden and further entrench this public culture of fun. In its convenience and mobility, it was perfectly suited to the task. Unlike

¹⁰⁰ Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1: 364.

¹⁰¹ Cited by al-Kattani, *I'lan*, 139. See also the portrait drawn by Mustafa Ali, a high-ranking Ottoman bureaucrat, for the coffeehouses of Cairo; Mustafa Ali, *Mustafa Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599*, trans. Andreas Tietze (Vienna, 1975), 37–38.

¹⁰² One researcher has argued that in some Middle Eastern towns, including Cairo, taverns may not have appeared until Ottoman times. Paulina B. Lewicka, "Restaurants, Inns, and Taverns That Never Were: Some Reflections on Public Consumption in Medieval Cairo," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 48 (2005): 40–91.



FIGURE 4: A shopkeeper enjoying his hookah in one of the markets of Cairo. From Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 316.

coffee, which required a free block of time and a relatively elaborate apparatus for preparation, tobacco needed only to be stuffed into a bowl; as long as an ember or burning coal was available, smokers could enjoy it almost at once. Most critical to this success was the pipe, a highly transportable piece of equipment, which in ease of use and speed of consumption would not be surpassed until the nineteenth-century advent of the cigarette. To be more precise, smoking catered to the entire range of recreation. With a hookah, it could offer all the redolent leisure of coffee culture, which was essentially casual and sedentary. The pipe, on the other hand, conferred freedom and flexibility. One could smoke whenever, and wherever, one wanted: at home or in the markets and streets, in familiar company or on the move. More than

any other product of its time, tobacco opened the possibility of instant gratification—or what must have seemed like it to people of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Securing these options was no mean achievement. In some parts of central Europe, such as Prussia, public smoking remained illegal, and was treated as the equivalent of sedition until the early nineteenth century; it would later appear as one of the key demands of political reformers.¹⁰³ In the Middle East, tobacco's victory over state authority occurred much earlier. And once smokers had gained a foothold in public space, they were determined to hold as much ground as possible. But let us not overestimate the resistance that they faced. Throughout the Ottoman Middle East, large numbers of people seemed quite receptive to the new pastime, and showed themselves to be open to new sources of fun and excitement. In the end, political and religious authority had to bow to these powerful attitudes that seemed to well up from the depths of the culture and make a mockery of official anxieties. As tobacco continued on its seemingly inexorable progress, legal definitions underwent their own gradual alteration, often at the instigation of officials and scholars who had become smokers themselves. If not fully respectable itself, tobacco would still play a part in reshaping standards of morality. In subtle ways, the appearance of pipes and hookahs encouraged a more easygoing outlook, which was comfortable with its new satisfactions and, having once obtained them, proved very reluctant to give them up.

The adjustment in mentality may seem diffident and trivial; it justified itself not as a challenge to prevailing notions of morality, but as a matter of their proper interpretation. Nevertheless, it is precisely this unabashed quest for fun and diversion that, in fully mature form, would later go on to become one of the hallmarks of modern culture. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these playful impulses were already beginning to assert themselves with a growing boldness and ingenuity in streets, shops, and coffeehouses across the world. Although widely reviled in our own time, and scientifically linked to malignant illnesses, tobacco was a key factor in the breakdown of old moral strictures and helped to frame a distinctively early modern culture in which the pursuit of pleasure was thereafter more public, routine, and unfettered.

¹⁰³ Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 129.

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“Each nation only cares for its own”: Empire, Nation, and Child Welfare Activism in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1918

TARA ZAHRA

IN THE FALL OF 1917, Franziszka Pollabrek, a Czech-speaking factory worker, was at her wits' end. In a scathing letter to the Austrian Ministry of Education in Vienna, she demanded that the state do something about her incorrigible teenage sons. Pollabrek expressed her frustration with the state's inaction in the face of what she perceived to be a disturbing wartime social crisis: “My boys will become nothing but thieves, liars, and murderers if you, dear Sirs, don't intervene soon,” she warned. “The fathers are in the military, the male teachers are mobilized, and I work in the factory. You want to do nothing, so where should I begin? Since you have taken away their father, why don't you take the children as well, let the boys be locked up or shot, so that I don't have to see them anymore.”¹

Pollabrek was not alone. Across Europe, citizens depicted the upheaval of World War I through stories of broken families, absent fathers, negligent mothers, and delinquent children, and they demanded action from the state.² In the Bohemian lands (the Austrian crownlands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia), German and Czech nationalist child welfare activists took the initiative in responding to these demands. As a nationally segregated child welfare system developed and expanded in this region between 1900 and 1945, nationalist social welfare activists created and transformed imagined boundaries between public and private, as well as relationships between state and nation in the context of a multinational empire.³

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¹ Z. 8.500, Vienna, October 15, 1917, Carton 2483, Jugendfürsorge, Ministerium für soziale Verwaltung [hereafter MfSV], Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv [hereafter AVA], Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [hereafter ÖSTA]. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

² For examples of similar demands, see *Stimmung und wirtschaftliche Lage der österreichischen Bevölkerung im Hinterland*, Carton 3751, Armeeoberkommando [hereafter AOK], Kriegsarchiv [hereafter KA], ÖSTA. On Austria, see Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (New York, 2004), 211–300. On Germany, see Edward Ross Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare from the Empire to the Federal Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 113–118; David F. Crew, *Germans on Welfare: From Weimar to Hitler* (New York, 1998); Young-Sun Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State, 1919–1933* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Richard Bessel, *Germany after the First World War* (Oxford, 1993); Elizabeth Harvey, *Youth and the Welfare State in the Weimar Republic* (Oxford, 1994).

³ For a discussion of the uses of the public/private divide in gender history and historiography, see

ninth century, middle-class Czech and German nationalists, concerned "denationalization" of children in bilingual regions, had compete for the national loyalties of the next generation. Suspecting that if parents were indifferent to nationalism, they attempted to penetrate to socialize children directly, through schools and child welfare agencies. Nationalist voluntary associations had established a vast network of ethnically segregated nurseries, kindergartens, maternal and infant day camps, and soup kitchens, through the private Czech and German Commissions for Child Protection and Youth Welfare (Deutscher Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge [hereafter DKS] and Česká zemědělská společnost dětí a péči o mládež [hereafter ČZK]), founded in 1907.⁴ After World War, the supranational Austrian state turned specifically to commissions to build and manage an ambitious new Ministry for Social Welfare (Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge) in 1917–1918. As the acknowledged champion of child welfare, nationalist activists easily claimed the scientific authority, and popular legitimacy necessary to provide for Bohemian children. By harnessing an existing private nationalist child welfare network, the new ministry hoped to repair the war-damaged morale of Austrian citizens, and to boost the state's own flagging popularity in the wake of the Russian Revolution.

Child welfare in the Bohemian lands may seem at first glance to be a local tale even within East Central Europe. In actuality, however, it is rich for what it teaches us about the specificities of the relationship between the state, nation, and family in the multilingual and multinational Habsburg Empire. What it reveals about wartime welfare-state formation in Europe and the story it provides a fresh perspective on the particular dynamics of state formation and revolution in the context of a multinational empire. It shows how and why nationalists gained legitimacy and influence within the newly formed supranational imperial state. Historians of Central and Eastern Europe have traditionally seen nationalism as an explosive force that was contained within the Austrian Empire. In fact, however, far from working against the empire, Czech nationalist activists dramatically expanded their influence over the empire's families during the First World War, by serving as the imperial state's agents.⁵

History in the New Millennium: Rethinking Public and Private," *Journal of Women's History* 2003): 11–69.

State welfare initiatives in Habsburg Austria took effect in the 1880s, when a coalition of provincial landowners, social Catholics, and Czech and Polish nationalists led by the so-called Iron Ring introduced several major reforms targeting industrial labor protective legislation that restricted working hours for women and children in 1884 and health and accident insurance in 1888. William A. Jenks, *Austria under the Iron Ring* (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), 179–220; see also Margarete Grandner, "Special Labor Protection in Austria, 1860–1918," in Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Jane Lewis, eds., *Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880–1920* (Chicago,

⁵ John W. Boyer has recently argued that the Austrian state imploded during the war, suggesting that nations did not destroy the state but that the state destroyed itself, "releasing the individual nations from its orbit." I would like to suggest, in contrast, that the Habsburg state attempted to draw the nations

In addition, the history of the wartime welfare state in the Bohemian lands suggests new ways of thinking more broadly about relationships between welfare activism, the state, and the family in Europe. While the nationalist inspiration for and structure of child welfare in East Central Europe were peculiar, the expansion of state obligations toward children during World War I was typical across Europe, as was the development of new state welfare programs out of private and local projects. Historians have often characterized those developments as new and troubling forms of state interference in the previously apolitical and private realm of the family. These critiques rest on a romanticized and ahistorical view of the family as a harmonious, autonomous unit, best protected from outside intervention. To the contrary, however, childhood in Europe was politicized well before World War I, such politicization often had beneficial consequences for children, and new state welfare programs were often built from the ground up as the state explicitly sought to improve its own popular legitimacy.

THE CASE OF THE BOHEMIAN LANDS is instructive for historians of East Central Europe precisely because German and Czech nationalist welfare activists and social workers were in the vanguard of a broader movement toward the establishment of a nationally divided social welfare system throughout Habsburg Central Europe. Thanks to the competitive activism of nationalists, child welfare and social work was actually far more developed in the Bohemian lands by the eve of World War I than in any other part of the Dual Monarchy, including urban Vienna and Budapest.⁶ There is surprisingly little published research on the development of social welfare in other parts of East Central Europe before the war. It is clear, however, that German, Czech, Polish, Slovene, Romanian, Slovak, and Italian nationalists were also obsessed with preventing the “denationalization” of children in late Habsburg Austria. These concerns formed the basis for nationalist intervention in the family through child welfare activism. By 1916, nationalist social welfare activists had therefore demanded nationally segregated guardianship councils, which appointed guardians for orphans and children born out of wedlock, in cities such as Graz (Styria), Ljubljana/Laibach (Krain), and Cracow (Galicia) and in Austrian Silesia, all following the early

into its orbit in its final years, at least in the realm of social welfare. See Boyer, “Silent War and Bitter Peace: The Revolution of 1918 in Austria,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2003): 12. For other work that emphasizes the state’s own role in exacerbating nationalism during the war (negatively), see Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999), 46; Mark Cornwall, “The Dissolution of Austria-Hungary,” in Cornwall, ed., *The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe* (Exeter, 2002). For less negative assessments of how nationalism developed within a framework authorized by the Austrian state, see Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), 114–153; Gerald Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs, 1848–1918* (Vienna, 1985).

⁶ For example, in 1914, there were 95 professional social workers in Bohemia with 2,510 charges, while in Moravia 54 social workers supervised 3,599 children. Most of these social workers were employees of the ČZK or DLS, which set up frequent professionalization courses to recruit and train them. Lower Austria, which included urban Vienna, lagged far behind, with only 17 social workers overseeing 933 children in 1914. Generalvormundschaft, Carton 433, Justizministerium, Sig. I, AVA, ÖSTA.

example of the Bohemian lands.⁷ In 1917, the government officially adopted the "successful" system established in the Bohemian lands, whereby each nation managed its own public social welfare institutions, as the model for an expanding public child welfare system in all multilingual regions of Habsburg Austria, including Galicia, Bukovina, southern Styria, and Silesia. In each of these regions, government officials in the new Ministry for Social Welfare planned to create nationally segregated city and regional youth welfare offices, guardian councils, and provincial commissions to care for the physical and moral welfare of the empire's children and youth.⁸

Welfare activism naturally developed differently in other regions of Eastern Europe. For example, although Hungary included significant Slovak-speaking, Croat-speaking, and Romanian-speaking minorities, it was governed more like a nation-state after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867. Whereas German and Czech nationalist child welfare activists competed with their national "enemies" to expand their numbers and improve the nation's physical and moral health, the liberal Hungarian state limited itself to providing sparse, short-term poor relief to the neediest children. In more linguistically homogeneous regions of Austria, such as Vienna, a combination of municipal or provincial authorities and private religious charities generally stood at the forefront of child welfare movements, which were driven by sharp conflicts between Socialist and religious activists rather than by nationalist priorities.⁹

In 1917, the new Austrian Ministry for Social Welfare created a Youth Council (*Jugendbeirat*), charged with developing a new centralized imperial policy on youth welfare. It was designed with the explicit goal of facilitating national representation, and included Czech, Polish, Italian, Croat, and Jewish delegates, many of whom represented private nationalist social welfare institutions in their respective crownlands.¹⁰ In one of the council's first and only official sessions, Jona Kimmel, a Jewish social welfare activist from Galicia, requested state funding for Jewish kindergartens and welfare organizations, in anticipation of the general national division of educational and social institutions across Habsburg Central Europe. Kimmel suggested that Jewish commissions for social welfare be erected next to those of other nationalities in all mixed-language regions of Austria, especially Galicia and Bukovina, explaining, "Considering the fact that public life in Austria will certainly sooner or later be oriented according to purely national perspectives, I consider it a given that

⁷ Note des Ministerium des Innerns, betreffend die Generalvormundschaft und Gutachten über denselben Entwurf, Z. 13739, April 20, 1916, Generalvormundschaft, Carton 433, Justizministerium, Sig. I, AVA, ÖSTA.

⁸ On Silesia, see Z. 14915, June 16, 1918, k.k. Landesregierung in Troppau, Carton 2477, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, Archiv der Republik [hereafter AdR], ÖSTA. On plans for the national segregation of welfare institutions in other crownlands of the monarchy, see Skizze zu Richtlinien für ein Gesetz über die öffentliche Erziehung, November 1, 1917, Carton 43, Präsidium 1917, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁹ Susan Zimmermann, *Prächtige Armut: Fürsorge, Kinderschutz und Sozialreform in Budapest—Das "sozialpolitische Laboratorium" der Doppelmonarchie im Vergleich zu Wien, 1873–1914* (Sigmaringen, 1997), 154–157, 300–317, 384–390, 398–410. In Warsaw, part of the Russian Empire before the First World War, religious charities also typically assumed responsibility for child welfare. The most famous of these institutions was Dr. Janusz Korczak's "children's republic," a home for Polish Jewish orphans established in 1912, which promoted progressive, child-centered pedagogies. See Betty Jean Lifton, *The King of Children: A Biography of Janusz Korczak* (New York, 1988), 48, 62, 73.

¹⁰ *Jugendbeirat*, I. Band, Carton 2475, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

the time will come in which each nation only cares for its own. The Jewish population will then be receptive to the idea of a pan-Austrian organization for the care of school-age Jewish youth, which could arrange its own Jewish kindergartens in every community."¹¹ The nationally segregated social welfare system in the Bohemian lands thus gradually became an explicit model for a developing "separate but equal" welfare system across Habsburg Austria. And by relying on nationalists to address a growing social crisis during World War I, the Austrian state itself encouraged and legitimized this trend.

State officials also enabled nationalist activists to claim the mantle of popular legitimacy. This is not to say that nationalist self-representation should be taken at face value. Historians of the Habsburg Monarchy and interwar Czechoslovakia have vigorously debated the "democratic" credentials of the Habsburg and Czechoslovak states, typically measuring Central European states against an ideal type of Western, liberal democracy.¹² On a broader level, historians of World War I have also disagreed about the extent to which the war had "democratizing" or emancipatory consequences for women, workers, and colonial subjects, enabling them to claim new political or social rights on the basis of their wartime service.¹³ Rather than assessing the extent to which nationalist movements, the supranational Austrian state, or interwar European nation-states were or were not authentically "democratic" or had "democratizing" effects, child welfare activism in the Bohemian lands offers a promising context for exploring the historically specific ways in which nationalists defined and appropriated discourses of popular legitimacy. They did so in a time and place when the Wilsonian right to national self-determination came to be seen as a fundamental democratic right.

Tracing the relationship between nationalist child welfare activists and the imperial state thus provides a fresh perspective on the revolutions of 1918–1919 in East Central Europe. Typically, these upheavals are understood as national uprisings that were directed against a crumbling Austrian state, and which stood in for the social revolutions that shook Russia and Germany at the end of the war.¹⁴ In fact, by en-

¹¹ Protokoll über die erste konstituierende Sitzung des Jugendbeirates am 17. Juni 1918, Beilage 3, Z. 1807/18, Carton 2475, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

¹² For an overview of this debate in historiography on the Habsburg Empire, see Gary B. Cohen, "Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy: New Narratives on Society and Government in Late Imperial Austria," *Austrian History Yearbook* 29 (1998): 37–61. On interwar Czechoslovakia's democratic credentials, see Vera Olivová, *Dějiny první republiky* (Prague, 2000), 7; Václav Kural, *Konflikt anstatt Gemeinschaft? Tschechen und Deutsche im Tschechoslowakischen Staat, 1918–1938* (Prague, 2001); Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle, Wash., 1974). For more critical assessments of Czechoslovak democracy, see Peter Bugge, "Czech Democracy 1918–1938: Paragon or Parody?" in Christiane Brenner and Stephanie Weiss, eds., *Phasen und Formen der Transformation in der Tschechoslowakei, 1918–1993* (Munich, forthcoming); Peter Heumos, "Pluralistische Machtorganisation als Garant der Demokratie? Zur Struktur und zum autoritären Potential der Ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik," in Erwin Oberländer et al., eds., *Autoritäre Regime in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, 1919–1944* (Mainz, 2001), 136–139.

¹³ For recent discussions of the wartime transformation of citizenship in the Austrian context, see Healy, *Vienna*, 300–313; Maureen Healy, "Becoming Austrian: Women, the State, and Citizenship in World War I," *Central European History* 35, no. 1 (March 2002): 1–35; Alon Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front* (New York, 2002); King, *Budweisers*, 147–177.

¹⁴ While Marxist historians have lamented that the revolutionary potential in Eastern Europe was diluted by nationalist priorities, others have explored the ways in which nationalism provided a language for expressing a broad array of social and cultural concerns. For the argument that nationalism overwhelmed socialism in the revolutions of 1918–1919, see István Deák, "The Habsburg Empire," in Karen

trusting private nationalist welfare organizations in the Bohemian lands with the management of the state's most ambitious social programs to date, Austrian state officials themselves encouraged the conflation of social and national grievances. By using a nationalist social welfare system to meet citizens' social needs, officials ceded to nationalists the right to define social questions, such as the welfare of war orphans and the fate of starving children, as questions of national survival. Moreover, the revolutions of 1918–1919 did not represent a revolt by the nationalized masses against a state doomed to collapse, as historians of Austria have traditionally argued.¹⁵ Far from passively slipping into the twilight, Austrian government officials responded to citizens' claims with a significant attempt at reform in 1916–1918. These last-ditch efforts failed to save the monarchy, but the "separate but equal" welfare state reflected an escalating trend toward the national segregation of public institutions, setting the stage for the revolutions that would carve the map of East Central Europe into nation-states in 1918.

THE NATIONALIST FLAVOR AND DIVISION of social welfare institutions in the Bohemian lands may have been peculiar to Habsburg Central Europe. However, several aspects of this history will sound familiar to historians who have studied welfare activism in other contexts. In particular, the emergence of a more centralized and expansive welfare state during the First World War from a preexisting network of private (religious, national, and political) charities and institutions was typical throughout Europe.¹⁶ Thus this case can be used to rethink more general understandings of welfare-state formation, and of relationships between public and private, in modern Europe. In the past fifteen years, historians have fruitfully explored the multiple ways in which the Great War radically transformed relationships between sexes, families, nations, and states in Europe.¹⁷ Specifically, they have linked the expansion of European

Barkey and Mark von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building* (New York, 1997), 135; Hans Lemberg and Peter Heumos, eds., *Das Jahr 1919 in der Tschechoslowakei und in Ostmitteleuropa* (Munich, 1993). On interactions between nationalism and socialism, see Peter Heumos, "Kartoffeln her oder es gibt eine Revolution: Hungerkrawalle, Streiks, und Massenproteste in den böhmischen Ländern, 1914–1918," in Hans Mommsen, Dusan Kováč, and Jiří Malý, eds., *Der erste Weltkrieg und die Beziehungen zwischen Tschechen, Slowaken und Deutschen* (Essen, 2001), 255–287; Kural, *Konflikt Anstatt Gemeinschaft?*, 20.

¹⁵ For examples of narratives about the inevitable collapse of the monarchy, see Solomon Wank, "The Habsburg Empire," in Barkey and von Hagen, *After Empire*, 45–58; Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970); for a revisionist perspective, see Cohen, "Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy," 37–61.

¹⁶ For examples of how welfare-state structures were built from and/or shaped by private activism, social work organizations, and municipal or regional initiatives in Western Europe and the U.S., see Kathleen Canning, *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 126–217; Laura Lee Downs, *Childhood in the Promised Land: Working-Class Movements and the Colonies de Vacances in France, 1880–1960* (Durham, N.C., 2002); Seth Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840–1914," in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York, 1993), 94–127; Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

¹⁷ In several European states, including Austria and Czechoslovakia, women were granted suffrage shortly after the war's end. On gender, family, and citizenship during World War I in Europe, see Healy, "Becoming Austrian," 1–35; Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur, eds., *Gender and*

welfare states with the new responsibilities assumed by wartime governments for the health and morale of citizens on the home front. The success (or failure) of official efforts to ensure the physical, educational, and moral welfare of children was directly linked to the fundamental legitimacy of the state, the outcome of the war, the development of new welfare states, and gendered understandings of citizenship in interwar Europe. In the Central European context, Belinda Davis and Maureen Healy have convincingly argued that the failure of the state to fulfill its social promises during World War I significantly contributed to the fall of the Habsburg and German empires in 1918.¹⁸

Historians of the welfare state in modern Europe have thus typically cast the First World War as a moment of expanding government intervention into a so-called “private” sphere. In this view, as wartime states took on ever more responsibility for women and children on the home front, paternalist welfare systems politicized childhood and inserted themselves into the family, taking the place of the absent fathers lamented by Pollabrek. At the same time, new, centralized bureaucracies often undermined or usurped the authority of middle-class women, who had been at the forefront of earlier private, religious, or feminist charity organizations.¹⁹ The expansion of European welfare states during the war is thereby situated within a larger Foucauldian narrative, in which the rise of the welfare state is associated with new and presumably troubling practices of social discipline.²⁰ Particularly in the Central European context, such intervention in the “private” realms of reproduction and child-rearing has been linked to a slippery slope to later Nazi eugenics and population policies, which promoted murder in the name of fortifying the nation’s racial

War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe (Bloomington, Ind., 2006); Susan Pederson, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 79–133; Nicoletta Gullace, “The Blood of Our Sons”: *Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (New York, 2002); Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 119–147; Susan R. Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999).

¹⁸ Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, esp. 190–218; Healy, *Vienna*, esp. 1–30. On state legitimacy and welfare provision during World War I, see also Richard Wall and Jay Winter, eds., *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work, and Welfare in Europe, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, 1988).

¹⁹ See, for example, Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*, 130; Young-Sun Hong, “World War I and the German Welfare State: Gender, Religion, and the Paradoxes of Modernity,” in Geoff Eley, ed., *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 360–361; Christoph Sachse, “Social Mothers: The Bourgeois Women’s Movement and German Welfare-State Formation, 1890–1929,” in Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds., *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s–1950s* (London, 1991), 136–158; Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, “Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880–1920,” *AHR* 95, no. 4 (October 1990): 1076–1108.

²⁰ For examples of literature that associate World War I with the rise of an interventionist welfare state, see Pederson, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State*, 79–133; Elizabeth Domanisky, “Militarization and Reproduction in World War I Germany,” in Eley, *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany*, 447–451; David F. Crew, “The Ambiguities of Modernity: Welfare and the German State from Wilhelm to Hitler,” *ibid.*, 319–344; Hong, “World War I and the German Welfare State,” 345–371; Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women in the First World War* (Oxford, 1997); Sylvia Schafer, *Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Christa Hämmerle, “Diese Schatten über unserer Kindheit gelegen: Historische Anmerkung zu einem unerforschten Thema,” in Hämmerle, ed., *Kindheit im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vienna, 1993), 265–335; Deborah Dwork, *War Is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England, 1898–1918* (New York, 1987).

health. These studies have highlighted the disciplinary effects of state intervention in working-class families, and the conditions of economic crisis under which progressive programs to reform and rehabilitate children were transformed into racist initiatives to exclude allegedly racially inferior or "incurable" individuals from the national community.²¹

But what if the private invaded the public? The situation in the Bohemian lands challenges these general narratives of welfare-state expansion in Europe.²² The argument that new forms of child welfare activism during the First World War represented a troubling encroachment on parental rights or an invasion of a previously apolitical "private" sphere is based on problematic assumptions about the family and children in Europe in the long nineteenth century. Specifically, the social disciplinary framework not only assumes a preexisting division between a public and a private sphere, but also imagines that children were firmly located in the realm of the private, before childhood was instrumentally politicized by mass political movements, social reformers, and invasive militarized states during the war. However, there were important continuities between prewar and wartime welfare activism. In the Bohemian lands, children were not secluded in an apolitical private sphere before the outbreak of World War I. They had long been objects of vigorous nationalist contestation. Similarly, in other parts of Europe, working-class children lived public lives in the workplace and in the streets, and were mobilized outside of the school and home in Socialist, religious, and nationalist child welfare institutions, summer camps, and youth groups. Across Europe, moreover, the wartime welfare state was often built from the bottom up, in response to demands from aggrieved citizens, and through the initiative of religious, political, and charitable organizations that had established their expertise and authority in the realm of child welfare well before the outbreak of war.²³

Second, normative critiques of welfare-state expansion tend to downplay or naturalize the gendered and age-based power relations within families. The ideal of the family as a harmonious unit that should be protected from state intervention has historically protected the rights of men to rule over women and children with impunity. Historians of gender have persuasively analyzed the gendered inequalities

²¹ For a general overview of these debates, see Young-Sun Hong, "Neither Singular nor Alternative: Narratives of Welfare and Modernity in Germany, 1870–1945," *Social History* 30, no. 2 (May 2005): 133–153. For examples of work linking early-twentieth-century welfare programs and population policies to Nazi eugenics, see Detlev Peukert, *Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung: Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Jugendfürsorge von 1878 bis 1932* (Cologne, 1986); Domansky, "Militarization and Reproduction," 427–464; Peukert, "The Genesis of the Final Solution from the Spirit of Science," in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds., *Reevaluating the Third Reich* (New York, 1993), 234–252.

²² Recently several scholars of the welfare state in modern Europe have critiqued the overly pessimistic implications of social disciplinary models, emphasizing the agency of welfare clients, tensions between disciplinary and progressive potential in welfare programs, and the multiple conflicts of interest that characterized the formation of European welfare states. See Hong, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State*, 3–16; Dickinson, *The Politics of German Child Welfare*, 286–300; Crew, "The Ambiguities of Modernity," 326; Downs, *Childhood*, 7, 286; Sarah Fishman, *The Battle for Children: World War II, Youth Crime, and Juvenile Justice in Twentieth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 3–4, 151, 227.

²³ For an overview of recent historiography on childhood that questions the teleology implicit in Foucauldian narratives of social discipline, see Nicholas Stargardt, "German Childhoods: The Making of a Historiography," *German History* 16, no. 1 (1998): 1–15. On the "public" lives of working-class children, see Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London, 1870–1914* (London, 1996).

within the family, as well as the ways in which male domination over an imagined private sphere became a basis for citizenship in Europe's emerging liberal and republican states.²⁴ Historians have done less, however, to analyze inequalities of age within the family, or to challenge idealized views of relationships between parents and children, depicting state intervention in the family as a menacing threat to "natural" parental rights.²⁵ These critiques are often based on the underlying assumption that an autonomous biological family is the natural environment for child-rearing, and that the family itself should be self-sufficient. On the eve of the First World War in the Bohemian lands, different norms prevailed. Children were not typically considered the property or the sole responsibility of their parents. Czech and German nationalists already enjoyed considerable rights and responsibilities in regard to educating their children and providing for their health and welfare. The Austrian state's reliance on private nationalist welfare institutions during the war strengthened and legitimized these rights, anchoring them in law and emerging public institutions. As in other parts of Europe, this development did not necessarily represent a fundamental rupture, a menacing expansion of state power, or a troublesome abrogation of parental rights. It reflected a state-sanctioned expansion of private welfare initiatives, often in response to popular grievances, based on the conviction that the biological family alone was not sufficient to guarantee the health, welfare, and socialization of the nation's children.

IN 1899, CZECH NATIONALISTS IN PRAGUE published a pamphlet aimed at convincing the city's Czech-speaking parents not to enroll their children in German schools: "Czech parents! Remember that your children are not only your own property, but also the property of the nation. They are the property of all of society, and that society has the right to control your conduct!"²⁶ Nationalists in the Bohemian lands were hardly alone in declaring that children constituted a precious form of "national property" (*nationaler Besitzstand*, *národní majetek*) at the turn of the century. Across Europe, nationalists fretted about the quantity and quality of the nation's young, seeing them as a measure of the nation's future demographic, political, racial, and military strength. Nationalist claims on children in the Bohemian lands nonetheless differed from those in Western European nation-states in several respects.²⁷

First, since the state was not coterminous with the nation, efforts to nationalize

²⁴ Isabel V. Hull's work persuasively highlights the centrality of men's dominance over the "private" sphere as fathers and husbands to the construction of citizenship and the public sphere in Germany. See Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996). See also Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1988); Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

²⁵ On the tendency to romanticize parent-child relationships, see Larry Wolff, *Postcards from the End of the World: Child Abuse in Freud's Vienna* (New York, 1995).

²⁶ *Národní socialisté českým rodičům v Brně! České dítě patří do české školy!* (Brno, 1899), 6.

²⁷ There is a vast literature on nationalism in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some recent examples focused on Central and Eastern Europe include Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); King, *Budweisers*; Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit, eds., *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York, 2004); Nancy M. Wingfield, ed., *Creating the Other: Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism in Habsburg Central Europe* (New York, 2003); Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield,

children and families were not undertaken by a central state seeking to make "Frenchmen out of peasants," but rather by mass nationalist movements, political parties, and private voluntary associations, the ranks of which were bolstered by growing numbers of middle-class teachers, civil servants, white-collar workers, and women at the turn of the century.²⁸ The Austrian state, meanwhile, attempted to cultivate patriotic imperial loyalties that transcended nationalist commitments. Nationalist claims to "own" children were nonetheless first articulated within a legal and political framework created by the supranational Austrian state itself, a system that increasingly recognized nationality in order to defuse nationalist tensions. For example, beginning with the Imperial School Law of 1869, the state provided citizens with the opportunity to be educated in their native language. Municipal governments were required to build a public elementary school in a recognized language wherever there was an average of forty potential pupils over five years within a four-kilometer radius. In a series of important rulings in the 1880s, the Austrian Supreme Administrative Court ruled that this legislation implied a minority right to primary education in one's native tongue. By the turn of the century in the Bohemian lands, German and Czech nationalists enjoyed considerable autonomy to determine the curriculum and manage a linguistically segregated public school system.

Certainly, nation-states across Europe in the late nineteenth century sought to nationalize populations whose loyalties were more closely tied to localities, regions, or religious, professional, or class-based communities. In the bilingual regions of the Bohemian lands, however, it was often far from clear which children belonged to which nation. While activists claimed to be working against the alleged "Germanization" or "Czechification" of children, they actually competed to win the loyalties of a great many children and families who were bilingual, flexible about their national affiliation, or altogether indifferent to nationality.²⁹ The nationalist child welfare movement in the Bohemian lands was the product of this struggle for children's souls in bilingual regions. While traveling through the town of Prachatice/Prachatitz in the late summer of 1918, the Austrian writer Robert Scheu observed, "There is always a great deal of agitation during the summer holidays because of the schools. Both nations attempt to win students over for their schools, and not always with the most

eds., *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette, Ind., 2001).

²⁸ Although women represented a minority among the leadership of nationalist child welfare organizations, they were well represented in nationalist movements as kindergarten and nursery school teachers, child guardians, and social workers. On women in German nationalist organizations, see Pieter M. Judson, "The Gendered Politics of German Nationalism in Austria," in David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes, eds., *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Oxford, 1996), 1–17. On Czech feminism and nationalism, see Katherine David, "Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Late Habsburg Monarchy: The First in Austria," *Journal of Women's History* 3, no. 2 (1991): 26–45; Melissa Feinberg, "Gender and the Politics of Difference in the Czech Lands after Munich," *East European Politics and Societies* 17, no. 2 (2003): 202–230.

²⁹ On national indifference or side-switching, see Gary B. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival: Germans in Prague, 1861–1914* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*; Chad Bryant, "Either German or Czech: Fixing Nationality in Bohemia and Moravia, 1939–1946," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 4 (2002): 683–706; King, *Budweisers*, 158–159, 198; Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia* (New York, 2005), 200–204; Tara Zahra, "Reclaiming Children for the Nation: Germanization, National Ascription, and Democracy in the Bohemian Lands, 1900–1945," *Central European History* 37, no. 4 (2004): 499–541.

honest methods.”³⁰ These methods included enticing working-class and rural parents to enroll their children in German or Czech schools by offering pupils generous welfare benefits. This competition for children’s loyalties may have contributed to a more inclusive dynamic in the social welfare movements of the Bohemian lands than in neighboring nation-states. Nationalist child welfare activists did not typically seek to exclude ineducable or “inferior” children from the nation. Rather, they competed to claim as many children as possible as Germans or Czechs.

Nationalist campaigns to increase the number of children enrolled in German and Czech schools soon inspired more ambitious schemes to fill classrooms in nationally contested regions. For example, nationalist child welfare organizations began to establish “colonies” of ten to twelve orphans in villages where a local German or Czech school was threatened by declining enrollments. These orphan colonies not only saved endangered schools, they also promised to save orphans from the threat of “Germanization” or “Czechification” in the orphanages or foster homes of the national enemy. In a 1913 appeal to build new orphanages, Czech nationalists insisted, “Every day children are lost to us in orphanages, where they are given a piece of bread with one hand and robbed of their mother tongue with the other.”³¹

The driving force behind these efforts was himself a nationalist orphan. At the turn of the century, Hugo Heller, who had been raised in an orphanage in Prague, was just embarking on what would become a long and impressive career as a nationalist child welfare activist. In 1907, Heller founded the German Provincial Commission for Child Protection and Youth Welfare in Bohemia (DLS), and a parallel Czech organization, the ČZK, was established shortly thereafter. They were quickly followed by German and Czech commissions in Moravia and Silesia. The provincial commissions and their local branches remained the most important and wide-reaching child welfare institutions in the Bohemian lands until the Nazi occupation in 1938–1939. Writing on the growing nationalist welfare movement in 1912, Heller insisted, “The deepest and most powerful driving forces behind the youth welfare movement are precisely national in nature. They [activists] wish not only to improve the inner diligence of the nation and to promote its economic interests, but above all to maintain the nation’s numerical strength and its ability to uphold its cultural values.”³²

Bolstered by the apparent success of their programs for orphans in the Bohemian lands, nationalist child welfare activists began to target children with living parents. They were particularly intent on decreasing infant mortality rates and providing child-care support for working mothers in industrial regions. The provincial commissions sought to address infant mortality primarily through a network of nationally segregated infant and maternal welfare centers, which dispensed medical supplies and treatment, breastfeeding advice, and basic necessities such as sanitized infant formula, food, and clothing, all in the name of “protecting children from the hygienic dangers that gnaw at the nation’s roots.”³³ While working mothers were a source of

³⁰ “Prachatitz,” in Robert Scheu, *Wanderung durch Böhmen am Vorabend der Revolution* (Vienna, 1919), 200–201.

³¹ “U dětech národu,” *Ludmila: Časopis věnovaný ochraně opustených dětí a sirotků vůbec a zvláště na Ostravsku* 1 (1913): 4.

³² Hugo Heller, *Jugendland* (Prague, 1912), 34.

³³ *An die deutsche Lehrerschaft in Mähren* (Brünn, 1912, 1. In 1900, for every 1,000 children born in

concern, they also afforded nationalists an irresistible opportunity to expand their primary pedagogical influence on children. In 1912, Heller himself insisted that nationalist child welfare organizations should share the burden of child-rearing with the working mother, who "should be helped in her difficult situation to pursue paid employment in order to earn a living, to run a household, and to become a mother or simply to be a mother."³⁴ In 1913, local DLS activist Albin Dimter described how nationalists in the Bohemian industrial town of Broumov/Braunau put these ideals into practice by offering "morally flawless supervision and stimulating activities for those poor children whose parents must earn their bread, in daycare centers, nurseries, soup kitchens, student workshops, and homes for girls." He elaborated, "The poor child's missing parental home should be replaced to the extent possible, so as to raise a new generation that finds joy in work, that is competitive and happy."³⁵

Thanks to burgeoning nationalist pedagogical and child welfare movements, national affiliation was supposed to determine not only where children attended school, but how they spent their summers, their preschool years, and their after-school hours, and where they turned for a cup of soup or a free medical exam in times of need. By the same token, parents no longer enjoyed unlimited "rights" to educate or govern their children as they pleased. They rather enjoyed the "right" to a national education for their children, and to certain social services also provided by the national community. Nationalist child welfare activists had helped to institutionalize a political culture in which the socialization, health, and welfare of children were not the responsibility of parents alone.

THE TREND TOWARD THE NATIONAL SEGREGATION of child welfare institutions was legitimized and accelerated by the Austrian state itself during World War I. Not long after they mobilized men for the battlefields and women for the armaments factories in 1914, Europe's Great Powers mobilized children for the war. "No child is too young to help!" argued Austrian school reformer and teacher Dora Siegl. "Students of all ages can contribute to a considerable degree."³⁶ German and Czech nation-

districts in Bohemia with a German-speaking majority, 28.1 percent died within one year and 35.8 percent died within five years. In Czech-speaking districts, the numbers were only slightly better: 23.7 percent did not reach their first birthday, and 32 percent did not survive five years. Among European lands, only Russia had higher infant mortality rates. On infant mortality in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Heinrich Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen* (Reichenberg, 1905), 586.

³⁴ Heller, *Jugendland*, 26. For nationalist discussions of working mothers, see "Mädchenfürsorge," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Jugendfürsorge* 2 (1909): 98; "Školství menšinové a ochrana mládež," *Stráž severu: Věstník národní jednoty severočeská*, December 31, 1909, 2. According to the Austrian census of 1900, women accounted for 38 percent of the total workforce in Bohemia, and 38.2 percent of Bohemian women worked outside the home in 1900. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, eds., *Die Habsburgermonarchie, 1848–1918*, vol. 3: *Die Völker des Reiches* (Vienna, 1980), 38; and Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand*, 336.

³⁵ Albin Dimter, "Siebenter Bericht der dreiklassigen Josef Edler von Schroll deutschen Privat-Volksschule mit Öffentlichkeitsrecht und des mit ihr verbundenen Kindergärten in Branau," in *Die deutsche Landeskommision für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge*, vol. 4 (Branau, 1913).

³⁶ Dora Siegl, "Der Krieg und die Jugend," *Schaffende Arbeit und Kunst in der Schule* 4 (1917): 67. On war pedagogy in Austria, see Healy, *Vienna*, 211–240; Hämmerle, "Diese Schatten über unserer Kindheit gelegen," 265–335. On war pedagogy in France, see Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *La guerre des enfants, 1914–1918: Essai d'histoire culturelle* (Paris, 1993).

alists alike initially promoted the war as a beneficial pedagogical experience for Austrian children. In 1915, for example, a Czech provincial judge and child welfare activist, Franz Mězl, published a pamphlet that contained this advice for Czech educators: "The teacher must, when he speaks of the enemy, introduce a drop of hatred into the child's soul."³⁷

While nationalists across Europe praised the pedagogical and patriotic value of "hatred" in 1915, those words generated an unusual amount of controversy among Austrian civil servants. Universal public education had long been a primary strategy through which nation-states such as Great Britain, Germany, and France sought to cultivate the patriotic loyalties of the next generation. In many multilingual regions of Austria, however, primary schools were firmly in the hands of nationalists. For decades, Czech and German nationalists in the Bohemian lands had competed to show their patriotic loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty. These imperial loyalties had been perfectly compatible with nationalist loyalties. With the outbreak of war, however, German nationalists attempted to depict Czechs, and particularly Czech teachers, as subversive traitors. German-speaking officials in Moravia therefore perceived a threat to imperial loyalty in Mězl's war pedagogy, explaining that a Czech teacher "cannot be expected to encourage hatred against Russians and Serbs."³⁸

In fact, while the myth of Czech nationalist opposition to the Austrian state and to the war continues to shape the Czech collective memory, these accusations were largely the invention of German nationalists.³⁹ In the face of considerable evidence of Czech patriotism, however, the Austrian state abandoned its traditional position of impartiality in nationalist affairs, arresting Czech nationalist leaders, scrutinizing Czech school curricula, and censoring the nationalist press. Simultaneously, the Austrian state began to rely on Czech nationalists to help build its wartime welfare system. Ironically, even as the state suppressed Czech nationalism in the schools with paranoid zeal, Austrian officials enabled both Czech and German nationalists to expand their influence over children and youth through wartime welfare activism.⁴⁰

Moreover, while World War I began in the Bohemian lands with a chorus of nationalist declarations about its pedagogical value, it did not take long for more pessimistic voices to prevail. The experience of the war directly challenged idealized views of the family as harmonious and self-sufficient, and thereby helped to produce a political culture ripe for state action. As early as 1916, reports from across the Bohemian lands warned of a menacing crisis of youth. Children allegedly roamed the

³⁷ F. Mězl, *Rada zemského soudu, válka světová a naše péče o dorost* (Brno, 1915), 9, Sig. IEI/3, 1900–1918, Carton 433, Justizministerium, AVA, ÖSTA.

³⁸ Report of the OLG Abteilung 5 to Z. 22058/15, Sig. IEI/3, 1900–1918, Carton 433, Justizministerium, AVA, ÖSTA. In his study of letters from the front, Alon Rachamimov has found that while state censors judged nationalist sentiments in letters written by Magyar, German, and Polish soldiers to be fully compatible with loyalty to the empire, any hint of Czech or Slovak nationalism was deemed subversive and irreconcilable with imperial loyalties. Rachamimov, "Arbiters of Allegiance: Austro-Hungarian Censors during World War I," in Judson and Rozenblit, *Constructing Nationalities*, 21.

³⁹ See, for example, "Vnitropolitické otázky za války," *Národní listy*, January 20, 1915, 1. See also "Národní souročenství," *Národní politika*, November 14, 1915, 4; Kolektiv pracovníků SÚA, *Soupis dokumentů k vnitřnímu vývoji v českých zemích za 1. světové války 1914–1918*, 4 vols. (Prague, 1993–1997), 1: doc. 33, 87–89, and 2: doc. 10, 39–40.

⁴⁰ For an overview of Czech and German responses to the outbreak of World War I, see Jan Křen, *Die Konfliktgemeinschaft: Tschechen und Deutsche 1780–1918* (Munich, 1996), 303–400; King, *Budweisers*, 147–151; Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War*; Mommsen, Kováč, and Malíř, *Der erste Weltkrieg*.

streets aimlessly, patronized bordellos and cabarets, stole food and provisions, threw rocks at store windows, and begged in railway stations. By 1917, the Defense Ministry itself found it necessary to address the situation, arguing that youth delinquency threatened the state's military capacity. Officials declared, "This office can ignore these disturbing facts all the less, in that it concerns the physical deterioration and moral degeneration of that human material out of which the state should rejuvenate its defensive power." The Bohemian governor's office attempted to counter the perceived epidemic of youth delinquency in 1916, restricting smoking, drinking, attendance at variety shows, and gambling, and instituting a 9 P.M. curfew for youth under age sixteen.⁴¹

These disciplinary measures hardly sufficed to counter a growing social crisis. By 1917, the Austrian population was starving. As food shortages became more frequent and poverty consumed even the middle classes, observers in state and nationalist circles began to fear that the love of mothers for their children was itself at risk. In 1917, one state censor reported that as mothers talked of killing themselves along with their children, "the destruction of family life and the burial of motherly instincts" was proceeding apace.⁴² In the same year, the DLS in Bohemia reinforced popular fears about the destruction of familial bonds: "The war has revealed the sad truth that the pretty picture of the family as a force of social education has been destroyed by hard economic realities, and a certain wildness has emerged in its place. Feelings of parental duty are considerably stunted."⁴³ Another 1917 censor's report cited a letter from a Czech teenager, Stefanie Pěkná, to her father, who was stationed in Italy, to illustrate the social crisis brewing on the home front. The letter confirmed the worst nightmares of child welfare activists:

We are here alone without our father, and perhaps we will soon be without a mother as well, as our mother doesn't want to and cannot support us . . . Every day she goes without breakfast, and at lunch we have only black coffee. At night she comes home totally exhausted and cries from hunger, and we cry with her. When she goes to work, we stay home hungry and with no one to watch us.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, nationalists in the Bohemian lands painstakingly interpreted this social crisis in nationalist terms, building on their prewar activism. Since the 1860s, when the Austrian constitution was drafted and ratified, the supranational Austrian state had attempted to relegate nationalist expression to an imagined social or private sphere, while preserving the "universal" and supranational quality of public

⁴¹ For quotations, see Ministerium für Landesverteidigung an das Ministerium des Innern, Jugendfürsorge in Krieg, November 20, 1916, Carton 2475, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA. For measures taken against juvenile delinquency, see Z. 2446/18, Massnahmen gegen die drohende Verwahrlosung der Jugend, Statthaltereie in Böhmen, Prague, December 31, 1917, Carton 2476, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA; Prázdinová péče o mládež a zabezpečení nerušeného vyučování školního v příštím školním roce, Ratschläge für Jugendfürsorge, both in Carton 2588, Sig. IV13u-2 1915, Zemská školní rada [hereafter ZŠR], Národní archiv, Prague [hereafter NA].

⁴² Z. 4766, July 1917, Carton 3752, AOK, KA, ÖSTA. Between 1915 and 1918, food rations allocated to the average consumer in Vienna, for example, declined from 1,300 to 830 calories per day. On the crisis of provisioning in wartime Austria, see Healy, *Vienna*, 31–86; for statistics, 45.

⁴³ Auszug aus dem Tätigkeitsbericht der Deutschen Landeskommission für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge in Böhmen für das Jahr 1917, Z. 5524, Carton 2476, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁴⁴ Bemerkenswertennachrichten zur Verpflegungsfrage in der Monarchie, Prague, June 4, 1917, Carton 3752, AOK, KA, ÖSTA.

institutions such as the dynasty, army, church, and bureaucracy.⁴⁵ Nationalists, of course, aggressively challenged this division in the late nineteenth century, most successfully in their efforts to dominate public educational institutions. In constructing this public/private divide, however, and attempting to relegate nationalism to an imagined private realm, the Austrian state could not have anticipated that state legitimacy would one day hinge precisely on questions such as the health, welfare, and bad behavior of children. Nationalist movements flourished by focusing their attention precisely on children and families, and by defining social issues as questions of national survival. During World War I, Czech and German nationalists were in a prime position to shape popular understandings of social conflict as well as influence social policy. Austrian officials were obliged to create new institutions to address growing wartime social concerns, but it was too late to reconstruct child welfare as a supranational domain in the Bohemian lands. The state was far too dependent on the infrastructure that nationalists had already built through the strictly nationalized provincial commissions.

The most threatening food riots and the longest strikes came from bilingual border regions of the Bohemian lands, where economic despair was also most extreme. In 1917 alone, at least 252 hunger demonstrations erupted in Bohemia, and citizens took to the streets to protest provisioning at least 232 more times in 1918. Several riots culminated in violence against Jews.⁴⁶ German nationalists blamed Czechs for the food crisis, arguing that Czech farmers refused to surrender requisitioned crops, while Czech nationalists claimed that all the food was being sent to Germany. As soldiers returned from the Russian front in 1918, censors reported fearfully that they had brought new revolutionary ideas with them, and did not hesitate to compare the situation at home with that in the "free Russian state." The condition of their families did not lead to favorable conclusions, and appeared to prepare the ground for social revolution: "Contributing to the disappointment that has seized the demobilized soldiers is the physical and spiritual state of many of the women and children who meet them at home," government censors observed.⁴⁷ Austrian officials were compelled to respond to these grievances, which appeared to threaten the state's basic legitimacy. The ominous popular mood, coupled with the shadow of the Russian Revolution, propelled a genuine change of course within the Austrian government in early 1917. Emperor Karl, who assumed the throne after Francis Joseph's death in November of 1916, reconvened the Austrian Parliament, pronounced a general amnesty—releasing most Czech-speaking political prisoners—and secretly negotiated with the Allies to take Austria out of the war.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ On Austrian liberalism, see Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1918* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), esp. chaps. 3–5. On the supranational character of "public," imperial institutions, see István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (Oxford, 1990); Stourzh, *Gleichberechtigung*; Daniel Unowsky, "Reasserting Empire: Habsburg Imperial Celebrations after the Revolutions of 1848–49," in Bucur and Wingfield, *Staging the Past*, 13–46.

⁴⁶ Z. 4647, Stimmung und wirtschaftliche Lage der österreichischen Bevölkerung im Hinterland, Carton 3751, AOK, KA, ÖSTA. See Heumos, "Kartoffeln her oder es gibt eine Revolution," 255–287, for a survey of popular protests in the Bohemian lands.

⁴⁷ Stimmung und wirtschaftliche Lage der österreichischen Bevölkerung in Hinterland, June 1918, Carton 3759, AOK, KA, ÖSTA. For nationalist complaints about provisions, see Z. 4837, Beilage 6 zum Monatsbericht pro Sept 1917, Carton 3753, AOK, KA, ÖSTA.

⁴⁸ On reform efforts after the Russian Revolution, see Křen, *Die Konfliktgemeinschaft*, 348–350; Jo-

As part of this reform effort, Austrian authorities established a new Imperial Ministry for Social Welfare, which opened its doors in August of 1917 to face a flood of nationalist demands. Czech nationalist delegates to the Austrian Parliament initially rejected the creation of the new centralized ministry altogether, fearing a challenge to their well-established rights to educate Czech children. The influential Czech liberal magazine *Naše doba* reported that Antonín Kalina, representing the Czech National Social Party in the Austrian Parliament, had protested that the new central agency would "disturbingly intervene in each and every Czech person's life, requisitioning for itself the last scrap of Czech autonomy in the realm of social welfare." Czech delegates were explicitly concerned that private nationalist institutions such as nursery schools, daycare centers, and orphanages "could pass from the autonomous national sphere" into the hands of an overpowering central state, "which could cause great damage, especially . . . in the realm of national education."⁴⁹ Bitter that their own more radical demands for state reforms in their favor were rejected in 1917, German nationalists also initially approached the new ministry with skepticism, warning officials, "It would be as incomprehensible for us as it would be unbearable if . . . an Austrian government should again attempt to place German Bohemia under the rule of common Czech authorities, and to force us into a community that we are determined to reject."⁵⁰

It did not seem like a fortuitous beginning. In fact, however, nationalists should not have been concerned about losing their privileged authority in the realm of social welfare. Austrian officials in the new ministry foresaw the national division of its regional and local offices in the Bohemian lands from the outset. During the parliamentary debates surrounding the ministry's creation, newly appointed minister Heinrich Mataja, a prominent Christian Socialist from Vienna, had declared, "The new Ministry for Social Welfare will strive to be national/popular (*volkstümlich*). It will be open and accessible to everyone and will in particular strive to attract the enthusiastic cooperation of private associations and autonomous organizations."⁵¹ He was true to his word. The ministry was built to expand an infrastructure that Czech and German nationalist activists in the Bohemian lands had already created from the bottom up. Nationalist activists from the private provincial commissions were immediately appointed as advisors, judges, and officials in the new ministry. The state hoped to harness the private, nationally segregated child welfare system to achieve its own goals in 1917–1918. Above all, Austrian officials aimed to take advantage of an alleged reservoir of trust between nationalists and local populations in order to reinforce the legitimacy of the war-battered Austrian state.

As the negotiations surrounding the creation of the new ministry continued, na-

soph Redlich, *Österreichische Regierung und Verwaltung im Weltkrieg* (New Haven, Conn., 1925), 262–263. For an interesting police report on the effects of the Russian Revolution on the mood of the Bohemian population, see "Zpráva o politické náladě a reakci na zprávy o ruské revoluci mezi obyvatelstvem," March 17, 1917, in Kolektiv pracovníků SÚA, *Soupis dokumentů*, 4: 61–63.

⁴⁹ "Věci sociální," *Naše doba*, January 20, 1918, 19–20; see also *Bohemia*, November 21, 1917, 2.

⁵⁰ Z. 98, January 7, 1918, Carton 45, MfSV, Präsidium 1918, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁵¹ "Fortsetzung des Sitzungsberichtes, Wien, 20 November, Abgeordnetenhaus," *Prager Tagblatt*, November 21, 1917, 2. For state plans to segregate the welfare system, see also Skizze zu Richtlinien für ein Gesetz über die öffentliche Erziehung, Z. 277, and Organisation des Jugendamtes, Z. 280, both in Carton 43, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

tionalist activists succeeded in depicting their expertise in the realm of youth welfare as far more than the sum of their knowledge, labor, and experience. "Expertise" now implied an intimate, emotional understanding of the local populations being served, an ability to connect with, mobilize, and earn the trust of the client. National empathy supposedly bred popular legitimacy, differentiating the nationalist welfare system from both liberal paternalism and cold state bureaucracy. For example, in a 1917 memo by Anton Tůma, submitted on behalf of the Czech commissions, Czech nationalists invoked both their scientific expertise and their populist, emotional, and national credentials as they sought greater control over wartime welfare programs, arguing, "Our deep understanding of practical life has convinced the ČZK that . . . we can only hope for success with a law written in a national spirit, which can count on the deepest sympathy and eager cooperation of the widest masses."⁵²

These claims reflected a powerful fusion of populist and national rhetoric in political discourse (though not necessarily popular opinion), which reached an apex in 1918–1919. Nationalists working within the ministry argued that democratic legitimacy and social expertise were circumscribed by the specific ethnic "individuality" of nations, a claim that they had articulated before the war. In reality, as Peter Bugge has argued, little besides language use differentiated self-identified Germans from Czechs in the Bohemian lands.⁵³ Nevertheless, nationalist social welfare activists insisted that if the nascent Austrian welfare system was to be popular, democratic, and effective, it had to allow each nation the greatest possible degree of autonomy to address its allegedly unique, nationally specific social needs. As far back as 1909, in a memo to the Ministry of the Interior, the ČZK had outlined both its ambitions to take on more state responsibilities and its populist intentions "to escape a purely official role, to secure the popular support of the broadest classes of the population." Achieving these goals required that the state acknowledge the "differences in the cultural development, economic relationships, and social composition" of each nation.⁵⁴

Activists promoted the segregation of social welfare institutions, claiming that national differences permeated deep into family life. Alois Epstein, a professor of pediatrics at the German University in Prague, addressed a memo to teachers in German schools in 1910 in which he insisted that the needs of German and Czech children were fundamentally different. Specifically, he claimed that the high rates of infant mortality in German districts were deeply rooted in the unique cultural and social structures and traditions of the German community, especially the reluctance of German women to breastfeed their children, arguing, "Just as individual nations have in the course of their development adopted certain tendencies and character traits that exercise a great influence on the type and activity of their entire economic life, there is also national individuality with respect to attitudes and practices in family life. The traits that are meant here . . . are passed on through tradition from

⁵² Anton Tůma, Beilage 1, Protokoll über die erste konstituierende Sitzung des Jugendbeirates am 17 Juni 1918, Z. 1807/18, 35–39, June 14, 1918, Carton 2475, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁵³ Peter Bugge, "Czech Nation-Building, National Self-Perception and Politics, 1780–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Aarhus, 1994), 26.

⁵⁴ Böhmisches Landeskommission für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge in Prag, betreffend die Verwendung der Kaiser Jubiläumsfonds "Das Kind," November 15, 1909, Carton 2757, Sig. 37 in genere, Ministerium von Innern 1907–1909, AVA, ÖSTA.

family to family, generation to generation, and have become unique to the concerned nation."⁵⁵ In the Bohemian lands, he claimed, even the most basic and supposedly universal human attributes, such as the nature of maternal love, differed between the two nations. Germans and Czechs thus had completely different conceptions of "the instinctive feelings of the female, a mother's love, and the ethical form as well as the practical fulfillment of maternal duty."⁵⁶

Drawing on these ideas about essential national differences, private nationalist child welfare organizations during World War I called upon the new ministry to segregate social welfare institutions in the name of democracy itself. Nationalist control of the nascent welfare state, they insisted, would "reinforce the recent tendency of individual nations to express their national individuality in public services as well as the trend toward the widespread democratization of government."⁵⁷ In a 1918 appeal, the ČZK in Moravia successfully used these claims of nationally specific social empathy and expertise to lobby for the appointment of Czech judges in the expanding network of family courts, insisting, "A German judge has neither the necessary understanding nor the emotional sympathy for the claims and rights of Czech children!"⁵⁸

By claiming that the national separation of expanding social welfare institutions was a precondition for popular legitimacy, the local branches of the provincial commissions sought to protect their monopoly on child welfare, ensuring that the expansion of the wartime state did not threaten their own preexisting claims on children. In making these arguments, German and Czech nationalists capitalized on their hard-fought claims to represent and understand "local" relationships. The terms "local," "national" (*völkisch*), "democratic," and "popular" were often used interchangeably in nationalist appeals to the new ministry, even in discussions of regions in which localities were anything but linguistically homogeneous. Nationalists demanded that the state strengthen their own local organizations—which, they asserted, enjoyed widespread legitimacy and support—rather than blindly creating new and redundant state organizations that the popular classes allegedly would mistrust. "The possibility of swift individualized intervention, an inner sympathy . . . with the needy classes are the primary requirements of effective youth protection, requirements that are met only through far-reaching decentralization and the cooperation of the widest circles of the population," asserted Czech nationalist leaders in the spring of 1918.⁵⁹

If Czech representatives in the Ministry for Social Welfare were expecting a fight from their German colleagues or Austrian officials, they were sorely disappointed.

⁵⁵ Alois Epstein, *Über Kinderschutz und Volksvermehrung: Mit besonderer Beachtung der Verhältnisse in Böhmen* (Vienna, 1910), 21. See also Marianne Tuma von Waldkamp, "Kindersterblichkeit und nationaler Besitzstand," *Deutschböhmen: Mitteilungen des Bundes der Deutschen in Böhmen* 7 (July 26, 1913): 1. While German and Czech women were equally represented in the labor force, German-speaking women were almost twice as likely as Czech-speaking women to be employed in the industrial sector. Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie*, 3: Table 1, 38; Rauchberg, *Der nationale Besitzstand*, 336, 582–600.

⁵⁶ Epstein, *Über Kinderschutz und Volksvermehrung*, 25.

⁵⁷ Tůma, Beilage 1, Protokoll über die erste konstituierende Sitzung des Jugendbeirates.

⁵⁸ Berufung eines böhmischen Richters in das Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Z. 323 1918, January 1, 1918, Carton 46, Präsidium 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁵⁹ Tůma, Beilage 1, Protokoll über die erste konstituierende Sitzung des Jugendbeirates.

Margarete Roller, representing the DLS in Moravia, only reinforced the strategic fusion of national segregation with popular legitimacy, arguing in 1917 that new welfare laws “will be executed in the spirit of the population and find support in the population only if the provincial youth offices are fully separated by nationality.”⁶⁰ By August 1918, the Austrian state was prepared to concede far more than nationalists themselves might have envisioned, putting the local administration of far-reaching state welfare programs directly into experienced nationalist hands. Activists in the formerly private provincial commissions were not unaware of the change in their status, or their role in “rescuing” a state overwhelmed by the social demands of its citizens. The DLS in Bohemia boasted in 1918, “As a private union we actually had to take the place of a government authority, because nothing was undertaken from the side of the government or the provincial bureaucracy to relieve the misery of youth in our time.”⁶¹

The state threw its lot in with the nationalists not only because the two entities shared concerns about youth delinquency and social unrest during the war, but also because nationalists were simply well ahead of the Austrian state in the development of child and maternal welfare programs, orphanages, nurseries, and soup kitchens. Wartime logic dictated that the state not tamper with the impressive results of nationalist initiative. Officials in the Justice Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior agreed as early as 1914, “The national division of the guardian councils is not to be undone in Bohemia and Moravia. All of youth welfare is built on this foundation there, as the planned child welfare laws already acknowledge.”⁶² Out of desperation or choice, the state relied on the private nationalist welfare system to achieve its own goals.

Through the tireless wartime work of professional social workers, nationalists’ self-congratulatory ideological claims to possess “exclusive” popular legitimacy and emotional expertise seemed to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. As the social needs of families grew during the war, so too did nationalists’ own sense of self-importance about their influence in local communities. German nationalist social worker Anton Vrbka reported in early 1916, “From day to day I felt more and more how the DLS was anchored in the *Volk*, how the people’s trust for the commission grew stronger and stronger, since the people often came from far away and from foreign districts and with every possible malady. Nothing seemed too minor; for every pain I sought a remedy, and I found one too.”⁶³ If the problems allegedly posed by hungry, delinquent children and neglectful parents seemed almost impossible to overcome, these social workers took minimal comfort in the belief that their charges degenerated less than those of the national enemy. Czech social worker Josef Petr thus concluded a 1918 report: “The corruption and immorality of the children is to a large degree a result of their indigence, which is enormous in this area: the children are hungry, they soon begin begging, then they steal, and before long they have become

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ “Auszug aus dem Tätigkeitsbericht.”

⁶² Entwurf einer Verordnung über Vormundschaftsräte, Denkschriften der beiden Landeskommission für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge in Böhmen, Z. 37.299, October 23, 1914, Carton 433, Sig. I, Generalvormundschaft, Justizministerium, AVA, ÖSTA.

⁶³ Anton Vrbka, “Berufsmundes in der Kriegszeit: Bericht, erstattet in der 5. Vollversammlung der Deutschen Landeskommission am 29. Januar 1916,” Carton 50, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

complete criminals. The only small gratification is that children of German nationality, and a great many of them, too, are just as morally delinquent."⁶⁴

The provincial commissions, not surprisingly, enjoyed tremendous financial and organizational growth during the war, even as other nationalist associations struggled with wartime scarcity. By 1918, the ČZK in Bohemia boasted 130 district offices, while the DLS in Bohemia had established 95 branches. Hardly an inch of territory in the Bohemian lands was unaccounted for. In 1917, the DLS in Bohemia reported a budget of 773,619 Austrian crowns, up from 27,539 crowns in 1908, while the ČZK in Bohemia reported a budget of 558,368 crowns in 1916. DLS nationalists boasted in their 1917 annual report, "We don't want to neglect to emphasize that the mentioned payments flowed almost exclusively into German districts, and of course only to the benefit of German children."⁶⁵ These impressive amounts, raised through private contributions, only begin to measure the vast sums of money that actually passed through local branches of the nationally segregated commissions en route to Austrian children. The organizational and financial fusion of the Bohemian welfare state with the provincial commissions was most powerfully expressed when the state officially entrusted the administration of the Imperial Widow and Orphan Fund (k.k. Witwen und Waisenfond, WuWf) to the DLS and ČZK. By 1917, the WuWf had given out over 30 million crowns empire-wide, employed more than 10,000 civil servants, and mobilized 100,000 women in its women's auxiliaries, becoming the monarchy's largest wartime welfare fund. In the Bohemian lands, these funds were distributed exclusively through local branches of the provincial commissions.⁶⁶

Familiar reasoning motivated the state to join forces with the nationalists. The government faced financial collapse and a crisis of legitimacy, and the DLS and ČZK offered a final chance to meet the expectations of an agitated population. In a 1918 memo, Ministry of Social Welfare officials claimed that the provincial commissions offered individualized care, a rationalized, efficient means of distribution, and scientific expertise:

The work of an organization with many branches is required to reach all classes of the population with material help, and to encourage them to participate in welfare work for the victims of the war. The same organization is necessary to research the relationships of every individual family . . . such that individualized care is correctly deployed, and the greatest impact is achieved with the available means of support.⁶⁷

The nationalist commissions now best represented the values that the state itself wanted to appropriate. The funds from the WuWf flowed through the district offices of the provincial commissions in Bohemia beginning in June 1915, and a year later the success of this arrangement encouraged the WuWf to extend the partnership to

⁶⁴ Josef Petr, "Zprávy poručník z povolání," *Ochrana mládeže: Časopis pro veřejnou a soukromou péči o mládež v Království českém* 7 (1917): 151.

⁶⁵ For German statistics and quotation, see "Auszug aus dem Tätigkeitsbericht"; for Czech statistics, see Z. 8504, October 25, 1917; both in Carton 2475, Jugendfürsorge 1918, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA; and *Ochrana dítěte: Časopis české zemské komise pro ochranu dětí a péči o mládež v Markrabství moravském* 5 (August 15, 1916): 5; and 6 (May 31, 1917): 8.

⁶⁶ "Hinterbliebenen und Jugendfürsorge," May 11, 1918, Carton 2481, Jugendfürsorge, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁶⁷ Memo from December 5, 1917, to the Ministries of Finance and Social Welfare, Z. 1262, Z. 1246, Carton 49, Präsidium, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

the other multilingual crownlands (including Galicia, Bukovina, and Styria).⁶⁸ The financial dependence of the state on these half-private organizations is striking. Much of what was officially called “state support” during World War I was in fact money raised by private charities. The monarchy’s largest welfare fund thus relied heavily on the generosity and patriotism of Austrian citizens. The ČZK in Bohemia alone raised 514,000 Austrian crowns for the WuWf in 1915–1916.⁶⁹ The state could not compete with the impressive fundraising efforts and expertise of local nationalists, and recognized that the best strategy was to harness this formidable power to its own emerging social welfare apparatus.

Officials responsible for the WuWf believed that individuals were more inclined toward charitable donations for welfare purposes when they were guaranteed that their money would be used within their locality and would exclusively benefit co-nationals. The agreement they created with the DLS and ČZK therefore specified that 75 percent of any funds raised by a local office would remain in that district. Equally important, the state recognized that its social goals could be realized only through another kind of financial contribution, namely the efforts of voluntary (female) labor. “The fund will do best not to create new organizations, which, especially in smaller places, could be staffed only by the same people and therefore create unnecessary complications or otherwise lead to clearly undesirable rivalries and tensions,” officials in the WuWf argued in August 1916.⁷⁰ The leader of the Youth Office of the Ministry for Social Welfare in Vienna, Eduard Prinz von Liechtenstein, applauded this cooperation between the state and the provincial commissions until the war’s end, also emphasizing rationality and efficiency. In a widely published lecture given in May 1918, he praised the merger of the DLS, ČZK, and WuWf, which “puts the advertisement of its ideals and also the people who are available for this branch of work in the service of the common cause—and so both win out.”⁷¹

The financial justifications for the state’s contract with the nationalists remind us of the extent to which the “nationalization” of public life and institutions in the Habsburg Monarchy was often a consequence of middle-class activism rather than popular sentiment. The state was certainly intent on revitalizing its popular legitimacy, but that legitimacy depended on the adequate provision of welfare services. Provision of services, in turn, hinged on the financial generosity and volunteer labor of middle-class individuals and organizations, those most likely to be nationalist. The decision to embrace a nationally segregated welfare state may have ultimately reflected the nationalist loyalties of charitable middle-class women much more than the nationalist affiliations or demands of the working-class and peasant clients of welfare organizations, in spite of claims by the nationalists that they represented the popular will.⁷²

In fact, it seems that parents in bilingual regions rarely chose welfare institutions

⁶⁸ “Zemská úřadovna c.k. fondu pro vdovy a sirotky po rakouských vojínech,” *Ochrana dítěte* 6 (March 15, 1917): 1.

⁶⁹ “Činnost organizační a správní 1916,” *Ochrana mládeže* 7 (May 31, 1917): 138.

⁷⁰ K.k. Österreichische Militär-Witwen und Waisenfond, Memo to the Ministries of Defense and the War Welfare Bureau, Z. 3645, August 2, 1916, Carton 2479, Jugendfürsorge, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁷¹ Hinterbliebenen und Jugendfürsorge, Z. 6731, May 11, 1918, Carton 2481, Jugendfürsorge, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁷² On the Austrian state’s wartime dependence on the voluntary labor and financial support of middle-class citizens, see Redlich, *Österreichische Regierung*, 153–156.

on the basis of nationalist loyalties. For example, the DLS lamented in 1909 that it was difficult to maintain the desired level of national segregation in its daycare centers in Prague. The organization had established five nurseries for German preschool children in the city, all "created through German initiative and largely maintained by German money." But activists had to concede in frustration that these institutions "almost exclusively benefited the children of the Czech working classes."⁷³ Such complaints suggested the practical limits of segregating social welfare institutions and organizations at the local level. Families in need probably based their choice of daycare centers, soup kitchens, and nurseries far more on the generosity of the organizations and on their geographical proximity than on their national loyalties. Heinrich Holek, a working-class, bilingual Bohemian, recounted in his memoir that his own father had decided to send him to a Czech school because of the many welfare benefits being offered to its pupils, rather than out of nationalist conviction. He recalled, "No Czech child should attend a German school! This motto was promoted by the Czechs with great zeal. For my father, however, this propaganda was less decisive than the fact that the children of poor parents were promised clothing and shoes as Christmas gifts."⁷⁴

POLITICAL THEORISTS AND SOCIOLOGISTS commonly suggest that a unified national culture is an essential basis for a developing welfare state. Will Kymlicka argues, for example, that "the sort of solidarity essential for a welfare state requires that citizens have a strong sense of common identity and common membership, so they will make sacrifices for each other, and this common identity is assumed to require (or at least be facilitated by) a common language and history."⁷⁵ Such arguments, however, presume the preexistence of national communities, rather than exploring how welfare regimes have been used to first create such communities or to strengthen nationalist sentiment. Instead of seeing social solidarity as the product of a shared identity, we might consider how shared identities have been imagined and constituted through social assistance. Middle-class nationalists in the Bohemian lands justified their claims on working-class children on the basis of alleged nationally bound social needs, arguing that they alone possessed the expertise and popular legitimacy to care for war-damaged children. In fact, the emerging nationally segregated welfare state in the Bohemian lands did not reflect the strength of preexisting national loyalties or essential national differences; rather, it reflected the success of a nationalist strategy for claiming ever more Bohemian and Moravian children as Czechs and Germans.

By 1918, nationalists in Austria held a firm mandate to realize some of their most ambitious ideals with regard to youth. German and Czech social welfare activists were united in the self-congratulatory rhetoric that they both deployed to advertise their role as the local arms of the Austrian state, protectors of children from the

⁷³ "Mädchenfürsorge," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Jugendfürsorge* 2 (1909): 98–99.

⁷⁴ Heinrich Holek, *Unterwegs: Eine Selbstbiographie, mit Bildnis des Verfassers* (Vienna, 1927), 146.

⁷⁵ Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford, 1995), 77; Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875–1975* (New York, 1990), 33.

brutality of war and parental neglect. Czech nationalists in Moravia boasted proudly in March 1918 of their significant power as mediators between the Austrian state and Czech-speaking children. The ČZK assured its supporters that it had achieved “the greatest influence in all practical matters. Every single application from the Czech side must first go through the orphan councils and the ČZK.”⁷⁶ Even the most extreme German nationalists indulged in this spirit of self-congratulation. In a June 1918 article in the nationalist *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, nationalists informed citizens in Reichenberg that each and every German was nothing less than a democratic shareholder in the new Austrian welfare state: “One often encounters the claim that the care of war widows and orphans is not the responsibility of private charity, but is solely the task of the state. This view is fundamentally correct . . . Only—who is the state in the final analysis? In fact it is only us, in that directly or indirectly, we must provide the state with the means that will enable it to fulfill its duties.” Thanks to the fusion of the WuWf with the DLS, German nationalists insisted that nationalist activism had become coterminous with support for the Austrian state:

Everything that the Imperial Widow and Orphan Fund collects through its commissions . . . will be painstakingly nationally managed so that it is absolutely impossible that Czech war victims will be provided for with German money or Germans with Czech money. The efforts of the Fund deserve our strongest support, because everything which we do for the WuWf, we are only doing for ourselves.⁷⁷

World War I ultimately offered rich opportunities for German and Czech nationalists alike to “become father and mother” to unprecedented numbers of children in the Bohemian lands. “More than ever, we must step in for the ideal of the family,” urged teacher and DLS activist Karl Theimer in 1918.⁷⁸ Children, nationalists hoped, would respond to their new national “families” with all the loyalty they felt toward their biological parents. Moreover, thanks to their role in addressing the perceived crisis of the family during the First World War, nationalist movements in the Bohemian lands were well-positioned to speak in the name of popular legitimacy and social justice at the end of the war. Austrian authorities willingly entrusted the state’s most ambitious social welfare programs to local nationalists, in an attempt to avoid the fate of the Russian Empire. If citizens and political activists increasingly expressed their social grievances in nationalist terms, this was no accident (or error) of history. The state’s own reliance on nationalists to boost popular morale and address social grievances contributed heavily to this development. The national revolutions of 1918–1919 did not simply reflect a “misplaced” expression of social demands as national demands, the climactic result of Czech émigré maneuvering, or a revolt by the nationalized masses against the tottering Austrian state. These revolutions were co-produced by dissatisfied Czech and German citizens, a state in fear

⁷⁶ Zpráva o sedmém roce činnosti české zemské komise pro ochranu dětí a péči o mládež v Markrabství moravském, Z. 2498, Carton 2476, Jugendfürsorge, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁷⁷ “Der k.k. Österr. Militär-Witwen und Waisenfond, seine Bedeutung und sein Aufgaben,” *Reichenberger Deutsche Volkszeitung*, June 16, 1918, 1–2, Carton 2481, Jugendfürsorge, MfSV, AdR, ÖSTA.

⁷⁸ Aufruf, Bund der Deutschen in Böhmen, Sig. 13u-1 1917, Zemská školní rada, Carton 2587, NA; Bericht über die Errichtung der Frauenkriegsbeisteuergruppen durch die Deutsche Landeskommission für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge, Z. 7873–18. AdR, MfSV, Carton 2476, Jugendfürsorge 1918, ÖSTA.

of social revolution, and the prescient idealism and opportunism of nationalist social welfare movements, which eagerly offered the state a leg to stand on.

In the Bohemian lands, as elsewhere in Europe, World War I represented an important moment in the expansion of the welfare state. The welfare of children was intimately linked to the legitimacy of the state and the nation's future demographic, military, and political strength. But in the Austrian Empire, nation and state were not coterminous. When Austrian officials entrusted private nationalist associations with the management of the wartime welfare state, German and Czech nationalists significantly expanded their authority over children and the family. This development did not, however, represent a radical new assault on "natural" parental rights, or a disciplinary "invasion" of a previously apolitical private sphere. In the Bohemian lands, children already occupied a different place on the frontiers between nation, state, and family before 1914. Well before 1914, children "belonged" to the nation, as nationalists had successfully advanced the claim that the family alone was ill-equipped to protect children's moral, social, and national well-being. Likewise in Western Europe, a view of emerging wartime welfare states as a novel and dangerous form of state interference with parental rights is based in part on problematic assumptions about the family before 1914. If sovereign fathers, sanctified parental rights, and strict divisions between public and private represented a liberal ideal in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, realities for working-class and rural families certainly looked quite different. Children worked in factories and on farms, lived and played in the streets, and were cared for by wet nurses and relatives. Parents themselves were subject to the social disciplinary gaze of churches, local communities, and relatives. Well before World War I, childhood and child-rearing had been politicized by Europe's growing mass political movements, and by nationalizing states, which articulated new pedagogical ideals in order to realize their political visions.

Moreover, when European states did take on the growing responsibility for children's health and welfare, they often built on preexisting local, municipal, and private initiatives. Across Europe, centralized states frequently relied on the legitimacy, expertise, personnel, and financial resources of private organizations during the Great War, creating hybrid welfare structures in which the lines between public and private were far from clear. The state itself was not a unified or homogeneous entity, and "intervention" did not simply emerge from the top down. Expanding wartime welfare programs were a product of popular demands and concerns as well as state and middle-class activism. Moreover, state officials and welfare organizations explicitly sought to claim and cultivate popular legitimacy through their child welfare initiatives, however polemical those claims.

Finally, in writing the history of emerging welfare states, we must be careful not to idealize what came before. Scholarly assertions about how bureaucratic states invaded the private sphere or destroyed parental rights during wartime should be greeted with skepticism. Welfare activists, teachers, and state officials across Europe certainly had explicitly pedagogical and political intentions when they mobilized to socialize, feed, and care for the nation's children during wartime. However, suspicion of these campaigns often rests on a romanticized ideal of the self-sufficient and apolitical family as the natural unit for child-rearing. The welfare state in the Bo-

hemian lands was shaped by a competing understanding of the family, in which children were not seen as the private property or sole responsibility of their parents. The history of nationalist child welfare in the Bohemian lands in the early twentieth century reveals that the location of children on the frontiers between imagined “public” and “private” spheres has shifted and been contested across both time and space. Nationalists’ campaigns to protect, educate, and enlist children for political struggles shaped both changing relationships between nation, state, and empire, and the imagined boundaries between public and private in twentieth-century Europe.

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Conjuring the Modern in Africa: Durability and Rupture in Histories of Public Healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa

DAVID L. SCHOENBRUN

THE VALUABLE EMPHASIS ON MODERNITY in colonial and postcolonial African studies has profoundly divided precolonial African history from what comes after. But the depth and complexity of African aspirations for moral community and the forms of collective action they inspire, often in the face of severe material constraints, exceed the explanatory power of narratives of modernity oriented toward the history of capital, colony, and commerce. Long-term regional histories of durable bundles of meaning and practice grounded in Africa address these matters in part by working across tight spaces of ethnicity and beyond shallow chronologies. In particular, a history of public healing reveals compelling notions of public health and forms of power that cut across the colonial period but were transformed by colonialism. Public healing has wrestled with shifting boundaries between a porous social body's moral communities and the starker outline of an embodied, autonomous individual. Modes of power and authority central to politics and to healing practices, public or private, have moved uneasily but productively against each other over the last millennium, as agricultural systems changed, as centralized states formed, and as commodified economies grew. Over the last century, they have moved against the forms of power and authority embodied in a colonial state or in biomedicine. In the context of public healing between the African Great Lakes, the historical complexity of relations between these entangled aspects of life reveals a heterotemporal modern Africa beyond the hybrid or the alternative forms of modernity so prevalent in the literature.

Since the 1990s, work in African colonial history has emphasized African appropriations of European forms of knowledge and practice in a single field of culture inflected by political economy. These ethnographically dense explorations of what has been called "the colonial situation" push beyond a paradigm of "encounter" into a contingent history of colonial and postcolonial modernity. One scholar, Nancy Rose Hunt, finds valuable sources for her analytical categories in a precolonial Cen-

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tral African history of bodies, gender, aspiration, and mobility by focusing on “colonial middle figures” such as nurses.¹ The historian Florence Bernault argues that a single field of violent struggle over power enveloped Europeans and Africans in a common set of practices related to the body, some of which have roots in precolonial African histories.² Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff also focus on middle figures and power, but precolonial historical trajectories play an inconsistent role in their analysis. Sometimes, they condense them in the moment just before Europeans arrived in the interior of southern Africa.³ Other times, they speak of a steadfast continuity in the trajectory of African practices: “the will to assimilate the knowledges of alien cultures was inherent in the epistemes and ethnopractice of these peoples even before the arrival of the Europeans, and has remained so ever since.” Mostly, the Comaroffs explore the ways in which precolonial African cultural practices were utterly transformed by encounters with Europeans.⁴ Must their valuable focus on transformation sustain an analytical divide between the “much more” of what came before and all that did get drawn into “the colonial encounter”? If some of the terms on which the colonial transformations unfolded have their roots in what came before, their earlier histories need study.⁵

Steven Feierman doubts that framing colonial history in terms of appropriation

¹ Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, N.C., 1999); see also Filip de Boeck, “Postcolonialism, Power and Identity: Local and Global Perspectives from Zaire,” in Richard Werbner and Terence Ranger, eds., *Postcolonial Identities in Africa* (London, 1996), 100.

² Florence Bernault, “Body, Power and Sacrifice in Equatorial Africa,” *Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 207–239; see also Bethwell Allan Ogot, “British Administration in the Central Nyanza District of Kenya, 1900–1960,” *Journal of African History* 4, no. 2 (1963): 249–273; Karen Fields, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 62–78.

³ John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991), chap. 4.

⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that “there is much more to the historical anthropology of the Tswana world, c. 1820 to the present, than the colonial encounter”; Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, “Revelations upon *Revelation*: After Shocks, Afterthoughts,” *Interventions* 3, no. 1 (2001): 117. See also Elizabeth Elbourne, “Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff,” *AHR* 108, no. 2 (April 2003): 444–445, 449–450, on the impact of colonialism arriving before colonialists and on the appropriate scale and cultural makeup of the regional setting for “Tswana” and “Missionary” interactions; Greg Denning, “The Comaroffs Out of Africa: A Reflection Out of Oceania,” *AHR* 108, no. 2 (2003): 471–478, warns against the *imperium* of a divide between the moment before and moment after colonial contact; Steven Feierman, “The Comaroffs and the Practice of Historical Ethnography,” *Interventions* 3, no. 1 (2001): 27–28; Donald Donham, “Thinking Temporally or Modernizing Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 139, 143–145; and Paul Landau, “Hegemony and History in Jean and John L. Comaroff’s *Of Revelation and Revolution*,” *Africa* 70, no. 3 (2000): 501–519.

⁵ Relations between “traditional” monarchies and political culture today, the ethnic roots of political violence, and to a lesser extent the cultural politics of health have sustained an interest in the precolonial dimensions of these issues; see David Newbury, “Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Royalties,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 255–314; Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, trans. Scott Straus (New York, 2003); Jan Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom* (Madison, Wis., 2004); Holly Elisabeth Hanson, *Landed Obligation: The Practice of Power in Buganda* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003); Peter R. Schimdt, “Historical Ecology and Landscape Transformation in Eastern Equatorial Africa,” in Carole Crumley, ed., *Historical Ecology* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1994), 99–125. The cultural politics and political economies of trade, especially of slavery and commodification and diaspora, engage the precolonial with what came after; among many others, see Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, Wis., 1988), 3–164; Thomas Spear, “Early Swahili History Reconsidered,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 257–290; Rosalind Shaw, *Memories of the Slave Trade: Ritual and the Historical Imagination in Sierra Leone* (Chicago, 2002). Regional leg-

opens up “how patterns of action and forms of signifying practice within African societies came to be understood as fragmented and partial” and reveals “the process by which important cultural domains came to disappear.”⁶ He worries that the specificities of colonial-cultural mixtures tend to make historical sense in terms of layered narratives that “originate in Europe,” particularly the narratives of capitalism and of Protestantism and the implicit, general sense of their historical relations to each other. They offer “a certain coherence” of historical imagination concerning the African past, even though “we can expect” each of these stories “to exist in creative tension with larger historical narratives . . . the central question is, which larger narratives?”⁷ The missing narratives are long regional histories of Africa, flawed and compressed and dependent upon concepts whose explanatory status must be contested.⁸ This regional history “has a necessary role to play if historical knowledge in the aggregate is not to do violence to understandings which grow out of microhistorical study” of what Africans did and what they thought they were doing when they began to engage the currents of capitalism.⁹

One of these creative tensions lies in recognizing that something is entangled with the modernity of the moral communities through which Africans pursue their aspirations and address issues of need.¹⁰ This something else, which I hesitate to name, comes to light in regional historical processes with African roots. Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued that European narratives of capital and colony, and the European thought they fostered, are “both indispensable and inadequate in helping us to think through the various life practices that constitute the political and the historical.”¹¹ Chakrabarty writes about India, but the provision here of a historical narrative of public healing engages his conundrum by serving as the something else

acies shaped which historiographies the African precolonial inflects; see Joseph C. Miller, “History and Africa/Africa and History,” *AHR* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 1–32.

⁶ Steven Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars, and the Creation of Invisible Histories,” in Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 186; expanding on ideas first set out in Steven Feierman, “African Histories and the Dissolution of World History,” in Robert H. Bates, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O’Barr, eds., *Africa and the Disciplines* (Chicago, 1993), 167–212, esp. 197–199.

⁷ Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 206; Feierman, “African Histories,” 197–199.

⁸ For a rich exploration of the constitution of a conceptual archive from the guild of Central African studies, see Wyatt MacGaffey, “Changing Representations in Central African History,” *Journal of African History* 46, no. 2 (2005): 206–207; on “the region,” see Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, “Concepts for the Study of Regional Culture,” *American Ethnologist* 18 (1991): 195–214.

⁹ Quote from Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 207; see also Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 82–83. Temporally deep African regional histories alter the cumulative impact and structuring of microhistories while relying on them for their very possibility; see Thomas C. McCaskie, *Asante Identities: History and Modernity in an African Village, 1850–1950* (London, 2000), 19–23; David W. Cohen, *Womunafu’s Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), 16–19.

¹⁰ Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Johannes Fabian, “Culture, Time, and the Object of Anthropology,” in Fabian, *Time and the Work of Anthropology: Critical Essays, 1971–1991* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1991), 198; Timothy Mitchell, “Introduction,” in Timothy Mitchell, ed., *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2000), xii–xiii; Lynn Thomas, *The Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003), 18–19; Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005), 131–135; Julie Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination in Botswana* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005), 5.

¹¹ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 6; see also Michael Hanchard, “Afro-Modernity: Temporality, Politics, and the African Diaspora,” *Public Culture* 11, no. 1 (1999): 245–268, esp. 250–257.

necessary to making new sense of East African modernity. Africanist historiography has long been concerned with this new perspective. But even a brief tour of it reveals that the boundary between the modern and this something else can easily be overdrawn.

THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE CREATED AFRICANISTS by rendering Africans historyless, traditional people.¹² Tradition was the shadowy space that Europeans and Africans used to figure their emergence as “moderns” in colonial settings.¹³ Africanism and Africanists—especially historians—engaged this divide by demonstrating that African pasts were full of change and dynamism.¹⁴ Two branches of historical scholarship on Africa grow from these demonstrations. One studies the periods just before and including colonial conquest, colonial rule, independence, and postcolonial issues. The second engages the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, when African economies and societies were drawn into a world of slavery, mercantilism, and industrialization. To some extent, histories of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa cut across these themes, but even they keep largely to the centuries after 1500.¹⁵ The work of two leading scholars in African history—Jan Vansina and Steven Feierman—reveals the value of linking these branches of Africa scholarship both to each other and to the history of Africa before the sixteenth century.¹⁶

Jan Vansina explores the nature of tradition and assesses the conditions for its survival through transformation in his book *Paths in the Rainforests*.¹⁷ He narrates three thousand years of historical change in what he calls the Equatorial African political tradition, a version of tradition that emphasizes both enduring continuities

¹² Abiola Irele, “The African Scholar,” *Transition* 51 (1991): 59–60, 62. Jacob F. A. Ajàyí refused the causal force of this conundrum, insisting that historians study how African institutions “have been adapted to the changing circumstances” of colonial conquest; see his “The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism,” in Terence O. Ranger, ed., *Emerging Themes of African History* (Dar es Salaam, 1968), 189–200.

¹³ See Peter Ekeh, “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975): 97; Merrick Posnansky, “Foreword,” in Christopher R. DeCorse, ed., *West Africa during the Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives* (London, 2001), xi–xiv; Feierman, “African Histories,” 167–199; Miller, “History and Africa/Africa and History,” 1–32; and Frederick Cooper, “Africa’s Pasts and Africa’s Historians,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34 (2000): 298–336.

¹⁴ Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 183–187; Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 1–23; Stephen Ellis, “Writing Histories of Contemporary Africa,” *Journal of African History* 43, no. 1 (2002): 24–26; Donham, “Thinking Temporally,” 144; David Newbury and Catharine Newbury, “Bringing the Peasants Back In: Agrarian Themes in the Construction and Corrosion of Statist Historiography in Rwanda,” *AHR* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 835–836.

¹⁵ For exceptions, see Randall Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900* (Cambridge, 1987); Paulo F. de Moraes Farias, *Arabic Medieval Inscriptions from the Republic of Mali: Epigraphy, Chronicles, and Songhay-Tuareg History* (Oxford, 2003); Rudolph T. Ware, “Knowledge, Faith, and Power: A History of Qur’anic Schooling in 20th century Senegal” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 37–52.

¹⁶ This section owes much to Terence O. Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Africa,” in Terence Ranger and Olufemi Vaughan, eds., *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa* (London, 1993), 62–111; see also Thomas Spear, “Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa,” *Journal of African History* 44, no. 1 (2003): 5–8.

¹⁷ Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1990); see also Kairn A. Klieman, “The Pygmies Were Our Compass”: *Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, Early Times to c. 1900 C.E.* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003); Jan Vansina, *How Societies Are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville, Va., 2004).

in its institutional and intellectual constituents and continuous change in their interrelationships.¹⁸ The book refutes persistent suggestions that Equatorial African societies before 1500 were changeless, opening the way for the comparative study of traditions the world over.

But Vansina also argues that between the 1880s and the 1920s, the violence of colonial conquest extinguished the equatorial African tradition.

As a result [of conquest], the peoples of the rainforests began first to doubt their own legacies and then to adopt portions of the foreign heritage. But they clung to their own languages and to much of the older cognitive content carried by them . . . , striving for a new synthesis which could not be achieved as long as freedom of action was denied them.¹⁹

The particularly violent conquest of the Inner Congo Basin destroyed the premise of autonomy at the core of an Equatorial African political tradition. But loss and extermination—familiar themes in Central African history—are not the only fates for “tradition” after colonial conquest.²⁰

In his book *Peasant Intellectuals*, Steven Feierman argues that fragmentation lies at the creative heart of a tradition. Feierman emphasizes the role of discourse in the creative uses of tradition by its makers. He understood this creativity as acts of selecting and composing arrays of cultural material to meet particular challenges. The creative and selective use of tradition, shaped by an aggressive colonial rule, reveals how certain things, such as forms of political language, remain in play across the divides between precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial experience.

When people select a particular form of discourse, when they shape a political argument in a particular way, this is by no means a passive act. The social analysis of peasant discourse in this book will show that long-term continuities in political language are the outcome of radical social change and of struggle within peasant society.²¹

The appeal of Feierman’s conclusion lies in seeing precolonial cultural legacies as provisional and under construction by historians, but as forming part of Africans’ “resources and modes of empowerment in seeking to act effectively in and upon a changing world.”²² They open up the logics of African ideas and actions in colonial and postcolonial settings as part of an ongoing program of effective moral action, the work of people who use bundles of durable language to confront circumstances of real material struggle, shaped by both African and external historical processes.²³ As others, including Vansina and Feierman, have argued, the ruptures of social and political institutions and of intellectual traditions in Africa during the nineteenth

¹⁸ Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, 6–7, 257–260; Vansina, *How Societies Are Born*, 265–272.

¹⁹ Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, 247.

²⁰ Vansina has offered “collective memory” as a means to think about this; see his *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 200.

²¹ Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis., 1990), 3.

²² Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1991), 38.

²³ See Wyatt MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture: The Conceptual Challenge of the Particular* (Bloomington, Ind., 2000), x; Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 28–29, 423 n. 43; Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 10–11, 28; Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 16–19, 152–154.

century were not the first radical transformations shaped by African *bricolage* and durability.²⁴ The multiple transformations of meaning and practice in public healing have moral and collective legacies that are especially clear in East Africa today.

IN 1996, GEOFFREY KAMALI, a reporter for Uganda's government-sponsored newspaper, the *New Vision*, wrote a story about visiting the shrines of ancestral spirits, based on a conversation with an anonymous woman. She told him that she went out in the middle of the night in a fleet of seven taxis filled with people following someone called *Jjajjà* ("grandmother, grandfather, ancestor, founder" in Luganda, a major language in Uganda), who knew how spirits behaved and what sorts of things their would-be supplicants should and should not do. The taxis carried mostly women. They sought a shrine on a hilltop outside Kampala, Uganda, famous for its three nearby caves. They carried cash and coffee berries to give to the *omusámbwa* of that place, the spirit of the caves. When they reached the shrine, they were told that they could not wear their overcoats because they should not imitate the spirit, who liked to wear an overcoat. They were told that they would see the *omusámbwa* in a cave, after they left their coffee berries and cash as offerings. Only one visitor, a man, claimed to have seen the spirit of the place, a man-like, very tall *omusámbwa*, waving a burning tree in his hands. After this sighting, a bonfire was lit around which people danced and drummed, asking for money, a better job, education, and fertility. Some visitors became possessed by spirits. *Jjajjà*, the grandparent-ancestor guide, moved through the huge fire without being burned. After this, *Jjajjà* got everyone back in the taxis and conducted them to the shores of Lake Victoria. At her house, she tattooed the visitors' right arms, asked them to confess their bad deeds, and gave each person a number of coffee berries to swallow.²⁵

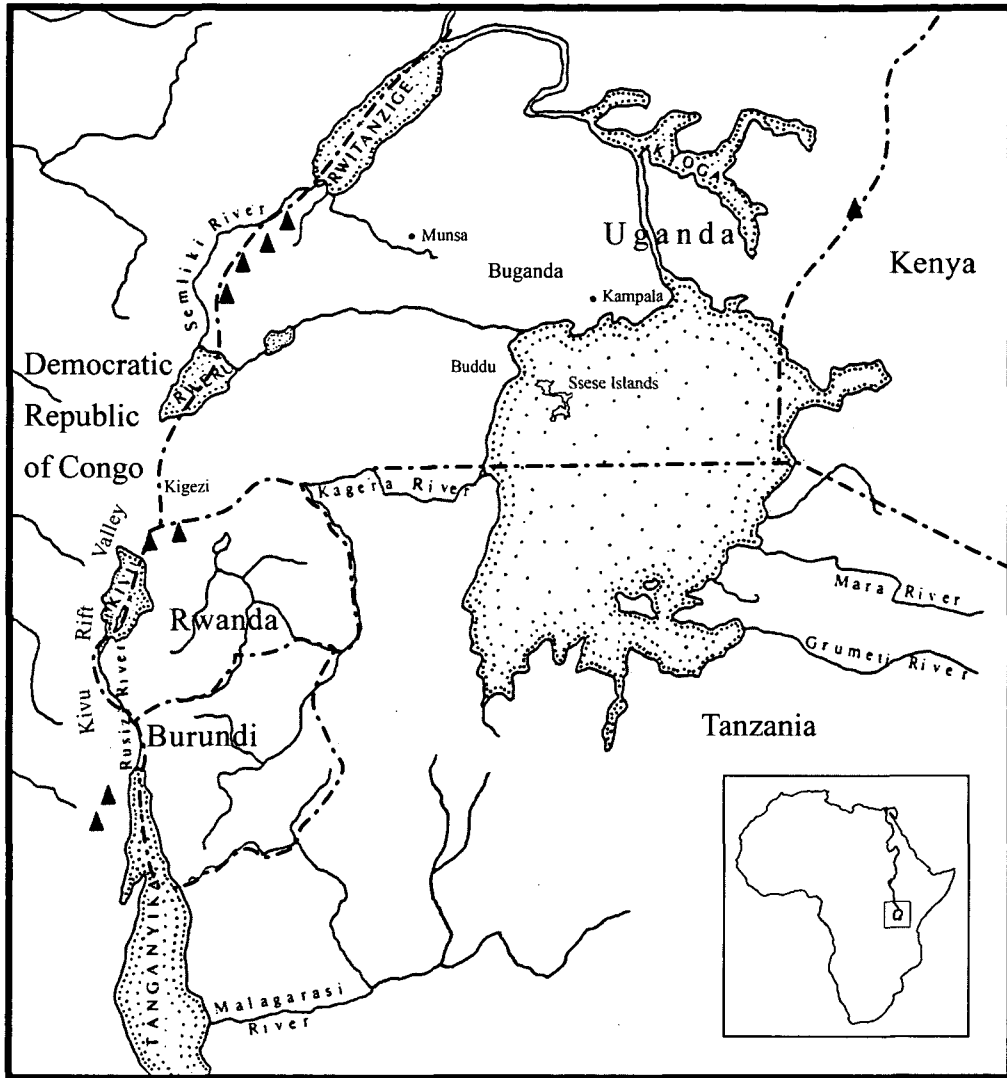
The people in this scene want more money and better skills in order to compete in a tight labor market and to have more choices as consumers. Scholars commonly analyze these desires in terms borrowed from the histories of economies and cultures and religions with deep and broad roots in Europe or North America.²⁶ But grasping how the supplicants conceptualize and go about their business—the things and practices they use and the ideas with which they debate possibilities and desires—exceeds the explanatory power of the history of the impact of capitalism, even while they cannot be explained without it.²⁷ The logics of collective action and moral community at work in Kamali's story lie beyond an African history of capitalism at the same time

²⁴ See Roderick J. McIntosh, *Peoples of the Middle Niger: The Island of Gold* (Oxford, 1998), 294–303; MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture*, 5–7, 18–23; Jean-François Bayart, "Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion," *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 218–222, 231–237.

²⁵ Geoffrey Kamali, "Kampala's Night Secret Movement," *New Vision*, Sunday Edition, September 14, 1997, 17.

²⁶ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1: 49–125, and 2: 36–39, 166–217; and Comaroff and Comaroff, "Of Fallacies and Fetishes: A Rejoinder to Donham," *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 155; Feerman, "Colonizers, Scholars," 182–216.

²⁷ V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1988), 187–200; Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997); Francis Nyamjoh, "Comment on Mikael Karström, 'Modernity and Its Aspirants,'" *Current Anthropology* 45, no. 5 (2004): 612; Adam Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa* (Chicago, 2005), 11–19.



MAP 1. The Great Lakes Region of East Africa. Map made by Tom O'Connell, Digital Media Services, Northwestern University.

that they helped shape the transformative experiences of capitalism in Africa.²⁸ They also lie beyond the explanatory power of “a generic colonialism” that has been “given the decisive role in shaping a postcolonial moment.”²⁹ Regional histories of healing practice broaden explanations of this public business of seeking burning elders by

²⁸ Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 185; Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 5, 19–22.

²⁹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 13. A full accounting of how Africans reconfigured social practices related to public healing during the twentieth century lies beyond the scope of this essay, but see Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 186–194, 196–206; Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford, Calif., 1991); Susan Reynolds Whyte, *Questioning Misfortune: The Pragmatics of Uncertainty in Eastern Uganda* (Cambridge, 1997); and Sheryl McCurdy, “Transforming Associations: Fertility, Therapy, and the Manyema Diaspora in Urban Kigoma, Tanzania, c. 1850–1993” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2000).

shifting the burden of analysis from a focus on capitalism, colonialism, and religions to the historical study of kinship, royalty, spirits, and fertility.³⁰ These themes help historians “examine how indigenous peoples struggle to integrate their experience of the world system in something that is logically and ontologically more inclusive: their own system of the world.”³¹

The shape of such a system hides in plain sight in Kamali’s scene as people pursue their aspirations with techniques and ideas of both great antiquity and more recent vintage.³² The figure of the unburned ancestor (called *Jjajjà* here) turns up in oral narratives far to the southwest, on the border with Rwanda, before, during, and after the course of colonial conquests there.³³ The category of *omusámbwa*, a territorial spirit, occurs in societies around the entire circumference of Lake Victoria and has a life in the region many centuries old.³⁴ Coffee berries have been used in contracting blood friendships, a common way for people in the Great Lakes region to build ties that supplement kinship.³⁵ Dancing, drumming, and possession by disembodied spiritual personae are found together across Bantu-speaking Africa, from Angola to Zimbabwe, and have a history several millennia in depth.³⁶ Cash and coats in the region are deeply intertwined with the slaving and violence and mission work of the nineteenth century.³⁷ Kamali’s scene contains a historical iconography of discourse and practice that conjures precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial contexts in multiple ways. This *bricolage* blurs the “radical disjuncture” between “an inferior past” and “a superior future” implicit in a modern temporal ideology of aspiration.³⁸ These entangled times—or heterotemporalities—are central to Chakrabarty’s call to “contemplate the necessarily fragmentary histories of human belonging that never constitute a one or a whole.”³⁹ If one of the effects of modernity on “traditional” worlds

³⁰ David L. Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place: Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1998), 4–6; Bayart, “Africa in the World,” 217–222, 264–267.

³¹ Marshal Sahlins, “Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of ‘the World System,’” in Marshal Sahlins, *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays* (New York, 2000), 417. Dismantling assumptions about the continental formulations informing this move lies beyond the scope of this essay, but see Fernando Coronil, “Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Non-Imperial Geohistorical Categories,” *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (1995): 51–87; Kåren Wigen and Martin Lewis, *Myth of Continents* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

³² On the complexities of representing “social processes with very different temporalities,” see William H. Sewell Jr., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005), 9–12.

³³ Jim Freedman, *Nyabingi: The Social History of an African Divinity* (Butare, 1984); Feierman, “Healing as Social Criticism in the Time of Colonial Conquest,” *African Studies* 54, no. 1 (1995): 73–88.

³⁴ Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 199–202, 204–206; David L. Schoenbrun, *The Historical Reconstruction of Great Lakes Bantu Cultural Vocabulary: Etymologies and Distributions* (Cologne, 1997), 226–228; Neil Kodesh, “Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Collective Well-Being in Buganda” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 2004); Audrey Wipper, *Rural Rebels: A Study of Two Protest Movements in Kenya* (London, 1977); Sloan Mahone, “The Psychology of Rebellion: Colonial Medical Responses to Dissent in British East Africa,” *Journal of African History* 47, no. 2 (2006): 241–258.

³⁵ Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 26, 182, 211 n. 47; Luise White, “Blood Brotherhood Revisited: Kinship, Relationship and the Body in East and Central Africa,” *Africa* 64, no. 3 (1994): 359–372.

³⁶ John Janzen, *Ngoma: Discourses of Healing in Central and Southern Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 57–84; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 106.

³⁷ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 10, 95, 97; Richard Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda* (Oxford, 2002), chap. 8.

³⁸ Mikael Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants: Moral Community and Developmental Eutopianism in Buganda,” *Current Anthropology* 45, no. 5 (2004): 596–597.

³⁹ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 255.

is to bring history to them, heterotemporalities return the gift by pushing beyond “the empty and homogeneous time” of modernity.⁴⁰

Existentially poetic stories of the fragmentary are also stories of struggle. Flawed and freighted, the history of public healing emphasizes the discourses and practices that people have used in “the boundary-crossing struggle over the conceptual and moral bases of political and social organization.” It reveals in the depth of these discourses and practices a thread of struggle that Frederick Cooper says is often “lost in opposing European, capitalist, imperialist ‘modernity’ to ‘alternative modernities’ or a space of the nonmodern.” As Cooper goes on to argue, the power to create and establish claims “and to alter definitions of what is a debatable issue and what is not” is unequal in any historical context; it is therefore crucial “to keep one’s focus on how such concepts were used in historical situations.”⁴¹ Constituting the sources to meet these challenges—and asking how the sources have been constituted—is a necessary first step in exploring the multiple temporalities recognizable today in the moral community and collective action at the core of public healing in Africa.

SUCH HISTORIES HAVE UNUSUAL TEXTURES AND CONTENTS because they rely on oral, linguistic, ethnographic, archaeological, and environmental evidence and because they work with unconventional units of historical agency and subjectivity. Their time frames are broad, covering centuries and even millennia. Archaeological sites, speech areas, or vegetation zones define different spatial units of analysis.⁴²

Environmental studies of the Great Lakes region focus on climatic and vegetation change, seeking to distinguish human from other causes.⁴³ Oral traditions often mention droughts and famines, supporting inferences about the strains of political economic change as well as the conditions that valued such historical memories.⁴⁴ In the second half of the nineteenth century, as the suite of supporting sources grows denser in number and kind, the conceptual complexity of environmental histories of the region grows increasingly rich. The apparently straightforward nature of environmental evidence can then be read through, as well as read into, regional histories of demography and health.⁴⁵

Archaeologists study material culture, spatial patterns, and technological change.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 49, 249.

⁴¹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 149; see also Hanchard, “Afro-Modernity,” 255–257, for a gloss on such struggles that puts race at the center of contests over the appropriation and control of the use and meanings of time.

⁴² Miller, “History and Africa/Africa and History,” 9–19.

⁴³ David L. Schoenbrun, “The Contours of Vegetation Change and Human Agency in Eastern Africa’s Great Lakes Region: ca. 2000 BC to ca. AD 1000,” *History in Africa* 21 (1994): 269–302; David Taylor and Peter Robertshaw, “Sedimentary Sequences in Western Uganda as Records of Human Environmental Impacts,” *Palaeoecology of Africa* 27 (2001): 63–76; Sharon E. Nicholson, “Historical Fluctuations of Lake Victoria and Other Lakes in the Northern Rift Valley of East Africa,” in John T. Lehman, ed., *Environmental Change and Response in East African Lakes* (Dordrecht, 1998), 7–35.

⁴⁴ J. Bertin Webster, ed., *Chronology, Migration, and Drought in Interlacustrine Africa* (London, 1979); Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 120–121, 127.

⁴⁵ Shane Doyle, *Environmental Crisis and Population Decline: A History of Bunyoro, 1860–1955* (Oxford, 2006); Jean-Pierre Chrétien, ed., *Histoire rurale de L’Afrique des Grands Lacs: Guide de recherches: Bibliographie et textes* (Paris, 1983); C. de l’Epine, “Historique des famines et disettes dans l’Urundi,” *Bulletin Agricole du Congo Belge* 20, no. 3 (1929): 440–442.

The patterning and variability of material culture change over time, revealing much about demographic and social processes, but cultural meanings are inferred by analogy from better-documented contexts, often at a great remove in time from the archaeological context itself.⁴⁶ In considering the practice of analogy, Alison Wylie argues that information exchanges may move in both ways; the archaeological record may subvert conventional wisdoms used to construct ethnographies and historical documents.⁴⁷ In the Great Lakes region, archaeologists have excavated a number of earthworks sites and explored their associations with oral traditions about departed royal dynasties.⁴⁸ Some scholars have situated their interpretations of the function of these sites in a hermeneutics of power and authority drawn from the oral sources, while the dating and structure of the sites suggest older, not necessarily royal associations.⁴⁹

Oral traditions usher in actors as composite figures of persons or groups.⁵⁰ This is especially true in dynastic histories purporting to speak of very early periods in narratives of the actions of royals and nobles, and perhaps of mediums, but not of everyone else.⁵¹ In some parts of the Lakes region, Feierman has observed that the unfolding of genealogies dominates such dynastic traditions, and that genealogies express a sort of time weighted strongly in the direction of masculine forms of authority.⁵² Such traditions highlight change and continuity in particular formulations of the masculine; other historical tales reveal even more about gender dynamics.⁵³ But separating heard from read and uttered from written messages and testimony

⁴⁶ Jan Vansina, "Historians, Are Archaeologists Your Siblings?" *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 369–408; Peter Robertshaw, "Sibling Rivalry? The Intersection of Archaeology and History," *History in Africa* 27 (2000): 261–286.

⁴⁷ Alison Wylie, *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), xiv–xv; Ann Brower Stahl, *Making History in Banda* (Cambridge, 2001), 27–40. On "correlating" inferences resting on archaeological and linguistic evidence, see Roger Blench and Matthew Spriggs, eds., *Archaeology and Language*, vol. 1: *Theoretical and Methodological Orientations* (London, 1997), and vol. 2: *Correlating Archaeological and Linguistic Hypotheses* (London, 1998).

⁴⁸ Peter Schmidt, "Oral Traditions, Archaeology, and History: A Short Reflective History," in Peter Robertshaw, ed., *A History of African Archaeology* (London, 1990), 252–270; Robertshaw, "The Age and Function of the Ancient Earthworks of Western Uganda," *Uganda Journal* 47 (2001): 20–33.

⁴⁹ Schmidt, "Oral Traditions," 255–256, 268–270; Robertshaw, "The Age and Function of the Ancient Earthworks," 29–30.

⁵⁰ See David W. Cohen, Stephan F. Miescher, and Luise White, "Voices, Words, and African History," in White, Miescher, and Cohen, eds., *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History* (Bloomington, Ind., 2001), 4–16. See also Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wis., 1985); Farias, *Inscriptions*, lxxxv–cvi; Bethwell Alan Ogot, "Luo History and Identity," in White, Miescher, and Cohen, *African Words, African Voices*, 48–50.

⁵¹ "Dynastic" or "court" traditions foreground royal figures or figures linked to royalty. "Clan" traditions foreground the activities of important clan ancestors, sometimes mentioning royal figures. Formal oral and kinesthetic modes of representation facilitate transmission. For approaches to analyzing these sources, see Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 5–13, 207–220; Steven Feierman, *The Shamba Kingdom* (Madison, Wis., 1974), 40–90; Ogot, "Luo History and Identity," 32–50; Neil Kodesh, "History from the Healer's Shrine: Genre, Historical Imagination, and Early Ganda History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (2007), forthcoming.

⁵² Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars," 192.

⁵³ Iris Berger, *Religion and Resistance* (Tervuren, 1981), 32–43; and Berger, "Fertility as Power: Spirit Mediums, Priestesses and the Pre-Colonial State in Interlacustrine East Africa," in David Anderson and Douglas Johnson, eds., *Revealing Prophets* (London, 1994), 65–82; Renee Louise Tantala, "The Early History of Kitara in Western Uganda: Process Models of Religious and Political Change" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1989), 322–329; Nakanyike B. Musisi, "Transformations of Baganda Women: From the Earliest Times to the Demise of the Kingdom in 1966" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1991), 50–113.

is often misleading, and not infrequently just plain impossible. The contents of a written source draw on other types of sources, and any source of one type or another can be put to use in other contexts.

Reconstructed language histories and comparative ethnographic evidence support much of the narrative offered below. One begins by classifying related languages, determining the nature of those relationships, proposing sequences of linguistic divergences, and establishing the basic similarities and differences in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and tone systems.⁵⁴ The goal is to reconstruct the vocabulary of earlier “proto-languages.”⁵⁵ A proto-language is a historical archive of the continuities and innovations in words and meanings, constituted by their transmission across the generations and representing the durability of speech communities over time.⁵⁶

Hypothetical earlier meanings may be built on the nature of their distributions in the region’s languages and on a set of assumptions about the direction of semantic change. If a word with the same form and the same or similar meaning occurs in a set of contemporary languages “known to be related, it is most probable that all variations were inherited from their common ancestral language.”⁵⁷ Words such as *mugàngà*, “healer, doctor, operator of medicine objects,” whose meanings are very widely distributed, reflect this sort of situation. (See Semantogram 1.)⁵⁸ If the distribution of the variations in meaning that constitute a widening or a narrowing of a word’s semantic field confines itself to a subgroup of a set of related languages, then it is most likely that those variations emerged when the language ancestral to that subgroup was spoken.⁵⁹

The plausibility of these inferences depends on the strength of the genetic clas-

⁵⁴ Terry Crowley, *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1997); Mark Durie and Malcolm Ross, eds., *The Comparative Method Reviewed: Regularity and Irregularity in Language Change* (Oxford, 1996), esp. 3–38; Christopher Ehret, “Language and History,” in Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse, eds., *African Languages: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 2000), 272–297. For historical classifications, see Ehret, “Bantu Expansions: Re-envisioning a Central Problem in Early African History,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (2001): 5–41 and “Comments,” 43–87; Felix Chami, “Comment,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 647–651; and David Schoenbrun, “Representing the Bantu Expansions: What’s at Stake?” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 1 (2001): 1–4.

⁵⁵ Crowley, *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*, 22–26. In the Great Lakes region, the raw data concerning words and meanings come from archival and published sources, as well as field collections, made since the 1850s. On the complexities of authorship lying behind the creation of early dictionaries, see Derek Peterson, “Translating the Word: Dialogism and Debate in Two Gikuyu Dictionaries,” *Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 1 (1999): 31–50.

⁵⁶ Thilo C. Schadeberg, “Historical Linguistics,” in Derek Nurse and Gerard Philippson, eds., *The Bantu Languages* (London, 2003), 160–163; Crowley, *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*, 19–26; Malcolm Ross, “Social Networks and Kinds of Speech-Community Event,” in Blench and Spriggs, *Archaeology and Language*, 209–261; Edward Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method* (Ottawa, 1916); William N. Fenton, “Ethnohistory and Its Problems,” *Ethnohistory* 9 (1962): 1–23; Ehret, “Language and History,” 272–297. Critiques of historical narratives based on these unconventional sources include Stahl, *Making History in Banda*, 1–40, and MacGaffey, “Changing Representations,” 189–207.

⁵⁷ Vansina, *How Societies Are Born*, 5; the notion of regular sound change—“the sound change in any particular language proceeds on the whole according to regularly formulatable rules”—underwrites arguments about linguistic relatedness; Ehret, “Language and History,” 273–275, 277–278.

⁵⁸ The “semantogram” is my invention, designed to display the most significant relationships between the key data supporting historical inferences from comparative linguistics. Their form and function are explained further, below.

⁵⁹ This circumstance is represented below in the semantograms through notation of the new or

sification of the languages included in the comparison; strong overall classifications produce clear subgroups of languages within them.⁶⁰ The genetic classification of Great Lakes Bantu—the earliest genetic unit in play here—is fairly secure. Therefore, the historical relatedness of the major subgroups at the core of the early parts of the history of healing practice is well-attested, generating confidence in the shape of reconstructed words.⁶¹ (See Figure 1.)

Their etymologies constitute a major source of historical evidence. Etymologies are based on common derivational processes in Bantu languages and on the distributions of forms and meanings.⁶² The verb *kusamba* occurs in regularly corresponding form carrying the same meanings—“judge” or “bless”—in many, many Bantu languages. It arguably formed part of the proto-Bantu vocabulary. A passive form of the verb, *kusambwa*, meaning “to be judged, to be blessed,” conforms to the same criteria. But a noun, *musámbwa*, referring to a territorial spirit and the physical form such a spirit might take, occurs as a regularly corresponding form and meaning in a limited number of languages belonging to constituent branches of Great Lakes Bantu. The noun and its new meanings were apparently invented by people who spoke Great Lakes Bantu.

Semantic histories reconstructed in this manner lack the contextual nuances that listeners and speakers draw on to communicate. The meanings attached to reconstructed vocabulary are also culturally flat, because they collapse competing forms of meaning. But they are not agentless abstractions, because the distinctions sustaining meaning result from action and reflection in specific contexts.⁶³ In other words, the abstractions of meaning, given in a “gloss,” represent the durable intellectual and practical contents of the social worlds inside of which people acted. We have no acts, no disagreements over values and strategies. Not a single utterance can be reconstructed. Instead, the results of past actions, disagreements, and speech take the form of inherited and innovated words and meanings. The stability, narrowing, and broadening of fields of meaning referred to by the terms in the semantograms reflect people’s work in achieving continuity and change.⁶⁴

This rich pool of sources tries conventions of historical narrative. Dating and region are vague, gaps in content are common, and chronologies are imprecise. While such narratives of the *longue durée* are flawed and provisional, they are also clearly amenable to exploring durability and transformation in fields such as collective well-being and moral community. These categories, and some of the settings

additional meanings in the row opposite the subgroup in which they occurred. The semantograms thus display historical information about the shape of words and about inherited and innovated meanings.

⁶⁰ Vansina, *How Societies Are Born*, 6.

⁶¹ On the historical reality of the different subgroups of “Great Lakes Bantu,” see David Schoenbrun, “Great Lakes Bantu: Classification and Settlement Chronology,” *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 14 (1994): 1–62; Derek Nurse, “Historical Classifications of East African Bantu Languages,” in Jean-Marie Hombert and Larry M. Hyman, eds., *Bantu Historical Linguistics: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 7–10, 27–29.

⁶² Thilo C. Schadeberg, “Derivation,” in Nurse and Philippson, *The Bantu Languages*, 71–89; Vansina, *How Societies Are Born*, 7–8.

⁶³ As translations, word reconstructions and meanings given in English create differences in meaning that seem mediated by notions of equivalence, when, in fact, the very notion of equivalence muddies the waters; see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 17–18. For struggles over the creation of third terms of meaning in the construction of dictionaries, see Peterson, “Translating the Word,” 32, 38–50.

⁶⁴ For an extended example of this, see Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 265–269.

Figure 1. Outline Classification of Great Lakes Bantu¹

Great Lakes Bantu	
1. Western Lakes	
A. Rwenzori	<i>Koonzo, Nande</i>
B. Pre-Kabwari	<i>Kabwari</i>
C. Kivu	
Forest	<i>Tembo, Nyanga, Shi, Hunde, Havu, Fuliiru, Vira</i>
West Highlands	<i>Rwanda, Rundi, Ha, Hangaza, Shuubi, Vinza</i>
2. West Nyanza	
A. North Nyanza	<i>Ganda, Soga, Gwere, Shana</i>
B. Rutara	
North Rutara	<i>Nyoro, Tooro, Nkore, Kiga</i>
South Rutara	<i>Haya, Nyambo</i>
	<i>Kerebe</i>
	<i>Zinza</i>
3. Pre-Gungu	<i>Gungu</i>
4. East Nyanza	
Mara	
South Mara	<i>Zanaki, Ngoreme, Nata, Shashi, Zu</i>
North Mara	<i>Gusij, Kuria, Simbete</i>
Suguti	<i>Jita, Ruri, Regi, Kwaya</i>
5. Greater Luhyia	
Southern Luhyia	<i>Takho</i>
Central Luhyia	
North Luhyia	<i>South Masaaba</i>
	<i>Dadiri</i>
	<i>Nyole</i>
	<i>Saamya</i>

¹Many dialects in some of these languages exist or existed. See Schoenbrun, "Great Lakes Bantu," fn. 1.

in which they have force, push past the binary of the antique and the modern in analyzing current struggles over social justice.

COLLECTIVE WELL-BEING AND MORAL COMMUNITY lie at the heart of scholarship on what Mikael Karlström calls the dystopian spirit of witchcraft and the critique of contemporary capitalist relations and political life that it is said to express.⁶⁵ Karlström argues that the “moral community” brought to life in monarchy and in rituals of social reproduction represents the dynamic obverse of the revenge and greed at the heart of witchcraft in Buganda, a monarchy on the north shore of Lake Victoria. The power of witchcraft discourses, Karlström argues, seems “to lie overwhelmingly in their capacity to objectify the perils of illicit power and the antisocial dangers of exploitative accumulation and self-interested consumption.”⁶⁶ If witchcraft is “the force that both generates and feeds upon violations of the fundamental norms of kinship solidarity”—kinship, social prosperity, reciprocity, and hospitality—then “forms of moral community and their modes and nodes of reproduction” should be explored as arenas that Ganda people use to keep their aspirations in play in a world stacked against them.⁶⁷ Ganda use their kingdom as one means to think about moral communities.

Buganda is a famous monarchy on the north shore of Lake Victoria. It is commonly held to have been created when a first king integrated clans into a project of building wealth and order through overlapping networks of reciprocal obligation with himself, a Queen Mother, a Queen Sister, and their courts at the center.⁶⁸ When they talk today about their monarchy, Ganda people insist that moral communities exist because a king exists: “without a king, no clans or lineages, no history or meaning, no morality or culture” would exist.⁶⁹ A complex history informs this compact equation and lies beyond our scope here.⁷⁰ But the claim points to how people draw on indigenous social and historical imaginaries while appropriating Western models of social, religious, and economic life in the name of “tradition.”⁷¹

Karlström shows how, in the 1920s, Ganda articulated “a hybrid sociotemporal consciousness” through a revaluation of custom aimed at “securing a moral collec-

⁶⁵ Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 595–597, 614–616; Nyamjoh, “Comment,” 611–612. For more on this debate, see Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 1–3, 15–19, 243–248; Diane Ciekawy and Peter Geschiere, “Containing Witchcraft: Conflicting Scenarios in Postcolonial Africa,” *African Studies Review* 41, no. 3 (1998): 1–14.

⁶⁶ Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 596, leaves aside the epistemological conundrum at the core of witchcraft, stated nicely by Adam Ashforth as “the presumption . . . that the people among whom one lives have the capacity for extraordinary action in the form of witchcraft”; *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 13. Because one cannot know who has a motive for such action, the means to act in that manner are also secret; one can therefore only presume that the capable witch is capable of anything. See also T. Luhrmann, “Witchcraft, Morality, and Magic in Contemporary London,” *International Journal of Moral and Social Sciences* 1 (1986): 77–94.

⁶⁷ Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 595–596, 604–608; see also Ekeh, “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa,” 91–112, Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 15–19, 66–72.

⁶⁸ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 25–53; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 95–132.

⁶⁹ Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 605.

⁷⁰ M. Semakula M. Kiwanuka, *A History of Buganda from the Foundations of the Kingdom to 1900* (New York, 1972); Christopher Wrigley, *Kingship and State: The Buganda Dynasty* (Cambridge, 1996); Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 59–87; Kodesh, “Beyond the Royal Gaze,” 254–331.

⁷¹ Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 165–197; Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 600–604.

tivity” against the fractious threats of antisocial individualisms. In the 1990s, this gave way to a cultural revivalism of their monarchy aimed at protecting a moral collectivity from an unstable postcolonial state.⁷² Both of these efforts rested on redefining and reusing existing languages of moral community. However, Kamali’s scene—which unfolds inside Buganda—does not fit with Karlström’s picture of a Ganda cultural royalism “concerned with constituting visible and circumscribed, hence legitimate, relations of authority and hierarchy”; nor does it fit with conventional views which hold that witchcraft practice “expresses and generates intergenerational antagonism.”⁷³ People worry about power and wealth—but not as something “socially divisive, destructive, secretive, parasitic.” They articulate individual needs and desires, but they do so in a public setting not clearly circumscribed by hierarchy and authority. The practices of social reproduction in Kamali’s scene refer literally to a topos of “moral sociality”: the *omusámbwa* spirit and its abode. The sociality of the scene is unstable, and the authority of *Jjajjà* is fleeting. Studying the regional historical trajectories of the different ideas that people used to think about health and to practice healing repositions the contents of moral communities, moral behavior, and the changing institutional and conceptual sources for these vectors of action in Africa. To appreciate why this is so, one must be familiar with the social basis of health and healing practices in African history. Only then can one understand how the history of public healing is central to larger themes in the history of the Great Lakes region.

HEALTH IN AFRICAN HISTORY implicates histories of the environment, of the state, of gender; it is a social history. Healing in African history implicates other histories, too—of morality, of the body, of the person, of relations between life and death, of notions of efficacy and capacity. They are histories of practical reason—in intimate as well as in public life—as much as they are histories of the forces that cause illness and sustain wellness.⁷⁴ African histories of healing intersect with these larger narratives, but they must grapple with concepts of causality not easily translated across cultures and forms of action greatly concerned with “the social embeddedness” of suffering and misfortune.⁷⁵

Scholarship on precolonial healing in eastern Africa has concentrated on the nexus of causation binding therapeutic approaches to illness. In Feierman’s formulation, diagnoses move between two relatively stable categories: illnesses of God and illnesses of people. Illnesses of God just happen, but illnesses of people are caused

⁷² Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 604, 605.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 609.

⁷⁴ Steven Feierman and John M. Janzen, “Introduction,” in Feierman and Janzen, eds., *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 1, 12; Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 2–22. The question of how African healing has been read into and through “religion” in Africa lies beyond the scope of this essay, but see Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985); Rosalind Shaw, “The Invention of ‘African Traditional Religion,’” *Religion* 20 (1990): 339–353; Paul Landau, “‘Religion’ and Christian Conversion in African History: A New Model,” *Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 1 (1999): 8–30, esp. 19–29.

⁷⁵ Steven Feierman, “Explanation and Uncertainty in the Medical World of Ghaambo,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 74 (2000): 320–334; Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 64–106, 163–179; Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 10.

by human action, especially the vengeful and antisocial actions of people labeled “sorcerers” or “witches.” For example, people in many parts of eastern and southern Africa often explained droughts as the work of an enemy; “in a sense,” a drought was “an illness of humanity raised to a public level.”⁷⁶ Yet, not all droughts were understood in this way. Some just happened, especially those which exceeded the territorial reach of a given healer. Illnesses of people precipitated actions involving “counter-sorcery” by a healer or a rainmaker greater than the one creating the illness or drought. By this causal logic, people approach treatment through trial and error rather than through a differential diagnosis.⁷⁷

These formulations of causality defined the scope of public health practices. Scholars distinguish offerings and sacrifices to the ancestral figures of a particular group of kin from propitiating figures linked to larger communities with spheres of efficacy beyond those of families or close kin.⁷⁸ The powers of kings, court ritualists, chiefs, certain mediums, and rainmakers—common actors in the domain of public health—are often understood to work in this expansive scope. Spirit possession activities cross these boundaries; a family spirit may be the source of public dancing in which participation was elective.⁷⁹ Epidemic crises precipitated efforts to control people’s movements and quotidian activities, although these issues have been little studied before the nineteenth century.⁸⁰

Healers and patients relied on medicines, “substances with powers to transform bodies,” in order to achieve health.⁸¹ A medicine’s transformative capacities came from its substance, from speech, and from the individuals and collectivities who made and used it. Some medicines—such as those given for upset stomach—transformed bodies solely because of their substance. But other medicines—including those used to keep thieves out of a field of ripe crops or those used to keep hail from falling—transformed material realities (not just bodies) because of their substance, because of their activation by the speech of a powerful person or persons, and because of other actions of persons and collectivities.⁸² Substances used in complex, protective “medicines” (often called “charms” or “amulets” in European languages) were often central to “completing the metonymic chain from the original power source to its specific beneficiary.”⁸³ Understanding how medicines work redraws the boundaries between materiality, speech, the existential, and the social, depending on the nature of the outcome that supplicants seek to bring about or to forestall.

⁷⁶ Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 253.

⁷⁷ Such distinctions and causality are quite old in the region; see Janzen, *Ngoma*, 65–67; Svein Bjerke, “Witchcraft as Explanation: The Case of the Zinza,” in Anita Jacobson-Widding and David Westerlund, eds., *Culture, Experience, and Pluralism: Essays on African Ideas of Illness and Healing* (Stockholm, 1989), 219–233; Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 73–90.

⁷⁸ Gloria Waite, “Public Health in Precolonial East-Central Africa,” in Feierman and Janzen, *The Social Basis of Health and Healing*, 214–216; Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 73–86; Berger, “Fertility as Power,” 68; Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, 253–256.

⁷⁹ Waite, “Public Health,” 215; J. Matthew Schoffeleers, *River of Blood: The Genesis of a Martyr Cult in Southern Malawi, c. A.D. 1600* (Madison, Wis., 1999).

⁸⁰ Doyle, *Environmental Crisis and Population Decline*; McCurdy, “Transforming Associations.”

⁸¹ Susan Reynolds Whyte, Sjaak van der Geest, and Anita Hardon, *Social Lives of Medicines* (Cambridge, 2002), 5.

⁸² Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), 350; cited in Whyte, van der Geest, and Hardon, *Social Lives of Medicines*, 10.

⁸³ MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture*, 86–87; for more on metonymic chains and the power of medicines, see 78–81.

The illnesses on which medicines were designed to act were matters of experience and reflection as well as of biology. They were a "syndrome of experience" and not a "mirror of nature."⁸⁴ As the historian Julie Livingston has argued, this means that diagnosis and treatment tended to reinforce "the overarching unity of the natural, cosmological, and social realms—all of which were in flux."⁸⁵ Even with the richest imaginable collection of historical evidence, it is difficult to untangle the particular changes in the relations between these realms. But because the language of illness was socially constructed, authorized, and contested, historians of precolonial Africa can probe aspects of the role of language in these processes when they compare the evidence of vocabulary in reconstructing the shape of interlocking ideas, practices, and things that "run together for members of a society."⁸⁶

The institution called *ngòrà* exemplifies some of these issues. The term *ngòrà* means "drum" in Bantu languages from Cameroon to Namibia and from Kenya to Zimbabwe. It also means a sort of musical performance in a long swath of languages east of the Central African forest zone, reaching to South Africa.⁸⁷ *Ngòrà* is a set of public healing practices, materials, and settings that people use to pursue health, wealth, and protection of entire communities and of evanescent collectivities from natural or spiritual social dangers, and to commemorate departed persons. Through *ngòrà*, people make sense of misfortune, manifested in disease or symptoms of disease, attributed to various sorts of disembodied spiritual beings. Treatment provides them with a name for their misfortune and incorporates sufferers into a larger community of afflicted persons.⁸⁸

In general, *ngòrà* involves one or more sufferers, one or more healers, a group of dancers or singers and musicians, and their musical instruments (drums and rattles, and often whistles, clappers, zithers, and harps). *Ngòrà* involves invoking ancestral, nature, or territorial spirits, sometimes by a medium, who may or may not belong to the group of healers. The kinesthetics of drumming and dancing centers public performance and staging in healing through *ngòrà*.⁸⁹ All across the territory of *ngòrà*, the sufferer sings to the assembled group of supporters and healers, who sing back. When the public healing of drumming and possession dances occurs beyond royal, colonial, or police surveillance, it may embody a refusal of the com-

⁸⁴ Byron J. Good, *Medicine, Rationality, and Experience: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, 1994), 2, 5, 65–115. Some of the meaning carried by words corresponds regularly to empirical realities—people use them to speak about what exists and how things happen—while other meaning is embroiled in issues of why some things exist, or cease to exist, and why things happen.

⁸⁵ Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 163.

⁸⁶ Byron J. Good, "The Heart of What's the Matter: The Semantics of Illness in Iran," *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 1 (1977): 27. But experience introduces inconsistencies and innovations into what scholars routinely treat as a medical "system" to render it effectively a non-system for patients who nevertheless rely on it; see Murray Last, "The Importance of Knowing about Not Knowing: Observations from Hausaland," in Feerman and Janzen, *The Social Basis of Health and Healing*, 393–406.

⁸⁷ Janzen, *Ngoma*, 69–71, 197. Although *ngòrà* cults are present across this large zone, they are not necessarily the most prevalent form of healing; see Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 50–61.

⁸⁸ Janzen, *Ngoma*, 77–79, 83. The political economy of *ngòrà* is explored in Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry and Rebellion on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1995); Terence O. Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa: The Beni Ngoma* (London, 1975); Rebecca Gearhart, "Ngoma Memories: How Ritual Music and Dance Shaped the Northern Kenya Coast," *African Studies Review* 48, no. 3 (2005): 22–35. The focus on public healing underestimates the centrality of familial care-giving to achieving health. See Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 235.

⁸⁹ Amandina Lihamba, "Health and the African Theatre," *Review of African Political Economy* 36 (1986): 35–40.

monsense view that force leads to control.⁹⁰ The therapeutic core of the institution might be understood as leading to the “consolidation of substantial resources, material and human,” and as aiding “the long-term reordering of institutions of redress, economic redistribution, and ideological change.”⁹¹ The flexibility of these healing practices in treating afflictions of radically different scales and phenomena follows from *ngòmà*’s modular form, a form that facilitates innovation.⁹²

Healing practices in East Africa change as people assess the efficacy of treatments in terms of practical reason and moral principles. People in Uganda embraced injections because they perceived the effectiveness of the medicines delivered by that technique, and “efficacy provides evidence that changes the culture of health.”⁹³ When people say that an elder’s capacity to curse her juniors has caused an illness, they represent both the cause and the effect of cursing in terms of social relations and moral power. Her moral capacities contrast with the vengeful, greedy desires behind the immorality of witches. The contents of morality and immorality change as environmental, agricultural, and political processes engender struggles and debates over them, closing down and opening up what it is possible to argue about and what it is possible to envision as “a morally better or worse world than the one in which” people lived.⁹⁴ The substance of an African regional history of durability and rupture in the tense relation between existential uncertainty, the challenges of providing care, and healers’ attempts to manipulate reality raises questions about how that history reconfigures approaches to more recent moralities and modernities.

WHAT PRACTICES RUN THROUGH the history of public healing between the Great Lakes?⁹⁵ Spirit possession and mediumship have been in play from earliest times, as revealed by the historical development of the meanings attached to the term *kubándwa*. (See Semantogram 1.) Today, the verb means “to be possessed by or consecrated to a spirit,” in a discontinuous distribution that includes languages in all branches of Great Lakes Bantu, except East Nyanza.⁹⁶ (See Figure 1.) The meaning represents an innovation from the verb *kubánda*, which means “to press down or knock down” in a still wider contemporary distribution.⁹⁷ Great Lakes Bantu-speaking healers and patients likened the experience of being possessed by a spirit to the feeling of being overwhelmed or knocked down. They made a noun from this verb to name the spirit who did the possessing and the medium who had been possessed.

⁹⁰ Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 199, emphasizes the radical difference between the evanescent power in public healing and the stable power of states; Janzen, *Ngoma*, 75–77, and Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, emphasize public healing as opposition to state power.

⁹¹ C. H. Stuart, “Review of *Lemba 1650–1930*,” *Africana Journal* 13 (1986): 235–237.

⁹² A point gleaned from discussions with Steven Feierman, Kathryn Geurts, Nancy Rose Hunt, Murray Last, Julie Livingston, Sinfrey Makoni, and Lynn Thomas.

⁹³ Whyte, van der Geest, and Hardon, *Social Lives of Medicines*, 113.

⁹⁴ Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 19.

⁹⁵ For the broader context in the Great Lakes region, see Bethwell Alan Ogot, “The Great Lakes Region,” in Djibril Tamsir Niane, ed., *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Paris, 1984), 498–524; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*.

⁹⁶ Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, 67–70; Schoenbrun, *Historical Reconstruction*, 178–179; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 112, 202–204, 233–234; Tantalá, “The Early History of Kitará,” 313–315.

⁹⁷ See Schoenbrun, *Historical Reconstruction*, 178–179, 46–47, 109–110; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 266–269; Claire Grégoire, “Le champ sémantique du thème bantou *-bánjá,” *African Languages/Langues Africaines* 2 (1976): 1–12.

SEMANTOGRAM 1.

Social Sources of Health and Illness

[Read from top to bottom in order to go from the past to the present and perceive meaning retentions and shifts]

	*-zimu n. 1/2 ¹ From *-dīma 'to extinguish'	*-bándwa v. From *-bánda 'to split' (tr.) [plus passive suffix]	*-sámbwa n. 3/4, 5/6 From *-samba 'judge, render justice, bless' [plus agentive noun suffix]	*-cwezi n. 1/2 From -cwera 'to spit'	*lubaale n. 11/2 From *-baale 'stone'
Proto-Bantu ↓ ↓ ↓	'Ghost of long-departed person; form spirit might take'	'Split or cleave' [not in passive]	'Be judged, have justice rendered, be blessed' [with passive suffix]	Not present	Not present
Proto-Great Lakes Bantu ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	Retained; may become a *-sámbwa In class 17 'land of the dead'	'Be seized in head by spirit' (*-zimu, *-sambwa, others?) [plus passive suffix] 'Be consecrated to spirit'; n. 'spirit type; medium'	'Lineage spirits, the territory they control, form spirit might take' (python, whirlwind, stone, tree, stream, spring, pool of water)	Not present	Not present
Proto-West Nyanza Bantu ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	Retained	Retained	Retained; but included named, portable spirits (such as Mukasa) controlled genres of experience and environmental categories	Not present	Not present
Proto-North Nyanza Bantu	Retained; but seen as harmful?	'Be possessed by lubaale spirit or by muzimu, be consecrated to such spirits'	Retained	Not present	A sort of mbándwa spirit or its medium; later, Ganda 'national' deities
Proto-Rutara Bantu [Descended from Proto-West Nyanza Bantu]	Retained; but seen as harmful?	Retained plus 'be possessed by *-cwezi spirit' Forms: mbándwa eziragura ('black spirits'), mbándwa ezeera ('white spirits')	Retained only in languages along Lake Victoria's coast (Haya dialects, Zinza)	'Spirit with no heirs, its medium' From mbándwa ezeera category; later included named spirits of departed leaders	Not present
Proto-Western Lakes Bantu [Descended from Proto-Great Lakes Bantu] ↓	Meaning from Great Lakes Bantu retained; no relation to *-sámbwa	Meaning from Great Lakes Bantu retained	Not present	Not present	Not present
Proto-West Highlands Bantu	Retained	'Be consecrated to special cult (Ryángombe, Kiranga, Nyabingi)'	In Ha (Heru) refers to Zinza spirits	Not present	Not present

¹The numbers following the root refer to a system of classifying noun prefixes denoting singular and plural forms; see Francis Katamba, "Bantu Nominal Morphology," in Nurse and Philippson, *Bantu Languages*, 104.

Travelers' accounts from the nineteenth century describe spirit possession as tackling personal health concerns, concerns for the health of entire communities (defined by a particular locality or set of relatives), and concerns with the health of entire territories (mainly with ensuring or restoring their fecundity).⁹⁸

The specialists mentioned in Semantogram 2 integrated the social basis of knowledge relevant to health and healing with the power of speech, most clearly in public forms of healing such as possession (*kubándwa*), offering sacrifices (*kutámbe*), and divination (*kulàgula*).⁹⁹ Descriptions of these forms of healing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries repeatedly mention the presence of numerous participants, patients, their families, onlookers, mediums, and priests and doctor-diviners themselves.¹⁰⁰ Spirit possession and propitiation, often organized by specialists, created large evanescent publics.

Healing practice relied on powerful speech, clearly expressed in the meaning of "to divine" or "divination." The West Nyanza and Western Lakes word for these acts was derived from a verb that meant "to promise" or "to teach." By adding a reversive suffix to that verb, speakers of these languages expressed the act of promising or teaching things and ideas to or for others. This morphological innovation is widely distributed in eastern Bantu languages and is quite old. Its retention in proto-Great Lakes Bantu reflects key aspects of being a healing specialist between the Great Lakes in the latter centuries B.C.E., when Great Lakes Bantu existed as a speech community. Diviners were master speakers, and they were master listeners. Their ability to "divine" the cause of an individual's, a collective's, or a territory's misfortune relied on eliciting and reframing information.

Great Lakes peoples thought about health and prosperity together. Their diviner-healers, the *bafúmu*, possessed a variety of powers, among them the power to heal or cure, *kukíla*, which also meant, for Lakes peoples, "to prosper." They used an even older word, *mugàngà*, to name doctors.¹⁰¹ But they understood a *mugàngà* to be

⁹⁸ Steven Feierman, "Struggles for Control: The Social Roots of Health and Healing in Modern Africa," *African Studies Review* 28, nos. 2/3 (1985): 73–147, 82; Janzen, *Ngoma*, 63–74; Gloria Waite, *Traditional Medicine and Health Care* (Lewiston, Maine, 1992), 11–19; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 107–113.

⁹⁹ On divination and sacrifice, see Schoenbrun, *Historical Reconstruction*, 207–208, 239–241; on the relationship of speech to a medicine's healing capacities, see Feierman, "Explanation and Uncertainty," 324–326; on public healing, see Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars"; on efficacy more generally, see Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 107–115; Whyte, *Questioning Misfortune*, 87–152; Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 57–61.

¹⁰⁰ James Augustus Grant, *A Walk across Africa* (London, 1864), 266–267; John Hanning Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile* (Edinburgh, 1863), 261; Harry H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 2 vols. (London, 1902), 2: 587–590, 631–632, 678; G. Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha in Central Africa: Being a Collection of His Letters and Journals* (London, 1888), 92, 285; Samuel W. Baker, *The Albert N'yanza* (London, 1866), 444–445. On the antiquity of popularizing mediumship, see Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, 68–73; Tantalà, "The Early History of Kitara," 319–322.

¹⁰¹ Janzen, *Ngoma*, 67–68; Schoenbrun, *Historical Reconstruction*, 139, 186–187, 201–202, 203; Christopher Ehret, *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998), 158–160; Catherine Cymone Fourshey, "Agriculture, Ecology, Kinship and Gender: A Social and Economic History of Tanzania's Corridor, 400 BC to 1900 AD" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 2002), 148–150; Rhonda Gonzales, "Continuity and Change: Thought, Belief, and Practice in the History of the Ruvu Peoples of Central East Tanzania, 200 B.C. to A.D. 1800" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 2002), 78–98. On the earlier history of **kúmu*, see Jan Vansina, "Deep Down Time: Political Tradition in Central Africa," *History in Africa* 16 (1989): 341–362.

SEMANTOGRAM 2.

Practitioners and Practices

[Read from top to bottom in order to go from the past toward the present and perceive meaning retentions and shifts]

	*-làgula v.; *-làgudĩ n. From *-dàg- 'teach; promise' plus reversive suffix, giving v. 'exchange teachings or promises'	*-kùmũ n. Etymology uncertain	*-gàngà n. From *-gàngà v. 'to tie up'	*-támba v. From *-támba 'to set a trap' or 'to walk, travel'
Proto-Bantu ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	Not present; in Proto-Mashariki: v. 'Divine, prophecy'; n. 'divination specialist'	'Leader, person of wealth'	Not present? In Proto-Mashariki: 'healer, doctor'	Not present; in Proto-Mashariki: 'offer, sacrifice (by slaughtering) in order to heal'
Proto-Great Lakes Bantu ↓	Retained	'Doctor-diviner, general practitioner'	Retained	Retained
Proto-West Nyanza Bantu ↓	Retained	Retained included diagnosing spirit possession	Retained	Retained
Proto-North Nyanza [Descended from Proto-West Nyanza Bantu]	Retained	Retained in Proto- West Nyanza meaning	Retained	Retained, in Proto-West Nyanza meaning. Later, may have included human sacrifice in Buganda
Proto-Rutara Bantu [Descended from Proto-West Nyanza Bantu]	Retained; now included <i>mbándwa</i> <i>eziragura</i> spirits	Retained in Proto- West Nyanza meaning; later they might be present at royal courts	Retained	Retained in Proto-West Nyanza meaning
Proto-Western Lakes Bantu ↓	Retained	Retained in Proto- Great Lakes Bantu meaning	Retained; added meaning in class 14 'good health'	Retained
Proto-West Highlands Bantu	Retained	Retained in Proto- Great Lakes Bantu meaning	Not present; replaced by <i>mufúmu</i> n.	Retained; now included dancing

particularly gifted in one or another area of the larger territory of healing practice, including divination.

The spirits, specialists, medicines (see Semantogram 3), or concepts that healers and patients used over the last fifteen hundred years exceed the groupings given in the semantograms, but they represent a basic, generative architecture within which people innovated and revised healing practices during various periods of rupture in

Great Lakes history. These terms, which have been confidently reconstructed as parts of the vocabulary of West Nyanza and Western Lakes speech communities, formed the practical and theoretical material with which later speech communities created new modes of public healing. They used other words to name grain crops, domestic animals, and farming techniques either directly or indirectly attested in the region's archaeological and paleoecological records. Both glottochronological and radiocarbon dating methods point to the middle of the first millennium C.E. as the time during which these speech communities of farmers and herders (and their grains and cattle) and public healers existed.¹⁰²

The semantic histories of words for medicines, spirits, specialists, and techniques underscore the close relations between ideas of health and conditions of prosperity, implying that healing practices existed in creative tension with social organization and political culture. These two large domains of life disrupted or ensured conditions of prosperity, rendering the practical aspirations of persons, communities, and leaders in social life the proper territory of healing. Healing institutions were designed by their practitioners to cure illness, end famine, remove epidemics, and so on. They were about action, the capacity for action, and the particular moral and social conditions that shaped action.

IN THE MID-FIRST MILLENNIUM of the Common Era, West Nyanza, Greater Luhyia, and East Nyanza societies, living around and near to the shores of Lake Victoria, drew on the concept of ancestral ghosts (the *bazimu*) to invent a new category of spirits that could reside in natural locales, such as caves, springs, lakes, or rivers, and whose range of efficacy had clear territorial dimensions. They worked out the meanings and capacities of these novel territorial nature spirits during a time of agricultural specialization. Productive pastoralism, grain and banana farming, began to generate conditions that induced leaders to create the concept of primacy in a region and to develop patronage systems designed to compose communities of diverse followers while at the same time controlling access to productive forms of wealth such as cattle herds and banana gardens, through exclusionary inheritance systems based on descent.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 107–115; Taylor and Robertshaw, “Sedimentary Sequences in Western Uganda,” 72–74; on glottochronology, a technique used to measure in years the patterned accumulation of new vocabulary items, and thus the dates at which various speech communities formed and dispersed, which may then be correlated with various archaeologically attested pottery traditions, see Christopher Ehret, “Testing the Expectations of Glottochronology against the Correlations of Archaeology and Language in Africa,” in Colin Renfrew, Alison McMahon, and Leonard Trask, eds., *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2000), 2: 373–399; for a critique of glottochronology and a suggestion for direct associations between the archaeological and historical linguistic records, see Vansina, *How Societies are Born*, 4–11.

¹⁰³ On livestock and bananas between the Great Lakes, see Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 70–83; Ehret, *An African Classical Age*, 77–88, 133–136; Gerda Rossel, *A Taxonomic-Linguistic Study of Plantain in Africa* (Leiden, 1998), 183–188; B. Julius Lejju, Peter Robertshaw, and David Taylor, “Africa’s Earliest Bananas?” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006): 102–113; Peter Robertshaw and David Taylor, “Climate Change and the Rise of Political Complexity in Western Uganda,” *Journal of African History* 41, no. 1 (2000): 1–28; Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, 60–62, 235, 238; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 22–25; Andrew Reid, “The Role of Cattle in the Later Iron Age of Southern Uganda” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991).

SEMANTOGRAM 3.

Medicines and Techniques

[Read from top to bottom in order to go from the past to the present and to perceive meaning retentions and shifts]

	*-komero n. 7/8. From v. *-komera 'be strong, alive' < v. *-kóma 'become finished' + prep. suff. > 'realize potential' ¹	*-sango n. various classes. From v. *-sánga 'find, discover'	-gica/-gico n. 9/10. From v. *-kita 'to do'	*-ti n. 3/4, 14 From n. *-ti 'tree, shrub'	*-sigo n. 1, 7, 14 From v. *-siga 'leave behind, abandon'
Proto-Bantu ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓	?	Not present; in Mashariki as 'charm, consecrated medicine'	'Charm, blessing' (enabled by speech)	'Medicine' Often in class 14 as 'essence' of trees or shrubs'	? 'Offering, vow, sacrifice'
Proto-Great Lakes Bantu ↓ ↓ ↓	'Medicine; Efficacious thing when activated by speech'	'Charm; Efficacious thing when activated by speech or song'	Retained	Retained	Retained
Proto-West Nyanza Bantu ↓	Retained	Not present	Retained	Retained	Retained
Proto-North Nyanza Bantu [Descended from Proto- West Nyanza Bantu]	Not present	Not present	Retained	Retained	Not present
Proto-Rutara Bantu [Descended from Proto- West Nyanza Bantu]	Retained	Not present	Retained; now included specific materials (wood and <i>ntembe</i> seeds) and use by diviners and Mukasa's mediums or priests	Retained	Retained
Proto-Western Lakes Bantu ↓ ↓	Retained	Retained in Great Lakes Bantu meaning	Retained in general meaning 'charm, blessing'	Retained	Retained
Proto-West Highlands Bantu [Descended from Proto- Western Lakes Bantu]	Retained	Retained	Retained	Retained	Retained; comes to mean 'sort of territorial nature spirit' after c. 1500

¹ Could also be from a verb meaning 'to hit, strike' (plus prepositional suffix), indicating how words spoken over medicine release or open its capacity to heal.

People thought of territorial spirits, which they called *misámbwa* or *masámbwa* (sg. *musámbwa*), as ancestors of the first groups or lineages in a territory.¹⁰⁴ They were implicated in the fecundity of a territory and the prosperity of its residents. This range of efficacy differed from that of ancestral ghosts, whose interests extended only to members of a particular family or of an extended lineage. Firstcomer groups drew on the knowledge that *bazimu* could return from *okuzimu* (lit. “where ancestral ghosts exist”) or Ghostland as animals or snakes in claiming that their ghosts returned for the good of communities larger than a single lineage or neighborhood. Their ghosts, now called *misámbwa*, resided in the territory of the firstcomer lineage, and caring for them ensured fecundity and prosperity in their territory and fertility for all its residents, be they members of the firstcomer lineage or not. Twentieth-century sources report that rocky hills, large trees, or springs were places where people encountered such spirits.

Late in the first millennium, people developed specialized modes of producing food that led to increased competition for key resources such as pasturelands and for control over productive banana gardens.¹⁰⁵ At this time, people began to refer to unilineal descent groups as vessels for defending rights to land established by firstcomers. Such talk was a new way to think about which persons had the legitimacy and authority to enact ritual control over both ancient and newly established zones of settlement. Propitiating the spirits of a territory controlled by a lineage and its ancestors—the *misámbwa* spirits—amounted to a claim by homestead heads that a key thread in residential or territorial social identity ran through them. A group of firstcomers who established new settlements at the fringes of older areas of settlement could have used this ritual expression of solidarity and exclusiveness, either at the moment of new settlement or retroactively, to bolster their community as it grew in wealth. This sort of public healing helped those who managed to establish their firstcomer credentials to create, gradually, a group identity tied directly to the lands in which they had settled.

At places such as Munsa, in western Uganda, archaeologists date to the tenth century the earliest phases of settlement surrounding rocky promontories and rock shelters. What perhaps began as a settlement of kin who propitiated ancestral ghosts on the hilltops and in the shelters grew in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into much larger settlements of people not necessarily related by kinship, with earthworks that enclosed the favored abodes of the new *basámbwa* spirits, and sat at nodes of regional trade, including in exotic goods such as glass beads and copper bracelets.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ The following two paragraphs rely on Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 199–203; additional data appear in Schoenbrun, *Historical Reconstruction*, 226–228; Kodesh, “Beyond the Royal Gaze,” 144–194.

¹⁰⁵ Words for unilineal inheritance rules and for forms of property defined by the presence of perennial crops were innovated at the same time in several parts of the region; see Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 131–146, 171–184, 222–226, 231–234. Robertshaw and Taylor, “Climate Change,” 24–27, warn against privileging cattle over the capacity of grain crops to weather climatic oscillations. See also Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 72–73, for a brilliant rendering of how people saw a state as a coming together around forms and nodes of authority based on followers, on spiritual power, and on relationships with a king.

¹⁰⁶ On regional trade routes, see John Tosh, “The Northern Interlacustrine Region,” in Richard Gray and David Birmingham, eds., *Pre-Colonial African Trade* (London, 1970), 103–118; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 135–148; Henri Médard, “Croissance et crises de la royauté du Buganda au XIXe siècle,” 2 vols. (Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris 1, 2001), 1: 137–147; on beads and bracelets, see Peter Robertshaw, “Munsa Earthworks: A Preliminary Report,” *Azania* 32 (1997): 15, 17.

The innovations, recognizable in the linguistic evidence, turned on making territorial spirits portable in the zones of older settlement inhabited fifteen hundred years ago by West Nyanza-speaking communities. In building the earthworks, "elite groups both appropriated for themselves and expropriated from their followers the power of the ancestors."¹⁰⁷ The crucial links in this transformation were the medium (the *mbándwa*) and the institution of *kubándwa*, through which the ancestral ghosts and the territorial spirits could communicate with their communities of rememberers. West Nyanza societies worked with this supple institution to convert *kubándwa* mediums of ancestral ghosts into the mediums of territorial spirits.

FOLLOWING THIS RECONFIGURATION OF MEDIUMSHIP, after the turn of the current millennium, the West Nyanza community fully dissolved into its daughter speech communities of Rutara and North Nyanza. (See Map 2.) And sites such as Munsa grew in size and came to include earthworks. Speakers of Rutaran and North Nyanzan extended the semantic range of the concept of territorial nature spirits tied to a specific firstcomer group by using that term to describe named and mobile spirits responsible for the health of entire genres of experience and environment.¹⁰⁸ As territorial leaders expanded the range of the services they provided to their followers, they drew into their political economies the material sources of wealth that had sustained the smaller-scale firstcomer communities.¹⁰⁹

Individual territorial cults could be widespread across the landscape, a circumstance that limited the ability of any single cult to export or project its power to areas where other cults were already in place.¹¹⁰ Territorial cults and the power to allocate institutions of service and tribute transcended the authority of firstcomers in Rutaran and North Nyanzan societies. Wealthy newcomers to a region could curtail the authority of firstcomer groups by creating new nodes of patronage and of military alliance. They used these new networks of followers to redistribute the material wealth in people and livestock that flowed through the increasingly territorially expansive chiefdoms that had emerged during the era of reconfigured mediumship and lineage ideologies just mentioned. Patrilineal marriage alliances created and monitored redistributive networks. Wealthy newcomers to a territory, as a new chief's following, could contest firstcomer claims to its wealth in land and people with new arrays of debt and service relations displayed at events such as weddings and funerals.¹¹¹ Drawing on the close connections between a shrine-keeper's local spirit and its sur-

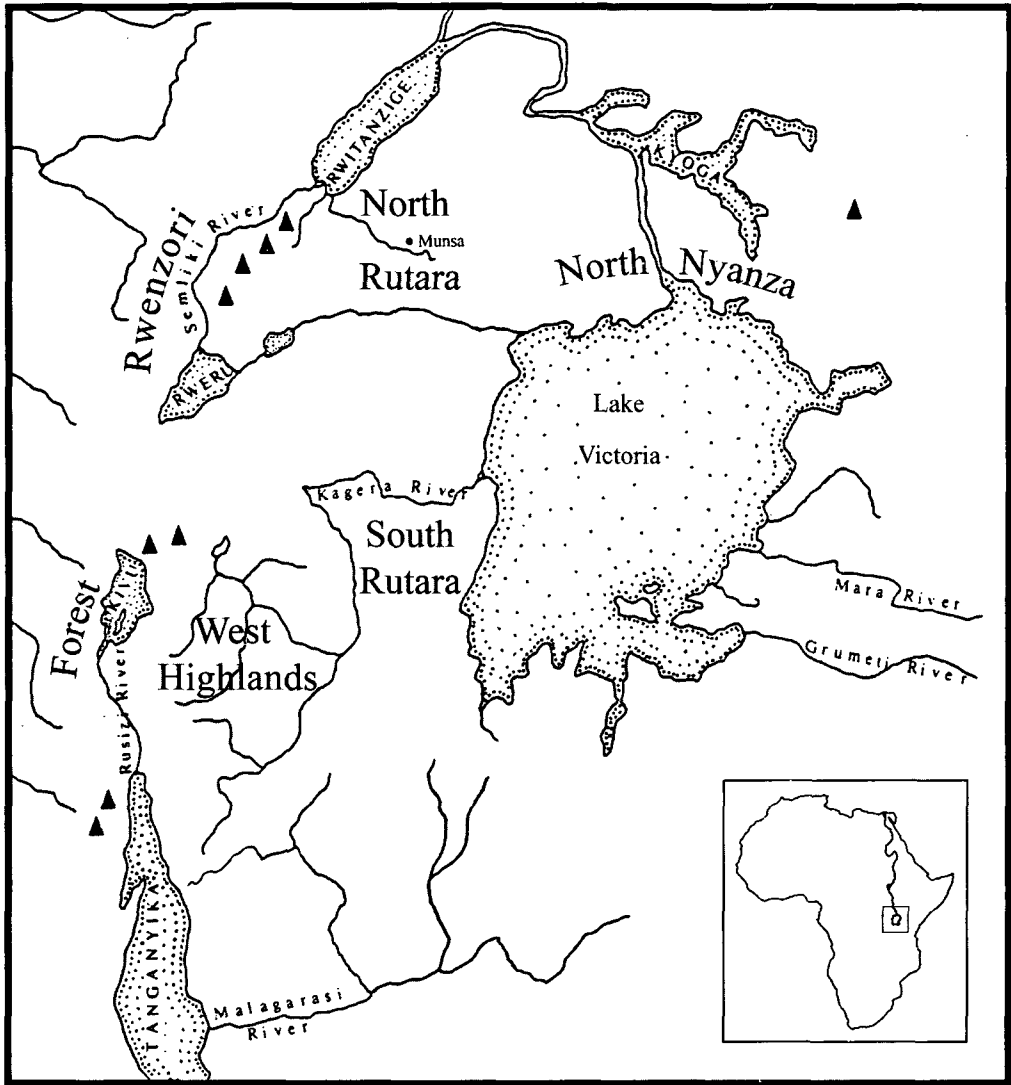
¹⁰⁷ Robertshaw, "The Age and Function of the Ancient Earthworks," 29; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 199–207, 219–226.

¹⁰⁸ On clan networks, see Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 121–132; on clans and therapeutic networks in Buganda, see Kodesh, "History from the Healer's Shrine."

¹⁰⁹ Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 131–151, 185–195, 219–226; David Newbury, *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift, 1780–1840* (Madison, Wis., 1991), 141–142, 209–226; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 88–94, 170–183; David W. Cohen, "The Political Transformation of Northern Busoga, 1600–1900," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 22, no. 3/4 (1982): 465–485.

¹¹⁰ The following arguments draw on and revise Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 202, 204–206. On territorial cults, see Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, 68–70; Richard Werbner, "Introduction," in Werbner, ed., *Regional Cults* (London, 1977), xxiv–xxxvi; J. Matthew Schoffeleers, "Introduction," in Schoffeleers, ed., *Guardians of the Land* (Gwelo, 1979), 1–46; Christopher Wrigley, "The River God and the Historians: Myth and History in the Shire Valley," *Journal of African History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 367–383.

¹¹¹ David W. Cohen, "The Cultural Topography of a 'Bantu Borderland': Busoga, 1500–1850," *Journal of African History* 29, no. 1 (1988): 57–79.

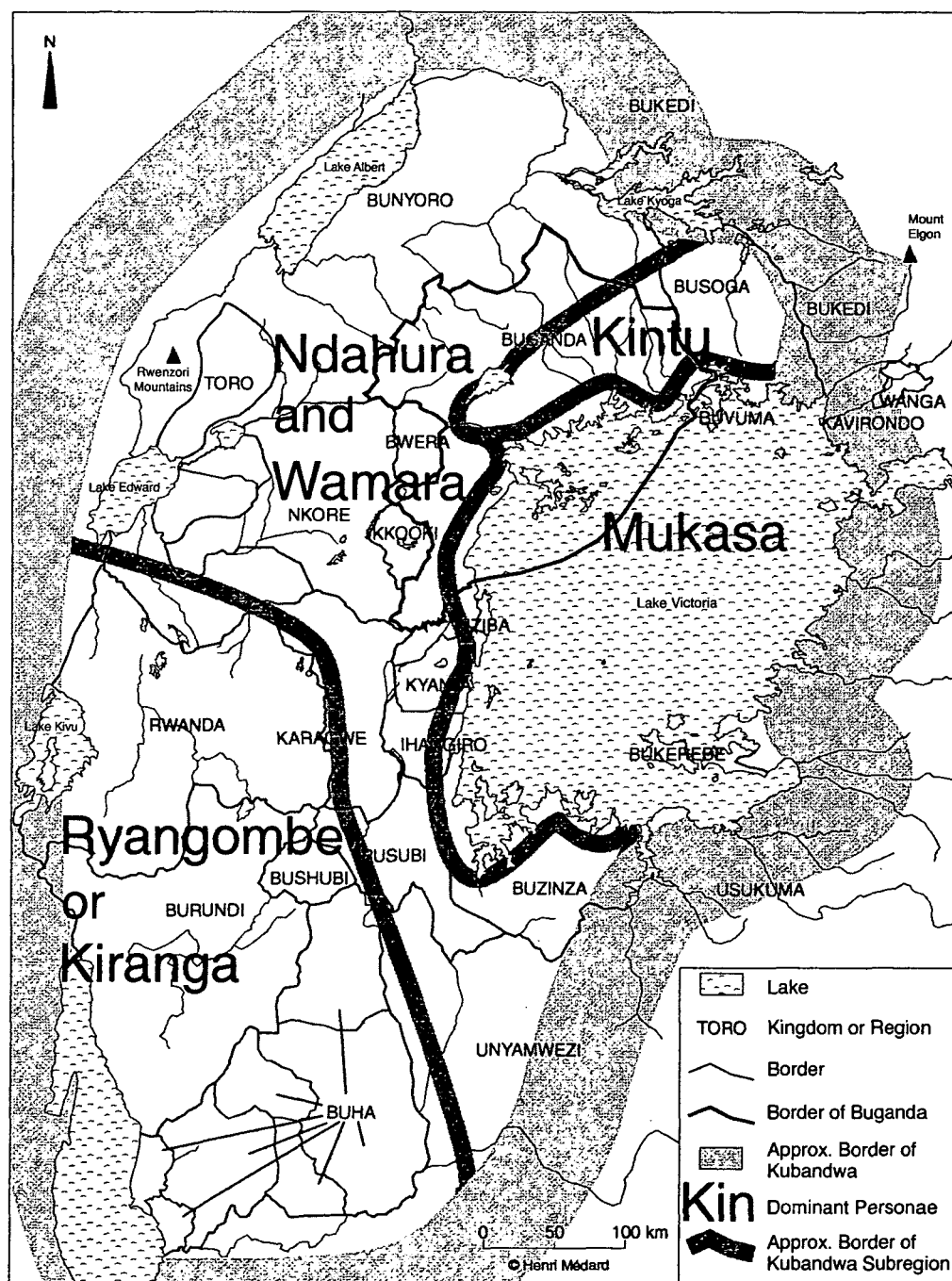


MAP 2. The location of some ancestral speech communities, ca. 1000 to 1500 C.E. See Figure 1 for a partial listing of the languages spoken today in the Great Lakes region that descended from these communities. Map made by Tom O'Connell, Digital Media Services, Northwestern University.

roundings, these assemblies began to think of the spirits' corporeal forms—water-courses, hills, caves, and prominent rock outcroppings—as sources and categories of their power—fertility, fecundity, war-making, controlling rain, hunting, and so on.¹¹² Instead of ensuring prosperity and fertility in a particular territory, the new territorial leaders might have argued that their new spirits could ensure prosperity in entire categories of the environment and of life.¹¹³

¹¹² For Buganda, see Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 72–75; for southern Lake Kivu, see Newbury, *Kings and Clans*, 156–177; for Busoga, see Cohen, “The Political Transformation of Northern Busoga,” 472; for Rwanda, see Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 44–66; more widely on clan politics and royal ritual, see Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 88–94, 121–130.

¹¹³ These are the newly wealthy chiefdoms at sites such as Ntusi, west of Lake Victoria; see Robertshaw and Taylor, “Climate Change,” 26–28.



MAP 3. The distribution of some prominent figures associated with the *kubandwa* form of public healing. The Nyabingi personae appear in a zone straddling the boundary between Ndahura and Wamara (who, with Mukasa, are *cwezi* figures) and Ryangombe or Kiranga. Reproduced courtesy of Henri Médard, Université Paris I.

The outcome was the creation of named spirits, such as *Irungu* or *Mukasa*, who blended the territorial ritual power expressed in the concept of a *musámbwa* with the general healing capacities of experts in *kubandwa* spirit possession. (See Map 3.)

In this new context, leaders struggled over extending their power over people (and the land they made productive) *and* sought to curb the worst impacts of struggle on their own following. The era of ancient state-building had opened with public healing central to its unfolding.¹¹⁴

Traditions about *Mukasa* reveal how transforming the territory of healing from local to exportable forms engaged several important aspirations. *Mukasa* was the spiritual force responsible for healing sickness, giving abundant rain, food, cattle, and children, and ensuring safe passage for fishermen and travelers on Lake Victoria. His shrine was located on the lake's Ssesse Islands. Several items from the ethnographic record suggest clearly that his supplicants, priests, and mediums recognized a connection between *Mukasa* and the *musámbwa* of Buddu (on the coast opposite the Ssesse Islands; see Map 1), a spirit that manifested itself as a python.¹¹⁵ This connection expressed a clear continuity between territorial spirits in general, the *misámbwa*, and named figures such as *Mukasa*. And it underscored the central roles of concerns with fertility and the importance of healers in maintaining collective well-being. The power wielded in *Mukasa*'s name by his medium and her priests offered to commoners and nobles alike the possibility of overcoming the death of the body through the birth and rearing of children.

North Nyanzan and Rutaran societies, where these tales circulated, recognized *Mukasa* as a new sort of *musámbwa* or *mbándwa* who was portable and capable of providing all the many sorts of fertility that people required: rain, children, pasture, and healthy soils. They did so around the turn of the first millennium, as the earliest phases of a period of increased humidity settled over the region, perhaps linked to "the Little Climatic Optimum of more temperate regions."¹¹⁶ During this period, major settlements turned up in the formerly dry interior of the region, west of Lake Victoria, indicating a general increase in population densities after the eleventh century.¹¹⁷ And they used a moral and social logic that would have been very familiar to people living as far away as southern Africa.

THESE CHANGES IN PORTABLE TERRITORIAL SPIRITS shaped a third reconfiguration of healing practice in this region. Near the middle of the present millennium, probably during the fifteenth century, as Rutaran and North Nyanzan societies began to dissolve into communities speaking languages that we know today as Ganda, Soga, Nyoro, and Haya, among others, healers and patients working with spirit possession and as mediums invented an entirely new category of spirits whom they called *bacwezi*. These spirits could return from Ghostland through acts of mediumistic possession, just like *bazimu* or *masámbwa* or *babándwa*. However, the *bacwezi* did not require their mediums to have a descent relation or a territorial identity with them. These spirits had no lineal heirs; they could assist or possess any individual, in any collectivity, in any territory.

¹¹⁴ On violence and state centralization in Buganda, Rwanda, and the Kivu Rift, respectively, see Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, 192–206; Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 67–79; Newbury, "Pre-colonial Burundi and Rwanda," 276–280; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 185–198.

¹¹⁵ Tantala, "The Early History of Kitara," 607–608; Kodesh, "Beyond the Royal Gaze," 71–100.

¹¹⁶ Taylor and Robertshaw, "Sedimentary Sequences in Western Uganda," 71; Nicholson, "Historical Fluctuations of Lake Victoria," 15.

¹¹⁷ Robertshaw and Taylor, "Climate Change," 6–7; Reid, "The Role of Cattle."

This innovation seems to have been designed to meet a new level of anxiety over fertility. The invention of the term *bacwezi* occurred after the invention of the term *bucweke*, which named the condition of an adult dying with no heirs or children of any sort. This word was invented earlier in the millennium, during the end of the life of the West Nyanza community.¹¹⁸ Together with dynastic and clan histories that speak about *cwezi* spirits—and a long period of pronounced aridity in the region between about 1400 and 1800¹¹⁹—this semantic innovation suggests that during a long fifteenth century, the efficacy of ancestral ghosts, the *bazimu*, and the stability of lineages was under attack. As agricultural systems struggled to meet demands for food, in the face of growing aridity, people encountered social and political bottlenecks that formed increasingly around hierarchies (some of which were gendered) of access to land, security, and collective well-being. This was the likely context in which *cwezi* mediums claimed that they could unblock the flow of social life better than the custodians of lineage spirits.

It is important to emphasize the fact that inventing *cwezi* spirits, building their shrines, and training the personnel who attended to them not only engaged the diminished capacity of lineage spirits to heal, but also enhanced leaders' claims to embody the fecundity and prosperity of their realm, because it offered them a means to extend the reach of their ritual power to a larger community, beyond the language of kinship.¹²⁰ Royal courts sought to co-opt this power of public healing, literally by bringing it inside the royal enclosure.¹²¹ Other royals met this challenge with force, threatening the very existence of independent public healing. These tensions played out in different ways in different parts of the region, but they formed a durable set of poles around which people waged political struggles.

Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, these spirits, and the mediums who could speak for them, came to include departed persons of royal standing, the famous royal *Cwezi* figures. The historian Renee Tantala has analyzed oral traditions about these new *bacwezi* and has shown their content to reflect tumultuous contests between the priests and mediums of *mbándwa* spirits over the importance of ancestral ghosts and the ritual efficacy of kings.¹²² The outcome of these contests

¹¹⁸ Schoenbrun, *Historical Reconstruction*, 111; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 196–197, 238–240; and Rhiannon Stephens, “Historical Linguistic Approaches to a History of Motherhood in West Nyanza, 500–1500 CE” (Seminar Paper, Northwestern University, 2003), 14–24.

¹¹⁹ Taylor and Robertshaw, “Sedimentary Sequences in Western Uganda,” 72; Robertshaw and Taylor, “Climate Change”; Nicholson, “Historical Fluctuations of Lake Victoria.” From about the 1480s to the 1580s, relative humidity increased. The return to aridity in the later sixteenth century may be a regional expression of the Little Ice Age in temperate latitudes.

¹²⁰ On gendered dimensions to these conflicts, see Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 171–175; Berger, “Fertility as Power,” 79–80; Peter Robertshaw, “Women, Labor, and State Formation in Western Uganda,” in Elisabeth A. Baucus and Lisa J. Lucero, eds., *Complex Politics in the Ancient Tropical World* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 51, 55, 62; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, chap. 2. On conflict between royalty and healers, see Tantala, “The Early History of Kitara,” 825–829; David Newbury, “‘Bunyabungo’: The Western Rwandan Frontier, c. 1750–1850,” in Igor Kopytoff, ed., *The African Frontier* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987), 164–173; Peter Schmidt, *Historical Archaeology* (Westport, Conn., 1978), chap. 5; J. Bertin Webster, Bethwell A. Ogot, and Jean-Pierre Chrétien, “The Great Lakes Region, 1500–1800,” in Bethwell A. Ogot, ed., *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Paris, 1992), 812–827; Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, 184–187; Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 234–245; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 132–137. But Wrigley, Kodesh, Vansina, and MacGaffey reject the bifurcation of power smuggled into the discussion by pitting healers or ritualists against royals; see Kodesh, “Beyond the Royal Gaze,” chap. 3.

¹²¹ Kodesh, “Beyond the Royal Gaze,” 257–302; Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*.

¹²² Tantala, “The Early History of Kitara,” 435–439, 671–694; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*,

shaped the contours of formal dynastic rule in the kingdoms of the central Great Lakes region, surely beginning in the sixteenth century. They led to specialized forms of *kubándwa* emerging in this period: the *cwezi kubándwa* in the northern parts of the region, and *ryángombe kubándwa* to the south. (See Map 3.) By co-opting the ritual practices and priestly hierarchies of these specialized forms of *kubándwa*, new ruling dynasties hoped to bolster their legitimacy while independent centers of *cwezi kubándwa* organized resistance to royal authority.¹²³

Late in the nineteenth century, a young Rundi man told the missionary J. M. Van Der Burgt that the word *cwezi* came from the verb “*kucyēra*, to spit.”¹²⁴ Spitting was a common form of blessing often mentioned in descriptions of practices marking life cycle transitions.¹²⁵ And the Rundi man’s derivation tells us that we can think of the *cwezi* as “the spitters” or “the blessers,” as healers who facilitated difficult transitions in life. They were perhaps most helpful to people who struggled with the challenges of infertility.

In the arid period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, these practices must have been extremely attractive to people settling in the dry central savannahs, under the watchful eye of newly emergent monarchies, far from their roots near Lake Victoria and in the Kivu Rift Valley.¹²⁶ *Cwezi kubándwa* offered childless people a setting in which they could develop skills in healing, in part by translating their own struggles with *obucweke* (childlessness or heirlessness) into succor for others in the same struggle. Although heirless, they were useful people who enjoyed the benefits of being successful healers.

The attractions of this social innovation placed the work and power of mediums (and the priests who managed the shrines where mediums often worked) potentially at odds with the authority of royalty and chiefs. *Cwezi kubándwa* groups relegated ancestral ghosts to the margins of healing practice and created a structure of ini-

121–137; Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, 182–187. This paragraph draws on Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 236.

¹²³ On resistance, see Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, 83–87, and Tantala, “The Early History of Kitara,” chap. 8; Ferdinand Nahimana, *Le Rwanda, émergence d’un état* (Paris, 1993), 159–222. On royal alliances with shrines and their bureaucracies, see Schmidt, *Historical Archaeology*, chap. 5; Wrigley, *Kingship and State*, 182–184; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 132–137. Using detailed shrine and clan histories from Buganda, Kodesh argues for a very close overlap in responsibilities of shrine-keepers as managers of village affairs and as healers; “Beyond the Royal Gaze,” chap. 3. Onomastics play important signifying roles connecting royals to shrines, their priests, and their mediums. See, for example, Israel N. Katoke, *The Kingdom of Karagwe: A History of the Abanyambo of North-west Tanzania* (Nairobi, 1975), 140–174.

¹²⁴ See Johannes M. M. Van Der Burgt, *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l’indication succincte de la signification Swahili et Allemande* (Bois-le-duc, 1903), 220.

¹²⁵ See Tantala, “The Early History of Kitara,” 290–291.

¹²⁶ These two paragraphs draw on Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 239; see also Peter Robertshaw, “The Origins of the State in East Africa,” in Chapurukha M. Kusimba and Sibel B. Kusimba, eds., *East African Archaeology: Foragers, Potters, Smiths, and Traders* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2003), 159–163. Luc de Heusch, *Le Rwanda et la civilisation interlacustre* (Brussels, 1966), 294–302; and Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, chaps. 5 and 6, place this development squarely within a resistance paradigm. Tantala, “The Early History of Kitara,” chaps. 3, 4, and 8; and Schoenbrun, *A Green Place*, 217–243, emphasize an emerging concern with infertility in general; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 95–121, 142–153, reads *Cwezi* stories as both religious and political charters against the oppressive impacts of political centralization on the narrower “logic” of clans. See also Webster, Ogot, and Chrétien, “The Great Lakes Region, 1500–1800.” For military success legitimizing royal claims on ritual authority, old and new, see Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 90–95.

tiation that could incorporate large numbers of patients and novitiates. They opened up the politics of prosperity and health in the fissures between courts and their followers. Some royal centers of power appear to have responded by developing a robust military component to emerging state structures.¹²⁷ Where this occurred, it represented the earliest examples of public healing facing threats to its existence.

Figures such as the Nyabingi priests and priestesses appear in tales from Kigezi and northern Rwanda concerned with the growing menace of militarized royal power. Traditions about Nyabingi remark on the fleeting, mobile nature of their power and tell stories about a medium's ability to withstand the most dire force of royalty, and later of colonials.¹²⁸ Steven Feierman has noticed that the image of mediums surviving a firestorm is common in stories of Nyabingi's exploits.¹²⁹ The image appears again, far to the north and east, in Geoffrey Kamali's story of public healing.

TENSIONS BETWEEN ROYAL COURTS and *kubándwa* groups shaped a fourth era of re-configuration in Lakes healing practice, stretching from the later eighteenth century into the first decades of the twentieth century. This was the era in which trade and production—increasingly commodified after the 1830s—underwrote and encouraged the militarization of royal power.¹³⁰ Between the 1780s and the 1880s, trade in ivory, slaves, beads, and guns—initially tied to the Nile Valley and the Indian Ocean world, and later tied also to the Inner Congo Basin and the Atlantic—intensified the use of sheer force by kings and others in pursuit of control over this commerce. Between the 1880s and the 1910s, German, British, and African troops undertook the violent colonial conquest of the region and early attempts to establish colonial administrative power. The period closed with the devastating impact on the southern and western Great Lakes region of World War I, and the establishment of different colonial administrations—Belgian and British—in the area.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 185–198; Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 73–79, 181–194; Newbury, “Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda,” 281–294; Webster, Ogot, and Chrétien, “The Great Lakes Region, 1500–1800.”

¹²⁸ For Nyabingi and others similarly concerned with centralized power, begin with A. G. Katate and L. Kamugungunu, *Abagabe b'Ankole (History of the Kings of Ankole, Books 1–2)*, 2 vols. (Kampala, 1953), 2: 530–532; Francis X. Lwamgira, *Amakuru ga Kiziba n'Abakama bamu: The History of Kiziba and Its Kings*, 2nd ed., trans. Ephraim Kamuhangire (Kampala, 1969), 21; Edmond Césard, “Histoire des rois du Kyamtware d'après l'ensemble des traditions des famille régnante,” *Anthropos* 26, no. 3/4 (1931): 533–543; Jan Vansina, “Historical Tales (*Ibitékerezo*) and the History of Rwanda,” *History in Africa* 27 (2000): 375–414; Freedman, *Nyabingi*, 27–59; de Heusch, *Le rwanda*, 344–350; Berger, *Religion and Resistance*, 76–87; and Marcel d'Hertefeldt and Danielle de Lame, *Société, culture et histoire du Rwanda: Encyclopédie bibliographique, 1863–1980/1987*, 2 vols. (Tervuren, 1987), 2: 1807.

¹²⁹ Feierman, “Colonizers, Scholars,” 197.

¹³⁰ See David Newbury, “Lake Kivu Regional Trade in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal des africanistes* 50, no. 2 (1980): 6–30; Reid, *Political Power in Pre-Colonial Buganda*, 198–248; David W. Cohen, “Peoples and States of the Great Lakes Region,” in Jacob F. A. Ajayi, ed., *Africa in the Nineteenth Century until the 1880s* (Paris, 1989), 273–276, 282–293; Michael Kenny, “Precolonial Trade in Eastern Lake Victoria,” *Azania* 14 (1979): 97–107; Katoke, *The Kingdom of Karagwe*, 60–68, 75–81; Joseph Mbwiliza, “The Hoe and the Stick: A Political Economy of the Heru Kingdom,” in Emile Mworoha, ed., *La Civilisation Ancienne des Peuples des Grands Lacs* (Paris, 1981), 100–114; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 191–199, 244–251; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, chap. 3.

¹³¹ Newbury and Newbury, “Bringing the Peasants Back In,” 847; David Newbury, “The Rwakayihura Famine of 1928–1929: A Nexus of Colonial Rule in Rwanda,” in Département d'histoire de l'Université

From the 1850s into the first decades of the twentieth century, travelers' accounts and clan traditions speak in detail about the actions of priests, mediums, and the followers of figures such as *Mukasa* and *Nyabingi*. They describe women as visible leaders of a critical resistance to royal authority, especially after the turn of the century. At that time, spirit mediums began to turn their attentions to royals who collaborated with colonial conquerors or who otherwise took advantage of the chaos and dislocation created by conquest to prosecute their own aims at political expansion, aggrandizement, and score-settling, and they took on some Christian missions, as well.¹³² But the scenes of public healing composed by priests, mediums, and their followers were not concerned only with the shortcomings of royals.

Whether noted in oral traditions, travelers' accounts, or colonial and mission documents, *Nyabingi* mediums appear in one or all of three contexts. They appear as healers of individual illnesses, and especially of women suffering from barrenness. In this respect, they appear as extensions of the now familiar *kubándwa* complex. They also appear as leaders of bands of rebels fighting royal or colonial conquest. And they appear as heroines from the past or as inheritors of a heroic past who have incarnated new power in their present lives. Rastafarian intellectuals drew the *Nyabingi* figure into their transnational circuits of political activism in the 1930s, not long after British colonial efforts to suppress public healing in East Africa grew in strength.¹³³

As Feierman tells us, oral traditions about *Nyabingi* mediums often refer to a person with the same name said to have lived in different times and different places. The example of "Gahu" illustrates the temporal and spatial mobility of single identities. Some traditions say that Gahu lived as an early-eighteenth-century queen in Mpororo (in southern Uganda); others say she died in 1931, in northern Rwanda; and still other accounts, collected in the 1970s, say that she was still alive then, living near Byumba in northern Rwanda.¹³⁴ These traditions refer to mediums such as Gahu dying, returning to life, and dying again only to make possible still another return.¹³⁵ Feierman and the Rastafarians, more than any other historians of

du Burundi, *Histoire sociale de l'Afrique de l'est* (Bujumbura, 1991), 269–285; Bernard Lugan, "Causes et effets de la famine 'Rumanura' au Rwanda, 1916–1918," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 10 (1976): 347–356; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 214–220, 224–236, 251–263. Droughts and wars, especially when they occurred together, caused famines long before the nineteenth century; see Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 22.

¹³² Alison Des Forges, "The Drum Is Greater Than the Shout": The 1912 Rebellion in Northern Rwanda," in Donald Crummey, ed., *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa* (London, 1986), 311–333; Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa*, 261; Ian Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda* (Manchester, 1977), 123; F. S. Brazier, "The Incident at Nyakishenyi, 1917," *Uganda Journal* 32, no. 1 (1968): 17–27; Joseph Gahama, *Le Burundi sous administration belge* (Paris, 1983), 383–390; Murindwa Rutanga, *Nyabingi Movement: People's Anti-colonial Struggles in Kigezi, 1910–1930* (Kampala, 1991), 30–36; Freedman, *Nyabingi*, 91–104; Bernard Zuure, *Croyances et pratiques religieuses des Barundi* (Brussels, 1929), 36–98; Njangu Canda-Ciri, "La secte de binji-binji ou la renaissance de la résistance des bashi (juillet-septembre 1931)," in *Lyangombe: Mythe et rites—Actes du 2me Colloque du CERUKI, 10–14 Mai 1976* (Bukavu, Zaïre, 1979), 121–128; Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, "The Nabingi: An Anti-European Secret Society in Africa, in British Ruanda, Ndorwa and the Congo (Kivu)," *Congo* 1/9 (1928), 310–321.

¹³³ Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1994), 43, 164–165, 231–239.

¹³⁴ Freedman, *Nyabingi*, 35.

¹³⁵ The fact that the British saw fit to send the head of Ndochibiri, a *Nyabingi* "leader," to the British Museum, following a preemptive strike against "Nyabingi leaders" in southwestern Uganda in 1919, reveals the depths of misguided British animosity toward "the" *Nyabingi*; see Holger Bernt Hansen, "The Colonial Control of Spirit Cults in Uganda," in Anderson and Johnson, *Revealing Prophets*, 148; Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars," 200–201; M. J. Bessel, "Nyabingi," *Uganda Journal* 6, no. 1 (1938): 73–86, 83.

Nyabingi, have teased an important conclusion from these tales about Nyabingi's priestesses. Feierman finds that the tales act as charters for the "instability of authority" and reinforce an old argument in African politics, "that chiefs, lineage elders, and kings hold power because they've seized it."¹³⁶ Nyabingi's power mirrored chiefly and royal power, but it did so in an unstable manner.

Nyabingi's female figures appeal to scholars because they shaped fields of political struggle parallel to and in conflict with royalty, and which colonialists and Christians tried to shape or even to destroy.¹³⁷ Yet the visibility in the colonial archive of public healing such as Nyabingi's cannot be explained solely in terms of conquest and proselytizing. Historians have found that the disastrous epidemics of the 1880s and 1890s and the dramatic rise of sexually transmitted diseases in the 1900s renewed the need for public healing.¹³⁸ The slave raiding and caravan trading of the middle of the century dislocated people, changed the prospects of young men and elite women for engaging in commercial activity and social climbing, and radically altered the capacity of royals to maintain control of the commercial networks that helped underwrite their authority.¹³⁹ Epidemics of rinderpest and sleeping sickness—devastating to livestock and people—broadly accompanied colonial conquest and continued to shape Africans' demographic health and food security long after colonial armies had become colonial police forces. These processes of profound social and ecological rupture framed the actions of Nyabingi mediums and their networks of patients against royal and colonial military force.¹⁴⁰

Acts of public healing directed at individuals, at military power, and at entire collectivities of patients and other mediums elicited efforts by colonial and mission agents to co-opt, suppress, or destroy them.¹⁴¹ By early in the twentieth century, "authority over public efforts to bring health to the populace shifted from African

¹³⁶ Feierman, "Colonizers, Scholars," 198, drawing on Philipps, "The Nabingi," 314–317; see also Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu*, 157–159, for a poetic reading of the evanescence of authority.

¹³⁷ Hansen, "The Colonial Control of Spirit Cults," 151–160.

¹³⁸ See Shane Doyle, "Population Decline and Delayed Recovery in Bunyoro, 1860–1960," *Journal of African History* 41, no. 3 (2000): 436, 448–451; Schweinfurth et al., *Emin Pasha*, 84–85; Michael Tuck, "Kabaka Mutesa and Venereal Disease: An Essay on Medical History and Sources in Precolonial Buganda," *History in Africa* 30 (2003): 309–325. Naming and tracking sexually transmitted diseases were central to twentieth-century colonial (and postcolonial) efforts to control women's sexuality. See Sheryl McCurdy, "Urban Threats: Manyema Women, Low Fertility, and Venereal Diseases in Tanganyika, 1926–1936," in Dorothy L. Hodgson and Sheryl A. McCurdy, eds., *"Wicked" Women and the Recon-figuration of Gender in Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2001), 212–233.

¹³⁹ Shane Doyle and Henri Médard, eds., *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region* (Oxford, forthcoming); Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu*.

¹⁴⁰ Randall Packard, "Chiefship and the History of Nyavingi Possession among the Bashu of Eastern Zaire," *Africa* 52, no. 4 (1982): 67–86, 90; Gerald Hartwig, "Social Consequences of Epidemic Diseases: The Nineteenth Century in Eastern Africa," in Hartwig and K. David Patterson, eds., *Disease in African History: An Introductory Survey and Case Studies* (Durham, N.C., 1978); Kirk Hoppe, "Lords of the Fly: Colonial Visions and Revisions of African Sleeping-Sickness Environments on Ugandan Lake Victoria, 1906–61," *Africa* 67, no. 1 (1997): 86–104; Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History: The Case of Tanganyika, 1850–1950* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 24–25; Doyle, "Population Decline and Delayed Recovery," 437–445; Michele Wagner, "Environment, Community, and History: 'Nature in the Mind' in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Buha," in Gregory Maddox, James Giblin, and Isaria Kimambo, eds., *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (London, 1996), 175–199; Richard Waller, "Ecology, Migration, and Expansion in East Africa," *African Affairs* 84, no. 3 (1985): 347–370; Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 136–137.

¹⁴¹ John Beattie, "Sorcery in Bunyoro," in John Middleton and Edward H. Winter, eds., *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London, 1963), 28; Wipper, *Rural Rebels*; Hansen, "The Colonial Control of Spirit Cults"; Holger Bernt Hansen, *Mission, Church, and State in a Colonial Setting: Uganda 1890–*

to European hands.”¹⁴² But Nyabingi’s people are not dead. Rumors of their power circulated among colonials in the 1930s, and mediums continue today to direct public healing events in East-Central Africa.¹⁴³

CONSIDER THE EFFORTS of *Jjajjà*’s group of supplicants from the perspective of a long-term regional history of public healing, and their social and moral logics blend with historical narratives of capitalism without ceasing to be “fit explanation for contemporary situations.”¹⁴⁴ In Kamali’s scene, people pursue largely individual aims and aspirations, such as personal monetary gain and individual bodily health. The particular forms of individualism that emerged during colonialism are in play here, but their fate is tied up, in part, with the practices of public healing. The political collectivities of Nyabingi’s followers, or, in a still earlier era, of a *mucwezi*’s followers, echo in the crowd of supplicants and gawkers—a moral community of seekers with a public face. They realize their individual aims through a collective action that promises moral continuity and material consequence in the face of “a world gone awry.”¹⁴⁵

Larger changes in economy, society, and polity shape durable motive and action in contemporary public healing. But these changes are not things that have already taken place in Europe, or in the wake of Europe’s history, and which here merely take a local form.¹⁴⁶ Christianity, colonial conquest, waged labor, and electoral violence ushered in modernist African aspirations that appear at once moral and material, spiritual and practical.¹⁴⁷ The motives for engaging a colonial modernism simultaneously lie in long-term regional histories where religion and politics were not distinguished as such until the nineteenth century, and in more recent entanglements with individualized dimensions of producing moral persons. Neither the market’s autonomous individual nor the anxious jealousy of the accusation of sorcery can

1925 (New York, 1984), 280–282; Feerman, “Healing as Social Criticism”; Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 601.

¹⁴² Feerman and Janzen, “Introduction,” 20; for a rich and suggestive exploration of this complex entanglement of healing and medicine, see Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination*, 66–98, 145–152, 179–195; McCurdy, “Transforming Associations.” The themes of religious mission and conversion in narratives of conquest and colonialism often include aspects of public healing; see Derek Peterson and Jean Allman, “Introduction: New Directions in the History of Missions in Africa,” *Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 1 (1999): 1–7.

¹⁴³ Captain Pitman, Uganda’s Game Warden, remarked that “recently a European planter in Kyagwe came across numerous well-beaten trails leading through dense jungle to a python coiled around a pile of eggs, to which had been made offerings of eggs, vegetables, coffee berries, groundnuts, pieces of coloured cloth, cents, etc. But let any one enquire about python worship, past or present—and, in the terminology of the film world, overwhelming surprise is at once registered, coupled with studied ignorance.” Captain C. R. S. Pitman, “The Mabira Forest,” *Uganda Journal* 1, no. 1 (1934): 8; Packard, “Chiefship and the History of Nyavingi Possession,” 83; Brett L. Shadle, “Patronage, Millennialism and the Serpent God Mumbo in South-West Kenya, 1912–34,” *Africa* 72, no. 1 (2002): 43–48; Mahone, “The Psychology of Rebellion,” 242–243, 250–256.

¹⁴⁴ Ogot, “Luo History and Identity,” 31; Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 608–610.

¹⁴⁵ Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, “Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming,” *Public Culture* 12, no. 2 (2000): 316, 317.

¹⁴⁶ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 39, citing Meaghan Morris, “Metamorphoses at Sydney Tower,” *New Formations* 11 (1990): 10.

¹⁴⁷ Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 88–110; Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 600.

explain fully “the eminently public enchantment of legitimate authority and its capacity to crystallize and channel the energies of moral collectivity.”¹⁴⁸ This claim may seem unremarkable, but only because it is often established for contexts in which important themes of historical change—such as Protestantism or capitalism—with origins in Europe are in play. In practice, histories of what motivates the pursuit of health and healing in Africa are very rarely approachable from a position informed by a rich history of deep chronology and great regional extent.

African regional histories offer a means to understand their experiences and assess future actions in a world of flows of people, culture, and capital using discourses and practices whose great antiquity reflects their sustained capacity to articulate and deliver what people want.¹⁴⁹ If forms of reason and practice with roots in the African past have effects upon the present moment, we need not see them as relics from a past whose time lies before the modern. But does their existence disrupt a notion of the present as a holistic time—the culmination of “the useful but empty and homogeneous chronology of historicism” that somehow renders the present free from the past?¹⁵⁰ The historical development of durable forms of power and action across ruptures in the past reconfigures “the conceit that the world expansion of capitalism brings all other cultural history to an end”¹⁵¹ by juxtaposing the expansions of capitalism with theories of power, of objects, and of the social, set in temporal and spatial frames grounded in Africa.¹⁵² Such African regional histories refuse a tendency to totalize the transformations that mark historical periods, even while the new history takes shape inside a particular set of master narrative conventions.¹⁵³ Precolonial African regional history helps portray Africa today as both “modern” and otherwise, but not as the result of some *a priori* difference between Africa and elsewhere.

Traditionalism studies cannot replace modernity studies, if only because the two terms sustain each other. But if scholars unpack select notions of the traditional, implicitly labeled as such by claims to modernity, they open up a curious new perception of the present. Historicizing the social configurations and intellectual underpinnings of, say, “African states” as deeply and broadly as sources will allow reveals a dense mass of “the past” acting as both an “enabling resource and a disabling constraint.”¹⁵⁴ In this project of unpacking, *Jjajja*’s momentary alternative

¹⁴⁸ Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 607.

¹⁴⁹ See Rosalind Shaw, “The Production of Witchcraft/Witchcraft as Production: Memory, Modernity, and the Slave Trade in Sierra Leone,” *American Ethnologist* 24, no. 4 (1997): 856–876; Neil Kodesh, “Renovating Tradition: The Discourse of Succession in Colonial Buganda,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 511–541; Hanson, *Landed Obligation*, 233–236.

¹⁵⁰ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 239, 244.

¹⁵¹ Sahlins, “Cosmologies of Capitalism,” 418.

¹⁵² Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 16; MacGaffey, “Changing Representations,” 201–206.

¹⁵³ Feierman, “African Histories and the Dissolution of World History,” 186–196. Greg Denning insists on writing across “the cliché” of “a Time Before and a Time After in the encounter between first peoples and empires”; see his “The Comaroffs Out of Africa,” 474, 475. On translation, see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 17–18, 27–30; Charles Piot, *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa* (Chicago, 1999), 22. The break at stake in this project lies in the social reproduction of professional method and not in the historical destruction of “other” intellectual traditions; see Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 5–6, 65–66; on narrative conventions, see MacGaffey, “Changing Representations,” 18–90.

¹⁵⁴ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 245; see also MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture*, 6–7. A sustained engagement of these issues in a South African setting today is Ashforth, *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy*, 243–318.

public reveals popular debates and struggles over the changing shape of African moral communities in pursuit of social justice. Political and cultural histories of these communities need not “erase the question of heterotemporality from the history of the modern subject.”¹⁵⁵ Rather, they open up how collective action and moral community in forms of public healing are part of a plural present, a present “without the suggestion or promise of any principles—such as dharma, capital, or citizenship—that can or will override this heterogeneity and incompleteness and eventually constitute a totality.”¹⁵⁶ These histories make comprehensible seemingly incommensurable aspects of social and political life in Africa today.

Some Africans use “the agency of gods, spirits, and other supernatural beings” in ways that depart from secular political and legal logics (whether from “elsewhere” or embedded in states), although for many they are evidently commensurable.¹⁵⁷ The historicist urge “to think of history as a developmental process in which what is possible becomes actual by tending to a future that is singular”¹⁵⁸ is unsettled through the exploration of categories such as public healing, whose presence is not anachronistic but represents another way of being in the world that is not “always amenable to the objectifying practices of history writing” because most people are not even aware of the historical contingency of the practices that constitute them.¹⁵⁹ The forms of agency at the heart of public healing grow in webs of power and in notions of moral action. Therefore, people who are given to wonder about their world often wonder about what constitutes moral power and for whom. The long trajectories of public healing told here reveal how Africans between the Great Lakes have debated the nature of community and social network as concrete sources of a better future. They also suggest why Africans pose these questions around these particular themes.

The narrative works against colonial categories of shallow time and the tight spaces of ethnicity. Cultural practices and identities underwent many ruptures a thousand years ago, a hundred years ago, and over the last decade in East Africa. The notion of rupture restrains the homogenizing tendencies of culture to mask social divisions while asking us to think about how people managed radical change in part by attaching novel meanings to durable bundles of meaning and practice. The notion of the speech community as one of the vessels bearing bundles of meaning and practice through time restrains the tendency to see claims of linguistic identity as coterminous with ethnicity. People around the Great Lakes use such bundles to confront conditions of radical fragmentation and to assert critique, continuity, and

¹⁵⁵ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 239, 244; see also Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 124.

¹⁵⁶ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 249. Cooper criticizes Chakrabarty’s emphasis on “incommensurabilities” between abstract modern subjects and “other ways of thinking and other ways of putting together community life”—because it appears to him that the former entails the loss of the latter; *Colonialism in Question*, 122. Yet Cooper also touches on Chakrabarty’s problem of “heterotemporality” in his critique of modernity as a useful concept for thinking about social justice; *ibid.*, 121–127. MacGaffey, drawing on Gregory Bateson (*Steps to an Ecology of Mind* [New York, 1972], 64), sees these ways of thinking as “points of view we take in our studies rather than separate realities existing in the world”; MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture*, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 14, 16, 40, 250, 253; Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (New York, 2004), 142–162, 177–178, 184–187.

¹⁵⁸ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 249. Cooper does not discuss African precolonial histories, apparently preferring to slot them as particularist resources for confronting current issues of social justice; see Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 139.

¹⁵⁹ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 22–23, 250, quote from 251.

aspiration in its face.¹⁶⁰ They achieve durability by creative selection of speech and practice, often under conditions not of their own choosing. Once conjured and analyzed by scholars, notions of moral aspiration and collective well-being may enter debates over African histories, past and present. If treated as beyond the ken, the variety of moral arguments in those debates will be fewer.

This regional history of healing reveals that “capitalist empire . . . turned out not to be so consistently capitalist after all, bureaucratic rule not so consistently bureaucratic, the making of colonial subjects not so consistent in their ideas of what kind of subject was to be produced.”¹⁶¹ Africans, feeling more than malcontented, aspire to health and collective well-being through old means, simultaneously different from a neoliberal logic of capitalism and supple translations of it.¹⁶² That does not mean that public healing is a good model for the future of medicine in Africa. Nor does it mean that “communitarian sentiments” should be promoted as some sort of “antidote to imperialistic universality.” Universalism, as Cooper has argued, was “less universal and less European in practice than it was in theory, shifting in response not only to the particularities encountered in the colonies but to reconfigurations of ideologies and practices some Europeans thought were their own,” and African “communitarian sentiment” was less communitarian and less sentimental in practice than it was in theory, as we have just seen.¹⁶³ Rather, merely having told a story of public healing changes how we understand the historical fates of concepts and moral communities that Africans use today to argue about how to pursue—and what constitutes—a healthier future. With the specific contents of durability across rupture to hand, scholars can “hold in a state of permanent tension a dialogue between two contradictory points of view.” They can recognize in scenes such as Kamali’s the modern histories of capitalism and something else, “the necessarily fragmented histories of human belonging” in a world we provisionally call African.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 604; Carol Summers, “Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality, and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38, no. 3 (2005): 427–447.

¹⁶¹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 239–240.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 19–20; Karlström, “Modernity and Its Aspirants,” 608.

¹⁶³ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 140.

¹⁶⁴ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 254–255.

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AHR Conversation: On Transnational History

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This year, the AHR inaugurates what we hope to be an annual "Conversation" on topics of wide interest to historians. Inspired by our sister journal, the Journal of American History, which two years ago introduced its "Interchange" feature, our goal is to bring several historians together in a conversational encounter online, where ideas can be exchanged across different geographical, chronological, and subject specialties in a manner that will contribute to our overall understanding of an important theme. For our first foray we chose the topic "Transnational History."

Transnational history is hardly new, neither to the profession nor to the AHR. Indeed, more than fifteen years ago, the journal published a Forum on the topic in relationship to American history (AHR 16, no. 4 [October 1991]); and our more recent issues have increasingly featured articles by historians whose vistas are transnational in scope. But like other innovative approaches to history, it is in danger of becoming merely a buzzword among historians, more a label than a practice, more expansive in its meaning than precise in its application, more a fashion of the moment than a durable approach to the serious study of history. Our hope is that this Conversation will help scholars and students think about transnational history in terms that highlight both its capacious possibilities and its specificity as an approach. The six historians who agreed to participate are all practitioners of transnational history. Christopher Bayly is a modern historian who has written about the British Empire, South Asia, and global history. Sven Beckert is a historian of nineteenth-century America, with a special focus on social and economic history. Matthew Connelly is a twentieth-century diplomatic historian with an interest in international and global affairs. Isabel Hofmeyr studies African and English literature and the global circulation of texts. Wendy Kozol writes and teaches on gender, feminism, visual culture, and human rights. Patricia Seed has written on early modern Latin America and the European conquest of the New World, among other subjects. The Conversation took place over the summer and fall of 2006.

AHR Editor: Transnational history is no longer new, but it does seem to be the latest incarnation of an approach that has successively been characterized as comparative, international, world, and global history. To be sure, there are important distinctions between these approaches, but they all are characterized by a desire to break out of the nation-state or singular nation-state as the category of analysis, and especially to eschew the ethnocentrism that once characterized the writing of history in the

West. So, how do we understand the distinctiveness of transnational history and its relevance to the practice of history today?

Chris Bayly: In general, I think that the distinctions between world, global, and transnational history have never adequately been explained. World history, as I understood it, emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, when old general courses on “Western Civ” in U.S. universities began to seem a little ethnocentric. “Global history” was a term which emerged in the 1990s when economists and campaigners began to debate the issue of “globalization.” It seemed to cover much of the same ground but perhaps gave more of a sense of change as historical processes were understood to have become more “global” over time. At least in Europe, I get the sense that “transnational history” stands in the same relationship to “international history” as “global history” does to “world history”: that it is much the same thing, except that the term “transnational” gives a sense of movement and interpenetration. It is broadly associated with the study of diasporas, social or political, which cross national boundaries, etc. I have to confess that I find “transnational” a restrictive term for the sort of work which I am interested in. Before 1850, large parts of the globe were not dominated by nations so much as by empires, city-states, diasporas, etc. I do believe a sense of nationality already existed in some parts of the non-Western world, of course, but to designate “global history” as “transnational history” would not be very useful before 1914, if then.

Patricia Seed: As historians, we often legitimately employ words from the present to describe an apparently analogous situation in the past. Many of us begin with a situation or problem we understand in the present, and seek to locate contrasts with events or circumstances that occurred long ago.

Take, for example, a title such as “Race and Class in Ancient Rome.” In the first place, neither word existed in ancient Latin with the meaning that it has today. The historian in that instance is identifying characteristics of Roman society that appear similar to those in contemporary race- and class-organized societies. In so doing, he is attempting to draw out features of Roman society that render it both similar to and different from contemporary society.

While an historian rarely describes explicitly how or why he selects specific features to compare and omits others, nonetheless by making these implied contrasts, he conveys the unique dimensions of Roman society (as well as those shared with the present). Such tacitly comparative history usefully exposes familiar and unfamiliar aspects of ancient history to those of us who do not work in this particular field. In fact, the shared vocabulary of the present—employed to subtly compare with the past—remains one of the methodologically central mechanisms of the cohesion of history, for it allows members of the profession to share a common ground rather than to fragment (as have other disciplines) into entirely different factions that no longer share a common project.

Transnational history by extension identifies an inherently comparative notion of history, because it takes a contemporary concept that many people explicitly understand—the nation—and seeks to address situations in the past that were analogous to the one we experience in the present. For many years, immigration history—whether free or forced—focused on the impact of migration on either the destination or origin. Introducing this transnational dimension has led historians to examine the impact and reasons for migration at both the point of departure *and* that of arrival. Furthermore, these studies have usefully addressed factors behind the previously under-recognized return of many migrants to their land of origin. Historians of slavery pioneered this approach long ago by examining both sides of the migration—albeit usually in two different fields: African and American history.

Transnational history thus implies a comparison between the contemporary movement of groups, goods, technology, or people across national borders and the transit of similar or related objects or people in an earlier time. The topic enables us to follow migratory phenomena under a common rubric. For me, however, the most important contribution is the ability to follow *people* (wherever they moved). For example, Sephardim moved out of the Iberian Peninsula after 1492, traveling from a kingdom to other kingdoms, to city-states, to sultanates, and to republics. Under the rubric of transnational history, an historian is authorized to follow these emigrants in transition from Iberia to London to Antwerp, to Ferrara to Liguria and other places. While scholars can certainly examine Sephardim in Antwerp or Ferrara under the transnational label, they are empowered to also track more mobile segments of the population to differently governed locales, not merely those fixed in a given place.

Isabel Hofmeyr: I agree with Christopher Bayly that the terms are far from stable or self-evident. The term “world history” is not really used here (in South Africa) but would be understood as a compendium approach that gathers up whatever the course designer deems a significant event. (That the term need not necessarily always mean this emerges from David Damrosch’s book *What Is World Literature?* Reacting to similar compendium approaches to the idea of “world literature,” Damrosch suggests that the idea be construed less as an ever-growing bookshelf of texts and more as a “mode of circulation and reading,” an approach which would direct analytical attention to certain categories of text that circulate in particular ways.)

The term “global history” is closely allied to the “brand” term “globalization” (or more properly “anti-globalization” or “anti-corporate globalization”) and is hence associated with an activist scholarship, a situation of both strength and weakness. With regard to its weakness, such approaches can end up taking us back to early versions of World Systems Theory and development/underdevelopment, which tend to flatten the complexities of the “Third World.” In such flattening, the “Third World” becomes the victim of the forces of the capital/the North/the metropole. The political complexity of “the South” disappears.

For this reason, I tend to prefer the term “transnational history,” as it opens up broader analytical possibilities for understanding the complex linkages, networks, and actors in the global South. Sugata Bose’s wonderful book *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* seems an exemplary instance of such a transnational approach. (I see as well that Christopher Bayly endorses the book as opening up space between “histories of ”globalization“ and histories of regions.”)

I understand the term “transnational” as attempting to bring into being a field which Patricia Seed has elegantly outlined as a world of comparative possibility. However, as Bayly points out, the term, at least on the face of it, may appear to be limiting. One way to think around this limitation is to compare the biography of the term “transnational” to the career of the rubric “postcolonial”: technically the latter term may denote something like “the post-independence era,” but it has come to describe a wide field of endeavor which seeks to understand the cultural meanings of geopolitical processes in a world shaped by imperial forces. (This picture could of course be further complicated, since it seems to me that terms like “global history” and “transnationalism” are competing with “postcolonialism” in the academic marketplace, just as “postcolonialism” previously competed with “area studies.”)

The key claim of any transnational approach is its central concern with movements, flows, and circulation, not simply as a theme or motif but as an analytic set of methods which defines the endeavor itself. Put another way, a concern with transnationalism would direct one’s attention to the “space of the flows,” to borrow a term from Appadurai, whose work from the late 1980s has been so central to the rise of transnational approaches.

The claim of transnational methods is not simply that historical processes are made in different places but that they are constructed in the movement between places, sites, and regions. One obvious example here would be analyses of English literature which demonstrate that the idea of an apparently national literary canon is made, and hence needs to be understood as emerging between various sites of empire.

One may of course wish to ask whether there are not existing traditions of scholarship which already do this work for us. Put differently, do we need the term “transnational history”?

To describe such traditions is simultaneously to draw out some of the intellectual genealogies of the term itself, and there are of course numerous traditions one could evince—for example, studies of the African diaspora and transnational forms of blackness; studies of imperialism and/or capitalism; various stripes of Marxist analysis of internationalist movements; area studies (which in its broadest conceptions is concerned with transnational processes, e.g., pan-Africanism—in reality, however, much area studies is dominated by anticolonial nationalist narratives); postcolonial theory; comparative literature and questions of translation (whose centrality to issues of globalization is increasingly being demonstrated by theorists like Emily Apter and Lydia Liu); maritime studies; Indian Ocean studies. One could of course con-

tinue, but I'm running ahead here, and it seems that these various traditions may in turn be the focus of further debate here.

Wendy Kozol: Regarding the emergence of transnational history, I think we need also to consider the dialogic relationships between social justice movements and changes in academic discourse. Chris Bayly points out that beginning in the late 1960s, shifts in historical discourse emerged in response to concerns about ethnocentrism. I would add that critiques of U.S. and European imperialism and racism, as well as challenges to gender inequalities and heteronormativity, have also been extremely influential in the development of transnational history. Anticolonial and nationalist movements, along with feminist, civil rights, and LGBT movements, have compelled reconsiderations of how historians understand migrations, state formations, globalization, etc. Dialogues between activists and scholars have produced transnational historical analyses that explore the social inequalities that structure the "movements, flows, and circulations" that Isabel Hofmeyr notes are defining characteristics of transnationalism.

Transnational feminist activists, for instance, confront the limitations of global feminism, and in particular the assumption of a global sisterhood (where gender is assumed to unite women). Instead, these activists articulate social justice claims through their understanding of the inequalities between First and Third World women's experiences and resources. In dialogue with these critiques, transnational feminist historians have begun to reexamine how processes and institutions such as colonialization, modernization, and feminist movements have sustained critical divisions that have differentially privileged or harmed groups through gender, racial, and/or sexual frameworks.

In the United States, similar interactions have occurred between ethnic studies and anti-racist, nationalist movements. Following the influential work of Paul Gilroy on the Black Atlantic, Asian American activists and historians discuss the Pacific Rim as a regional framework for understanding migration, diaspora, community formation, and citizenship. Immigration histories, for instance, examine how circular migration, kin networks, and communications technologies reconfigure the concept of the border as a stable marker of national identity. Such considerations in turn have opened up historical inquiries into the complex and often conflicted identifications that diasporic communities have with ideals of "citizenship" and of "home."

One vexing issue that has arisen is, What constitutes the object of historical inquiry once you challenge the stability of the border to define the nation? Where, for instance, does "American history" stop and Asian or African history begin?

Sven Beckert: This is a tricky issue. It is perhaps best to start by reminding ourselves that global, world, transnational, and international history have much in common. They are all engaged in a project to reconstruct aspects of the human past that transcend any one nation-state, empire, or other politically defined territory. This sets these approaches apart from most of the history that has been written in most

of the world during the past one hundred years. Because history as an academic discipline grew up alongside the nation-state and became one of its principal ideological pillars, it allowed historians practicing in strong nation-states to focus excessively on their own national histories in isolation from those of the rest of the world. Global, world, transnational, and international histories are all in their own ways critical of such enclosures.

While these histories have much in common, historians have taken various approaches to the subject, some of which are quite compatible with one another, but others of which are not. There are histories, for example, that claim to examine the human past as a whole. This approach, which can focus on the reconstruction of various "civilizations," is principally interested in comprehensiveness, sometimes in comparisons, but seldom in connections. Other histories focus on interstate relations, and thus on connections, but they pay little attention to non-state actors. There are, moreover, an increasing number of historians who continue to focus on the history of one politically defined territory, but do so by putting its history into a larger context. Connections here are important, but only insofar as they relate to this one particular territory.

If I understand the subject of our conversation correctly, we are debating here an undertaking that is slightly different from any of these approaches: We are discussing an approach to history that focuses on a whole range of connections that transcend politically bounded territories and connect various parts of the world to one another. Networks, institutions, ideas, and processes constitute these connections, and though rulers, empires, and states are important in structuring them, they transcend politically bounded territories. We might, for example, reconstruct far-reaching networks of merchants, working-class radicals, or neoliberal economists. We might analyze processes such as proletarianization across various continents. We might examine the global spread of nationalism. Or we might study the growing interconnections within the world as such, namely the history of globalization.

What shall we call such history? The term "global history" works well, as it suggests the potential scope of these investigations. However, much of the type of history that I describe above is not necessarily global in scope, examining instead particular regions (which might or might not be contiguous) connected by particular networks. The term "transnational history," in contrast, does allow for such limitations, and while I understand Chris Bayly's reservations, I still think it is the best description of the kind of history we are debating.

In the end, I am not sure that it is worthwhile spending much time on the finer points of these distinctions. There are other, more important issues that we are faced with. For example, why does it seem that more printed pages have been dedicated to discussions on the need for and methodology of transnational history than to empirical research? Chris Bayly's brilliant book is still an exception. Also, we need to consider how we as historians retain our audience if we move away from our attachment to national histories.

Matthew Connelly: Sven's right: We are grasping for ways to describe the history that we need and want because there are still so few examples that can demonstrate its full potential. The conceptual and professional routines that produced a mountain of national and continental history are not easily surmounted. If they were, then all of these manifestos for transnational and global history would be manifestly wrong. But we must keep trying because we cannot otherwise explain the history of migration, empires, social movements, and so on—in other words, the origins of the contemporary world.

We are not just talking about “getting it right,” or avoiding confusion, though the present state of postcolonial studies should provide a cautionary tale. Instead, we are positioning ourselves in what, alas, Isabel Hofmeyr quite rightly calls an academic marketplace, a market that is also increasingly global.

Transnational history has become a brand, to the point that some invoke the term and talk the talk even when doing very conventional kinds of scholarship. I suspect that this is, at least in part, a response to nationalist claims on our teaching and research, claims that are especially insistent in a place like New York. Yet this is not going to sustain interest in the field if we do not discover new ways to speak to people's contemporary concerns, and actually have something important to say. Unfortunately, postcolonial studies is an example of how a “hot” field can become self-referential to the point of irrelevance, as the recent revival of unapologetic imperialist rhetoric in the U.S. has made painfully clear.

If one considers the political challenge of changing just one history department—which in the U.S. is typically divided into camps of Americanists, Europeanists, and “Otherists,” and further divided into regional and national specializations—the need for inclusiveness becomes obvious. We need everyone who is willing to challenge these ossified categories if we are to create new curricula, new jobs, and a new generation of students who will not have to work so hard to work outside of them. So I am inclined to adopt a combination of terms that can define a common project, even if we approach it differently. International, transnational, world, and global history each mean different things. But together they can contribute to a new way of understanding the world—so long as we let our questions determine the appropriate frame of analysis, and resist the temptation to chase after “the next big thing.”

My own path began with international history, which grew out of dissatisfaction with diplomatic history—a field that, by definition, should have occupied the space between societies, but instead had become a subfield of national historiography, especially in the U.S. Here too there were many manifestos calling for change but few examples to follow. Christopher Thorne, Charles Maier, Paul Kennedy, Akira Iriye, Odd Arne Westad, Georges-Henri Soutou, and Leopoldo Nuti, among others, finally rescued the study of world politics from the margins by returning it to fundamentals—above all, international, multi-archival research—while at the same time asking new questions, such as how cultural beliefs and practices shape interstate relations. But investigating how nation-states are continually reconstituted, often

through conflict, led to more transnational approaches. How else to explain the growing challenges to state sovereignty, or the rise of international and nongovernmental organizations, or the global response to inherently transnational phenomena, such as migration and environmental change? "Transnational" means little or nothing for most of world history—at least nothing interesting—yet it is becoming indispensable to describe crucial trends in more recent times.

Few people define themselves as "world" or "global" historians, on the other hand. The field of world history has too long a history, largely as a teaching field. Here again the demands of the academic marketplace—in terms of social as well as intellectual capital—make themselves felt. Yet anyone who has had to offer a world history course, and serve up the civilization du jour week after week, has seen the need for an alternative approach. Trying to teach the history of everybody and everything, as well as dissatisfaction with comparative analyses that treated societies in isolation, helped inspire studies that instead tracked encounters and exchanges of all kinds—including exploration, commodities, contagion, and material culture. In addition to Chris Bayly, I look to people like William H. McNeill, Sidney Mintz, Philip Curtin, and Ken Pomeranz. They created pathbreaking works, quite literally, but even the most intrepid "world" or global historians rarely describe themselves as such, if only because it seems presumptuous.

Yet I am convinced that, precisely because they are distinct and are defining themselves through their differences, all of these fields together can produce a new history of the world.

Of course, the proof will be in the pudding. New fields will become known by the work they inspire, not more manifestos. But we can, at least, define success. We will have succeeded when people no longer ask what is international, or transnational, or global history, or at least will be met with the same incredulity that now greets someone who asks whether gender or the environment have a history.

Smarter students will instead ask how it is that anyone ever wanted to study international relations from the perspective of just one state, or research immigrants without investigating where they came from, or teach European history without the Ottomans.

Chris Bayly: This has been very useful. I think I now have a sense of how these various genres of "wider world history" (to use another problematic phrase) have emerged and what each definition can offer. I am persuaded by Isabel and Matt that "transnational" history has the advantage of including works which raise critical issues about transnational flows, but do not claim to embrace the whole world: the work of Pomeranz, Bin Wong, and Catherine Hall, for instance, and, from an earlier period, the seminal work of Bailyn and Pocock. By being inclusive of the regional, the national, and the local in historical writing, we can perhaps avoid the factionalism into which academics so easily fall. I already hear colleagues denouncing global history and saying that the only way to do "real history" is at the level of the local and

the family, the history of “experience.” Perhaps this more inclusive definition will allow us to escape the fate of simply reliving the experience of the 1950s–1980s, when “area studies,” family history, and local history succeeded each other as the new holy grail.

So I am a convert (or at least an occasional conformist) to the idea of transnational history. Yet I still think it’s very important to stress that the “nations” embedded in the term “transnational” were not originary elements to be “transcended” by the forces we are discussing. Rather, they were the products—and often rather late products—of those very processes. We should not fall back again into a wider world history constituted simply by “nations and nationalism” and the forces that transcended them, though Hobsbawm’s books remain among the few works that students can read and understand.

That brings me to the important point that Matt makes about education. Whatever its virtue as a form of scholarship, transnational history is also a vital form of education. In Britain, many history students come to university with a detailed knowledge of Henry VIII and Hitler, without any notion that these figures represent much broader political and ideological moments in transnational history. Alternatively, they have been taught a kind of documentary fetishism. As far as I know, there are similar problems in the U.S. with beginning undergraduates’ contextual knowledge. Transnational history, therefore, is a vital way of getting students to think more broadly and challenge their own presuppositions. To take one example: What was the international significance and context of the American Civil War? What does thinking about this tell us about the Civil War in America itself? Sven has already made important contributions to this issue. But it merits the attention of a whole school of historians.

However, I find that teaching and writing transnational history that can be understood by our basic “consumers” is incredibly difficult. There are many problems of geography and context, but by far the most pressing one is how to “model” change over time for a readership of any level of sophistication. This concern with the origins of change is, in one sense, the thing that makes historical writing stand apart from most of the other social sciences, which are essentially synchronic. The problem is less acute for national and even regional histories. But dealing with the origins of change in transnational history magnifies an issue which remains a mystery right at the heart of our discipline. Most of the historians we are now designating “transnational” adopt a foundational approach, though with various degrees of subtlety. That is, they privilege “the economy” (the agrarian revolutions, industrious revolutions, industrialism) or “the state” (governmentality, the ethnographic state, etc.) or “ideology” (the “Machiavellian moment,” the crisis of liberalism) when explaining the broad direction of historical change. This sort of “rule of thumb” may work adequately for some national histories. But if these foundational approaches are applied to transnational history, one runs the risk of flattening out complexity, avoiding the unintended consequences of policies and actions, or ignoring convergences

and divergences which constitute the most fascinating features of historical change at world level.

I have tried to think of these issues in terms of different “drivers” of change (ideologies, economic change, the role of the state) at different periods and in different parts of the world. The interaction of these “drivers” produced “chaotic” changes (such as transnational revolutions) which cannot be traced back to any one of these “drivers” or domains alone.

But this was, again, more a historian’s rule of thumb than a theory of change itself. Students pick up this sense of unease about change among their teachers and often ask the question “Why did that happen then?” It’s particularly difficult for transnational historians to answer that one without simply drawing up lists. But it’s a pretty important challenge.

AHR: These comments point to the high aspirations of transnational history, and certainly reveal a sophisticated awareness of what, both practically and theoretically, is at stake. Am I wrong in thinking that some of your comments, especially regarding pedagogy, political engagement, and an alertness to contemporary concerns, also reveal a certain frustration with, or an implicit critique of, certain recent trends in academia and among historians in particular—that is, a preoccupation with theory and a somewhat esoteric style of discourse? To be more specific: Does your own practice of transnational history imply a distancing from cultural studies or even subaltern studies?

Isabel Hofmeyr: I could not imagine transnational history without cultural studies. One key methodological challenge in any practice of transnational history is how one deals with circulation. How does one track the movement of objects, people, ideas, and texts using the sources at one’s disposal? This is a difficult methodological conundrum in its own right, but more important still is the issue of what one deduces analytically from these modes of circulation and the fields of ideas that they bring into being across and between fixed political units.

Cultural studies has had a longstanding interest in popular media and its global distribution and circulation and has consequently grappled with what such circulation means for how publics come into being and how they think about themselves. Michael Warner’s *Publics and Counterpublics* is perceptive on this point, as is Brian Larkin’s work on Hindi cinema in northern Nigeria.

There is also a second reason for stressing circulation (and hence cultural studies) as a focus, which is that it allows one to sidestep what I see as a problem in some transnational studies, namely an over-reliance on a “grand narrative” of domination and resistance. In such analyses, whether of imperialism in the past or the present, the story is one of the North dominating and the South resisting. Understandings of the North are detailed, differentiated, and complex. Those of the South are one-dimensional, with its actors being allotted one of two roles, namely that of victim or

that of heroic resistor. Dipesh Chakrabarty pointed to this problem of asymmetrical knowledge some time ago in *Provincializing Europe*. Achille Mbembe's *On the Post-colony* provides an extensive critique of the romance of domination and resistance. A transnational historical practice centered around circulation potentially offers a route for making visible a wider range of political possibilities.

A quick footnote to the previous discussion on the difficulties of making transnational history a sustainable academic enterprise in terms of courses, jobs, etc.: Another precondition for sustainability would be genuinely transnational gatherings of academics. We've just run a colloquium in Johannesburg called "South Africa/India: Re-imagining the Disciplines" that brought together scholars from the two countries. The event nearly didn't happen because of the byzantine procedures for securing South African visas in India. Making transnational history sustainable also has to take account of such factors.

Wendy Kozol: I similarly can't imagine transnational history outside of a framework that includes the theoretical insights and methodological practices of cultural studies. One of the problems stemming from a binary model of domination and resistance is the ways in which this has been mapped onto concepts of globalization and transnationalism.

Too often, globalization has been conceptualized as the powerful and oppressive processes of advanced capitalism, and transnationalism as the processes by which marginalized groups sustain cultures of resistance in response to the pressures of globalization. This binary model appeared in studies of globalization in the 1990s that attempted to distinguish between local and global cultures. Recent moves in transnational studies have challenged such limiting frameworks, often drawing on cultural studies perspectives that insist that material conditions and ideological frameworks cannot be disentangled and studied separately. I would argue that the most effective transnational historical studies are those that examine how cultural practices and ideologies shape, constrain, or enable the economic, social, and political conditions in which people and goods circulate within local, regional, and global locales. Transnational feminist scholars like Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan have been at the forefront of such critical reassessments, exploring how gender shapes social experiences in ways that don't simplistically chart conditions of power and inequality. Research on diasporic communities, for instance, cannot address immigrant experiences outside of discursive analyses of the complex ideological constructions of citizenship, domesticity, sexuality, or ethnicity. How gender and sexuality, for instance, sustain or challenge ethnic identities is always both material and ideological in a complex dialogue with local communities, the nation-state, and other economic, political, and social processes.

Chris Bayly: I agree that the idea of circulation as it has been developed in the cultural studies literature provides a way of doing transnational history without becoming trapped again in the binaries of domination and resistance or the history of

the nation. In particular, it helps break down the metropole-colony binary, or at the very least, to make it much more complex.

For instance, nineteenth-century Malay sultanates looked to the Ottoman Empire for legitimacy and to the Arab world for literature and culture, something that does not come out very clearly from the “colonial Malaya” literature, which mainly deals with the British “impact.” As is well known, for colonized populations and even the remaining independent non-European peoples, Japan became a cultural point of reference and an icon of modernity during the same period, and especially after 1905.

There are some problems with some of the cultural studies approaches, however, which need to be guarded against. One is that they sometimes seem to end up by reifying “culture” or “cultures” in such a way as to make them seem authentic and real as against the inauthenticity of Western rationalism, modernized elites, and so on. There is a related danger of positing culture as an entity prior to economy in some way: this simply reverses the old catchphrase of Marxist materialism. Economy transforms culture as much as vice versa. At conferences I have attended, global and transnational historians have also continued to grapple with the problem of modeling the element of power into the concept of circulation. One should certainly qualify the grand narratives of domination and resistance, but even in the world of literature, for instance, there were powers and victims, dominances and exclusions, as Pascale Casanova points out in *The World Republic of Letters*. Finally, some interpretations of the concept of culture seem to occlude the realm of reasoned debate and argument in the emerging international public sphere created by associations, the press, and book publishing. This was of vital importance in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We badly need a fuller transnational history of ideas, one that deals with the lived experience of those ideas and also transcends the elite-subaltern divide.

Matthew Connelly: It would be difficult indeed to exclude “cultural studies”—scare quotes and all—from any field of history, especially one concerned with how nations came about, and how they continue to shape our perceptions of what is normal or different in world politics. For all the contributions of subaltern studies and cultural anthropology, it is still too easy to slip back into the habit of imagining global forces as transcending nations, and not creating them (along with many other things). Yet, by and large, it would seem that binaries are on the run. Does anyone disagree with the idea that the material and the ideological are always in dialogue, or that the processes entailed are “complex”? Too many people working in cultural studies promise merely to “complicate” our understanding of their subjects. And they persist in describing such work as “theoretical,” as if theories were meant to render complexity less rather than more explicable.

This is not a problem specific to transnational history, as Isabel points out. It’s just that the added challenge of working across conventional categories will make it all the more tempting to be satisfied with exploring representation and identity, rather than actually explaining why some are rich and others poor, and why we have war or peace. It is not that no one will pursue such questions, but rather that we will lose

opportunities to grapple with them together. That requires choosing sources and methods appropriate to the problem at hand, rather than prior commitments to “theory.”

Consider the field of global history, which is just coming into its own—with its own journals and graduate programs. Most practitioners are concerned with what is often termed “political economy”—shorthand among subaltern scholars for the many things they tend to neglect, like demography, modes of production, technological adaptation, trade, and institutional change. When doing empirical work across broad stretches of space and time, it is easier to study things that can be counted and compared—such as life expectancy, or agricultural output. So, for instance, we have histories of world population, with fascinating and important debates about the relative importance of nutrition, public health, and so on. But we know much less about how, for instance, people first conceived of “world population” as something that could be measured and perhaps even controlled (a rather important idea in transnational history, considering how it helped people imagine themselves as part of a global community, if only to divide it up in new ways).

Cultural studies, on the other hand, has produced some fascinating work on how censuses and statistics figure in different kinds of political projects—particularly with the history of the census in India under the Raj. Bernard Cohn and Nick Dirks, among others, have shown how it represented Indian societies in various ways that reflected British notions of racial difference, and that had pernicious effects on caste politics for decades thereafter. And yet virtually no one has studied in any depth how independent India—working with and through transnational networks of population experts and activists—proceeded to implement staggeringly ambitious and coercive population control programs. I can’t help but wonder whether the reason is that it requires slogging through archives—not just those of India, but of many international and nongovernmental organizations. When I work in the archives of the World Bank or the World Health Organization or the Ford Foundation, I find myself virtually alone (and wondering whether all the professed interest in “political economy” in the cultural studies field is sincere). Transnational histories of ideas, whether about caste or class, race or reproduction, should show how their circulation actually shaped people’s lives, and that includes policies and programs that had life-and-death consequences for millions.¹

If the material and ideological are always in dialogue, then perhaps it’s time that practitioners of cultural studies start reading more military, economic, and diplomatic history.

Sven Beckert: Yes, my own practice of transnational history certainly does imply a distancing from cultural history. I am even cautiously optimistic that questions of

¹ Connelly, “To Inherit the Earth: Imagining World Population, from the Yellow Peril to the Population Bomb,” *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 3 (December 2006); Connelly, “Seeing beyond the State: The Population Control Movement and the Problem of Sovereignty,” *Past & Present* 193 (December 2006); Connelly, “Population Control in India: Prologue to the Emergency Period,” *Population and Development Review* 32, no. 4 (December 2006).

economic change, state formation, and political economy might again become more central to historical inquiries as part of an embrace of transnational history. We live in a world of rapid economic change, of enormous concentrations of economic power, sharp social inequalities, and drastic disparities in the distribution of political power—both between and within states.

“Globalization” and “empire” are the buzzwords that describe some of these developments. If we, as historians, want to remain relevant to public debate, we need to engage these issues. Yes, the popular media does matter, as Isabel suggests, but so does the flow of capital and the control of guns. We should certainly study culture and ideas, but we will never understand them properly without also studying such issues as investment patterns, elite networks, and institutions. I entirely agree with Matt on this point. Transnational history can be vibrant and relevant without embracing any of the more fashionable trends in cultural history; Kenneth Pomeranz’s work is an important case in point.

That said, I also believe that transnational history is not bound to any particular methodological approach. Political history can be transnational, and so can cultural history, intellectual history, and business history, among others. It is one of the strengths of transnational history to embrace this methodological diversity. In that way it is no different from, say, local history. The particular approaches employed are probably best determined by the kinds of questions one would want to answer. Ideally, transnational history is a “way of seeing.” Much of the writing of history has been limited by its explicit or implicit nationalist vision. Transnational history focuses on uncovering connections across particular political units. Seeing these connections should come just as easily to historians as seeing connections within more familiar frames.

Patricia Seed: When cultural studies first emerged about twenty years ago, it had an innovative agenda—cultural migrations did not always result from an elite/subaltern divide; rather, art, video, and other forms of cultural expression found alternative means of circulation, into unexpected domains via unconventional individuals and groups. While area specialists may continue to find particular connections of interest, none of the more recent findings challenge us to think any differently about transnational history than many of us were thinking two decades ago.

In Latin American research, subaltern studies emerged in the early 1990s as a literary movement that generated a significant body of research and intellectual excitement. Latin Americanists in the U.S. and to a lesser extent the U.K. have recently been drawn to subaltern topics such as peasants, native peoples, and the responses to, and consequences of, political repression and torture. Hence, taking Ranajit Guha’s approach—an innovative combination of Gramsci’s political thinking with poststructuralist critiques—seemed a potentially beneficial comparative exercise to an already subaltern-oriented intellectual community. We experienced an extraordinary fifteen-year fluorescence in literary criticism, which has already witnessed subaltern studies’ most innovative uses and now is taking off in different directions.

By the start of the twenty-first century, therefore, the intellectual leadership and innovation proffered by cultural and subaltern studies has largely dissipated. Instead we have been overtaken by a technological juggernaut—the cyber infrastructure which now occupies a parallel space alongside more traditional forms of communication and transportation, and which is already altering the discipline’s transnational scope. This juggernaut has already altered the communicative space of our own discipline. Like other academics, we increasingly transact the mundane forms of interaction with our students and colleagues electronically. Beyond such humdrum uses, these byways have also altered the ways in which we teach, communicate with our colleagues, and disseminate our research results across national boundaries. Many historical books have already appeared electronically; others are being scanned by ultra-efficient bots. All of these changes have altered historians’ transnational disciplinary networks.

Beyond our own colleagues and students, cyber communication is also changing the way historians deliver their ideas to a larger public, allowing them to find broader transnational audiences through the Internet. In the future, nontraditional media such as the Internet, cell phones, and video games may also change the way in which we communicate historical knowledge to a broader audience.

Electronic transmission has also already begun to alter the way historians relate their text to images. Half a millennium ago, another substantial shift took place when illuminated manuscripts gave way to the black-and-white world of woodcuts, engraving, and print. Now, as through the magic of RGB and BinHex numbers we are moving back into color and easily reproducible images, historians are beginning to rethink this fundamental alignment.

In addition to disseminating information and revising the relation of text to image, this cyber network creates social and intellectual groups among people separated by long distances and multiple time zones. These networks have already realigned some interdisciplinary work, as artists and performance studies now regularly engage with engineers and computer scientists. Will such networks have a similar impact on history? Will history’s interdisciplinary relationships change—will literary and historical scholars perhaps increasingly cooperate transnationally on a single project? Peter Bol, Ge Jianxiong, Zhou Wenye, and Man Zhimin already collaborate on a major transnational geographic history of China’s administrative units, urban areas, and rivers (the China Historical GIS project, www.fas.harvard.edu/~chgis). Finally, will cyber networks alter the familiar paradigm of a lone historian trudging through the archives into a collaborative (more transnational?) model of research in the future?

AHR: As discussed so far, transnational history certainly seems very broad, even all-encompassing, both in the subjects it takes on and in the methods it employs. But one thing it seems deliberately to avoid is falling into “grand narratives,” as several of you have pointed out. These narratives are often configured around binary oppositions—North-South, elite-subaltern, dominance-resistance—the rejection of which also seems part and parcel of the approach outlined here. But what about the

question of development, broadly considered? How does a transnational approach differ from other approaches—from modernization theory, Marxism, dependency theory, socio-historical treatments of state-making, and the like—which implicitly or explicitly contain assumptions about the dynamic and direction of development over time? Would it be desirable if a transnational approach yielded another narrative about the nature of development? To be more specific, does this approach have something to tell us about the question of “modernity”?

Chris Bayly: I agree that the stark binaries of the “grand narratives” mentioned have to be avoided. But it would be difficult to write anything other than a rather disconnected history of fragments without taking them at least as starting points for debate and analysis. After all, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were indeed the period when an industrialized “North” greatly enhanced its wealth and human capacity in relation to a de-industrialized or agrarian “South.” That was also the period when a particular sharply defined bloc of national states or colonial provinces was superimposed on earlier multiethnic empires and old patrias. The issue is how to show that this was a discontinuous, multilateral process, which even at the height of Western colonialism involved many interacting agents, including colonized peoples. The new states and provinces were often very weak, not just on their margins, but in their very centers. The “off-laying” of economic, military, and political functions by hard-pressed metropolitan powers meant that even at the depths of their relative poverty, assailed by famine and lacking the protection of their own national economies, colonized peoples could begin to build “capacity,” in Amartya Sen’s sense, either in conjunction with or often by resisting European or North American power. The problem with the modernization theorists of the 1960s and 1970s, as with more recent historians of the “rise of the West,” is not that they misidentified the process, but that they reified it overmuch, that they identified only one model of “modernization” and failed to note this building of capacity away from the Western core. The roots of contemporary China’s hectic industrialization or India’s knowledge economy lay in the period when the West seemed most triumphant.

Isabel Hofmeyr: Transnational histories have certainly complicated understandings of modernity by radically extending our sense of the range of people and the array of sites involved. This scholarship has complicated ideas of time and space and makes the linear chronologies of developmentalist/modernization paradigms look somewhat restrictive.

In this regard, one aspect of transnational history that is worth highlighting is its postsecular orientation. If the nation is no longer the only or automatic referent, then one of its supposed constituents, namely its secularity, disappears as a boundary. This brings a whole new range of otherworldly or “postworldly” sites into the equation, like “heaven,” the ancestral world, and so on.

These are, or at least should be, important analytical sites in transnational history. In popular versions of African Christianity, “heaven” or the ancestral world is constantly aligned with the modern through ideas of circulation. Texts, for example,

circulate between heaven and earth: texts appear to believers in dreams; believers travel to heaven in visions and are taught to read or are given documents which then materialize on earth; hymns appear on heavenly blackboards; and so on. Other examples from elsewhere in the world would include cases like Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormons, and the divinely revealed golden plates. Through the idea and trope of circulation, “transworldly” spaces are brought into the ambit of modernity and its meanings are commensurately extended.

Matthew Connelly: I think we are all skeptical of grand narratives, because none has ever provided a satisfactory way to understand the history of the world, and some have actually served to justify oppression. But while they have done harm, and continue to confuse, where would we be without them? Ideas of modernization, development, and now globalization have provoked historians to provide better ways to explain how we got where we are today: a world in which people continue to struggle over the meaning of modernity, development can take many different directions, and the institution of state sovereignty is both more contested and more assertive.

The irony, of course, is that we depend on the older narratives, at least as something to argue with, without always providing much of an alternative (except more “complexity”). People are yearning for grand narratives that can better explain our times, but in the U.S. anyway, they have not been waiting for historians to give it to them. Instead, they read (or at least talk about) Samuel Huntington, Tom Friedman, and Jared Diamond. Popular history tends to be national history, but it need not be. If transnational is a way of seeing, it can certainly give us new ways to see popular subjects like military and political history, ways that will challenge readers and not just pander to them.

It is early days yet, and when grad students ask “What is transnational history”—or international or global history—I still tell them that it is they who will provide the answer, if they care to, through their own contributions. But I think that a certain narrative is emerging that can describe how the world has been coming together but also coming apart. It provides a new chronology less centered on Europe and how European peoples experienced change. Picking up where Chris Bayly left off, the last decades of the nineteenth century are rendered as much more than a time of great power rivalry, but a period of unprecedented movements in capital, goods, people, and ideas. The two world wars do not just bring dynastic and ideological change for a few nation-states, but usher in a crisis of the colonial world—a Third World War—in part because Europeans are given a taste of imperial violence and racism. Of course, Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans are the main authors of this history, changing ideas about state sovereignty and development by appropriating them for their own projects. The changing terms of exchange help to make world politics more pluralistic again, not just with new states, but international and nongovernmental organizations, including corporations, communications networks, terrorist cells, and crime syndicates.

The world is both coming together and coming apart because processes of integration lead to new kinds of fragmentation. Thus, when the nation-state is the universal norm, and border crossing becomes standardized and even ritualized, certain kinds of interchange become easier, while others become impossible. Cheaper, more rapid communications and travel can help create new, transnational communities but also undermine national solidarity. Asserting global norms, whether for gender equality, biodiversity, or protection of minorities, strengthens solidarity across borders but can also give rise to new borders within societies—sometimes quite literally.²

A transnational narrative cannot be organized around one center, or give all agency to one set of protagonists, which makes it inherently more challenging. But the narrative technique is all the more essential for people who want to make sense of this world, since writing a narrative forces us to explain change and identify who is driving it. Of all scholars, those of us who are working to illuminate connections across the world and trace them back through time should be the last to give up on the idea that humanity has a common history. If there is such a thing as transnational history which shapes the lives of people who might otherwise seem to live on different planets, should we not aspire to help them understand how they are all part of the same story?

Patricia Seed: Modernization, dependency theory, and Marxism all represent variations on development theory—how to understand which factors promote just and equitable economic growth, particularly in underdeveloped countries. However, these nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories enthroned the state as the central engine or mediator of economic growth. Transnational history has shifted that emphasis in several different ways. In the first instance, transnational history has multiplied the foci of research from the state alone to a variety of independent transnational economic actors—individuals, communities, migrants, or organizations that may have played independent roles in the economic growth of a city, state, or region. Transnational history has introduced a second shift in understanding economic changes. The dynamic and direction of development no longer focuses upon the already defined social and political formations. In addition to increasing the number of external transnational actors, this approach also multiplies the nature of the internal groups tied to transnational formations. Beneficiaries or losers from these transnational economic ties could be a district of a city or a particular clan instead of an existing social or political formation. In turn, these beneficiaries may have relationships to other different internal groups, again also outside existing political and social structures. In short, the landscape of internal and external economic actors has multiplied under the aegis of transnational history.

Finally, although influenced by cultural studies, the transnational historical approach differs from it. Where cultural studies seeks to find interconnectedness, transnational history examines the process by looking at not just which groups become connected, but also how they become excluded from transnational exchanges.

² Adam McKeown, *Asian Migration and the Invention of Border Control, 1834–1929* (New York, 2007).

Wendy Kozol: As several people have observed, transnational historical approaches produce narratives that provoke reconsideration of major conceptual categories such as development and modernity. Isabel, for instance, notes that transnational approaches challenge conventional assumptions about the relationship between secularism and modernity. Moving beyond an understanding of modernity as a Western process of progress and enlightenment, transnational narratives reveal modernity to be a multifaceted process whereby political, economic, and cultural exchanges occur in varied and often unpredictable ways. For instance, human rights advocacy in the twentieth and twenty-first century, many argue, has been closely identified with Western liberal concepts of individual rights since they were first articulated in the 1948 UN Declaration on Human Rights. Yet non-Western human rights activists have contested that framing, especially Eurocentric claims of universality, even as they recognize historical traditions of social, political, cultural, economic, and civil rights as granted by national and international laws. The danger of assuming that concepts like rights and justice emerged only from a Western tradition of Enlightenment, as Uma Narayan argues, is that such claims presume that no other culture has a history of rights upon which to condemn violence and oppression. Thus, a transnational historical perspective can account for how non-Western human rights activists appropriate and reconfigure international claims of rights and justice while also mobilizing discourses from other cultural and political traditions. In thinking through how transnational narratives can pose new ways of understanding modernity, I am reminded of Lila Abu-Lughod's comment about Western feminists' relationships with non-Western women: "we may want justice for women, but can we accept that there might be different ideas about justice and that different women might want or choose different futures from what we envision as best? We must consider that they might be called to personhood, so to speak, in a different language."³

Transnational analyses of the history of modernity allow us to engage with different languages of justice and rights that are themselves differentially tied to social structures of power within local, regional, and global contexts.

Sven Beckert: Again, to amplify my previous comment, I perceive transnational history largely as a "way of seeing," open to various methodological preferences, and to many different questions. It takes at its starting point the interconnectedness of human history as a whole, and while it acknowledges the extraordinary importance of states, empires, and the like, it pays attention to networks, processes, beliefs, and institutions that transcend these politically defined spaces. What precisely this transnational history will eventually look like is far from certain; it is being written as we speak. But it is already providing fresh insights into old and tired issues. Just think of the exciting work being done by Marcel van der Linden in Amsterdam on labor, or Patrick O'Brien in London on global inequality.

³ Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2002): 787–788.

As you observed, transnational history is not about the creation of a new master narrative, and most practitioners would reject teleological accounts of historical change. Still, it engages existing master narratives, and has even suggested a new one, namely a story centered on the history of globalization. And, indeed, when we look at it from a very long perspective, let us say the past five hundred years, we can clearly identify a process in which humanity became more interconnected—economically, socially, politically, and culturally. This greater interconnectedness is one of the core changes that took place during these centuries, and transnational history has begun to build a narrative that focuses on this process. However, as we know, globalization was far from a uni-lineal development; moments of rapid globalization were at times followed by moments of de-globalization. Moreover, while globalization explains a lot about the world, it does not provide a full account of global social change. To me (but not necessarily to transnational history as such), capitalism and state formation remain the two master processes of the modern era. Yet neither the one nor the other can be explained without focusing on transnational and global connections.

Transnational history needs to engage existing large-scale accounts of social change, not least because all of the grand narratives mentioned in your question are in some ways transnational in orientation. Dependency theory is at its core about the relations of various parts of the world to one another; the global spread of capitalist social relations is important to Marxism; modernization theory postulates the possibility of the global spread of modernity, partly as a result of the interaction of various states with one another; and state-making à la Charles Tilly is all about transnational processes, namely the competition of various states with one another. We could do worse than engage these (competing) accounts of the emergence of the modern world. Transnational history does not differ *a priori* from any of these approaches—it engages them, it agrees and disagrees with their plots, but it fills a fundamentally different analytical space.

Insofar as transnational history engages one of the greatest questions in world history, namely why during the past two hundred years a small number of countries gained the capacity to produce, trade, and consume so much more than the rest of the world and accumulated unprecedented and unequalled state capacity and power, its answers will emphasize a particular set of factors. Historians thinking in terms of transnational history would most likely emphasize the importance of global links. Many of the transnational histories that we have indeed highlight the transnational origins of global economic and political inequality. Modernity, to them, is not just about one part of the world, or about one part of the world serving as an example to the rest, but fundamentally about the changing relations between various parts of the world. The shifting shape of the global is central to modernity itself—and that shift can only be explained by reference to actors in many different regions of the world. Modernity rests just as much on African slaves, Indian peasants, Chinese traders, and Arab mathematicians as on Lancashire mill workers, Scottish philosophers, German chemists, and American political theorists.

AHR: Clearly there is a lot to discuss concerning the definitions and implications of transnational history, but I would like to conclude on a more practical note. What do you see as the directions that research should take as guided by a transnational perspective? What subjects and topics, for example, might you encourage graduate students and other younger scholars to pursue? And what, as a sort of coda, would you say to established historians who might feel threatened by a transnational approach?

Chris Bayly: I feel that studies of diasporas (which would include movements of laborers, soldiers, intellectuals, technicians, etc.) are still a very worthwhile way of approaching transnational history, provided these studies grapple closely with the reception and domestication of such people and modes of life in the “host” society. The transnational history of ideas is also a particularly fruitful area for early modern and modern history. We need to get away from the assumption that ideas were simply disseminated from the West to the East and the South in the modern period. Instead, we need to see how liberalism, Marxism, and other systems of ideas were transformed and often deepened or generalized in extra-European and extra-American settings. This, rather than a search for the “authentic” indigenous culture, is a productive way of “provincializing Europe.”

Matthew Connelly: One of the key problems of contemporary history is to understand how world politics is becoming more pluralistic without becoming more democratic. If transnational phenomena are transforming an international system premised on the principle of state sovereignty, then we might begin to discern what sort of system could take its place. This approach would help us to identify both the underlying causes of conflict as well as the norms, institutions, and practices that may yet bring more stability, if not justice.

But we can scarcely begin to sketch the outlines of the new, transnational system until we have a history of some of the most important ideas and institutions that animate world politics. This inquiry is well under way with some quintessentially global ideas—human rights, racism and anti-racism, “pan” movements, feminism, pacifism, environmentalism, etc. But if one compares it to the richness of the literature on nationalism, it’s apparent that we still have a long way to go.

As a political historian, I’m even more struck by how spotty and underdeveloped is the history of international and transnational institutions. Students inclined to follow the well-trod path to College Park or Kew might reconsider the assumption that state archives are always the best place to begin learning about the world (or at least to seek a less familiar perspective by going to another national archive, like in Algiers or New Delhi). We lack archive-based histories of United Nations agencies, for instance, and some of the most important private foundations. The works we do have reflect idiosyncratic factors. For instance, the Rockefeller Foundation generously funds travel grants to use its archives, so there is a vast literature on Rockefeller (most of it highly critical). But the Ford Foundation archives, a short train ride away,

are ignored. Similarly, we have investigations of multinational corporations' involvement in the Holocaust, or the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala. But only economics departments seem interested in how they organize production and consumption worldwide. The transnational work of volunteer organizations and churches gets more attention. Yet all of the monographs on all of the foregoing subjects put together would scarcely compare to the ink spilled on the American Civil War.

There are many subjects—including the Civil War—that yield fresh insights when viewed through a transnational lens. Others will not. No particular approach is inherently superior, and asserting otherwise leads to a defensive response that discourages just this kind of dialogue. If transnational history really is potentially transformative, it is all the more important that practitioners are *diplomatic* historians. Without patience, tact, and a generous spirit, we cannot negotiate the spaces between fields and forge connections between them.

Wendy Kozol: Another direction for transnational historical research to pursue is the continuities and changes in communications technologies. How significant is the Internet, for instance, in changes in local political structures or in the formation of social identities? Is this fundamentally different from the impact of earlier technologies? For instance, some scholars in queer and feminist studies have explored new forms of communication in relation to the emergence of transnational social movements. As Matt has suggested, we need more historical research on the ideas and institutions that animate transnational politics, such as human rights, anti-racism, and environmentalism. What role has technology played in the formation of local communities and subjectivities in these movements? How has an increased ease of communication changed interactions between local and transnational activists, especially within the framework of contemporary globalization? What continuities persist to trouble optimistic claims about technological innovation?

Regarding the second question, as this discussion shows, transnational perspectives do not so much supplant as work in dialogue with theoretical approaches like feminism or Marxism. Transnational perspectives utilize historical methods and methodologies that have proven effective in studies of local or national contexts within a framework that encourages new perspectives on major global events and processes like war, migration, or neocolonialism.

Isabel Hofmeyr: I agree with Matt and Wendy that a study of transnational history opens up a productive set of themes around the institutions and media via which ideas are propagated transnationally. Linked to this would be another new area, namely to understand how people allow themselves to be addressed as transnational subjects or how they come to imagine themselves in this way. There is nothing automatic or self-evident in this process. New genres and modes of address need to be formulated; new ways of reading and reception have to evolve. Transnationalism hence opens up the possibility of producing new histories of reading and writing.

One important sub-theme in this area would be that of translation understood not as an abstract process but as a set of material practices that require detailed investigation. The possibilities inherent in this area can be seen in Lydia Liu's *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*, which examines the translation practices that characterized China's encounter with the British Empire.

Another way in which transnationalism can open up new vistas is by directing our attention to "in-between" areas. One good example here would be the Indian Ocean, increasingly emerging as a focus of scholarly attention largely because it can take us beyond the Cold War "area studies" map which carved the world up into regions of discrete study so that the study of Africa and the study of Asia usually proceed with little reference to each other.

With regard to the last part of the question, I would say that the world itself will give us the lead. Circumstances are changing so rapidly that at some point it will be difficult not to have a transnational dimension in one's teaching and research.

Sven Beckert: The possibilities are endless; this is such a fresh perspective that we cannot tell where it is going to take us in the next few years. In my field, nineteenth-century United States history, we still have a real dearth of studies that explore core themes in U.S. history from a transnational perspective. A lot more work remains to be done on the U.S. Civil War, for example, on various reform movements, on labor, on the history of racism, on Reconstruction, on urban planning, on the history of Native Americans, and so on. Much of U.S. immigration history, moreover, deserves a second look from a global perspective. I also see lots of possibilities in studying the nineteenth-century global economy: During these years we had a very real intensification of transnational connections, but ironically, much of the research on global economic history, especially on transatlantic links, has focused so far on the period before 1800. Work on institutions regulating the global economy would also be highly welcome. Perhaps the best guide to future research, however, is to look at what's in the works right now among graduate students. I know of dissertations being written as we speak on such subjects as the global standardization of time, on the institutionalization of international economic relations, on late-nineteenth-century feminist internationalism, and on the regulation of the movement of people around the Suez Canal in the late nineteenth century. These are all important works on transnational history. For those of us in the United States, we need to make sure that we equip our students to engage in such projects by providing them with the necessary training in the history of various regions and equipping them with the language skills they will need to master archives and libraries throughout the world.

Patricia Seed: Transnational history does not threaten the traditional local or regional study that historians have always undertaken—although it does offer opportunities to conceptualize new projects in different terms. Most importantly, transnational history challenges historians to situate their topic differently within a larger framework. For many years, the larger framework for any historical work could be

taken for granted. In other words, the local or regionally focused study could assume the structure of the larger world to which it belonged.

Usually that structure consisted of something we already understood—a state or commercial hub. Introducing the transnational dimension into the larger framework signifies that the larger framework needs to be examined and in some cases located rather than simply assumed to exist.

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Sven Beckert is Professor of History at Harvard University. He is the author of *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). Currently his work focuses on the history of nineteenth-century capitalism. He is writing a global history of cotton during the long nineteenth century, to be published by Alfred A. Knopf, and a history of the world economy, to be published by Harvard University Press.

Matthew Connelly is Associate Professor of History at Columbia University. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1997. His first book was *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War World*. His next book, *Unnatural Selection: The Population Control Movement and Its Struggle to Remake Humanity*, will be published in 2008 by Harvard University Press. He is also co-editor, with Adam McKeown, of a new series in International and Global History forthcoming from Columbia University Press.

Isabel Hofmeyr is Professor of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She recently published *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of "The Pilgrim's Progress"* (Princeton University Press). She currently heads up a research project entitled "South Africa-India: Connections and Comparisons."

Wendy Kozol is Professor of Gender and Women's Studies at Oberlin College. She is the author of *Life's America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* (1994) and has co-edited two anthologies with Wendy Hesford: *Haunting Violations: Feminist Criticism and the Crisis of the "Real"* (2001) and *Just Advocacy: Women's Human Rights, Transnational Feminism and the Politics of Representation* (2005). Her new book project is titled *Visible Wars and American Nationalism: Militarization and Visual Culture in the Post-Cold War Period*.

Patricia Seed is Professor of History, University of California-Irvine. She is the author of *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821*; *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World*; *American Pentimento: The Invention of Indians and the Pursuit of Riches*; and an edited volume, *Jose Limon and La Malinche: The Dancer and the Dance* (2007). She was a founding member of the Latin American Subaltern Studies literary group. Presently she is writing on the history of navigation and nautical cartography from the Middle Ages until the start of the sixteenth century.

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

ARLAND THORNTON. *Reading History Sideways: The Fallacy and Enduring Impact of the Developmental Paradigm on Family Life*. (Population and Development.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. x, 312. \$39.00.

Like so many works of family history, Arland Thornton's book begins with an explication of the myth that Northwest European family life underwent a dramatic transition from traditional to modern form by 1800. Thornton's primary concern is not to prove the fallacy of the myth, which has been thoroughly refuted in the past half-century, but to explain its origins. He locates these origins in what he terms developmental thinking and methodology, and he then goes on to assess the impact of "developmental idealism" on world history. This is an accessible and provocative book, but its dramatic claims rest on a rather slender and uneven base of evidence.

In the first half of the book, Thornton argues that scholars of the family from the 1700s through the mid-twentieth century worked within a developmental paradigm: the belief that individual and social change through a series of uniform and progressive stages is inevitable and desirable. In particular, they believed that the family as an institution progressed from its traditional form, characterized by early and universal marriage within authoritarian, extended households, to a modern form with nuclear households that supported individual autonomy and higher status for women. This teleological view of civilizations' progress was reinforced and legitimated by the common methodology of "reading history sideways." Assuming that contemporary "less developed" cultures exhibited traits that were common to European societies in the distant past, researchers from the West used their observations of societies in Asia, the Americas, and Africa as a substitute for missing historical sources on family life and social history in their own countries. This methodology produced the conclusion (accurately enough) that the Northwest European marriage pattern was distinctive, but it also (fallaciously) led to the belief that this pattern emerged in Europe only after a dramatic transition out of the traditional stage in the early modern period.

Thornton argues that the scholarly legacy of devel-

opmental thinking and "reading history sideways methodology" continued to pervade aspects of later twentieth-century works of family history including classic texts by Philippe Ariès, Lawrence Stone, and Edward Shorter. Thornton's critique of Ariès and Stone covers arguments already well rehearsed by Linda Pollock and Alan Macfarlane (among many others), but his discussion of Shorter's *The Making of the Modern Family* (1975) delves more insightfully into the developmental bias of Shorter's sources, and contains an interesting analysis of the neglected eighteenth-century theorist John Millar. Even so, Thornton's discussion of contemporary scholarship on the family seems somewhat disconnected from much of the more recent, subtle work of family historians in the past two decades.

The second half of the book examines the extent to which developmental thinking has influenced communities and individuals throughout the world, and over a considerable sweep of time. Thornton defines developmental idealism as "a package of powerful propositions and aspirations," which includes the beliefs that "1)modern society is good and attainable; 2)the modern family is good and attainable; 3)the modern family is a cause as well as an effect of a modern society; and 4)individuals have the right to be free and equal, with social relationships being based on consent" (pp. 134–144, 8). Here, the book moves very quickly through a wide variety of arenas in which developmental idealism has been irrefutably important.

Disseminated through education, mass media, and colonial conquest, the ideology of development profoundly altered individual lives and societies in colonial and postcolonial Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. Thornton briefly mentions the importance of colonial resistance to development, and its potential to create hybrid family systems, but he does not dwell on ambivalence; his goal is to demonstrate developmental idealism's "incredibly strong influence on family change for centuries" (p. 240).

The book's chief weakness is its lack of evidentiary depth. Thornton, a sociologist, is apt to refer indiscriminately to "writers of the 1700s and 1800s," assuming an unlikely homogeneity of attitudes and assumptions among early modern authors. Moreover, where he does pause to examine individual scholars and their works, he makes quite sweeping generalizations, sometimes

without citing specific evidence. For example, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's complex array of relevant writings are reduced to the point where they appear simply as unproblematic promoters of developmental idealism. There are also some odd gaps in Thornton's discussion of developmental thinkers: why is Karl Marx barely mentioned in this work? Such problems are exacerbated by the University of Chicago Press's choice to utilize a very abbreviated and unhelpful footnote style.

This is an intriguing work, and it is clear from the conclusion that Thornton means it to provoke new scholarship, and particularly to serve as a catalyst for finding new comparative methodologies for studying the history of the family: methods that emphasize cultural and intellectual rather than economic and social history. Historians of the family will benefit by engaging with Thornton's sweeping theories, even if these theories will require serious revision in the light of more rigorous historical analysis.

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GARETH STEDMAN JONES. *An End to Poverty? A Historical Debate*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 278. \$29.50.

History is important, Gareth Stedman Jones reminds us, not only with lessons to teach us but with misconceptions to redress. Our forbears struggled with issues we face today, such as how to reconcile self-interest and equity. The first truly modern vision of how to end poverty was put forward during the French Revolution. The excesses of that era, however, derailed both the solutions and the spirit in which they were proposed, and this book follows subsequent developments. Stedman Jones argues that Enlightenment beliefs in human progress framed in both political and economic terms presented for the first time viable solutions to pauperism within an expanded notion of citizenship provided by the Americans. Whereas Christian theology had argued that the "poor will always be with us" and that they served to remind man of his charitable duties and his need for salvation, eighteenth-century theorists posited that free trade, liberty of production, and healthy competition would increase prosperity and succeed in eradicating poverty. Some were more optimistic than others. Significantly, Adam Smith believed that political reform was necessary (and not an invisible hand) for benefits to be spread equitably. Similarly, French revolutionaries offered to alleviate poverty with government-sponsored universal insurance schemes supported through taxation and brought to these proposals their knowledge of statistics and probability (Condorcet), experience with recent life insurance companies, and beliefs in the universal rights of citizenship (Thomas Paine).

Although some of their proposals were enacted, the French state's near bankruptcy in 1795 put all of them on the back burner. Sadly, opponents of the French

Revolution dismissed such social reforms as dangerous radicalism, and successive conservative postrevolutionary French governments resisted their implementation. Although initially acclaimed, Paine's works were now treated as the rantings of a madman. Pauperism was cast, once again, in moral rather than civic terms (not least because of the religious revivals in France and England), so that the poor's salvation could only be effected through moral education rather than state support. Political economy, meanwhile, was "salvaged" as a discipline from its "dangerous" political connotations through a pernicious misreading of Smith. Jean-Baptiste Say detached economic analysis from political engagement in France in the way that Dugald Stewart abstracted and reframed Smith. Marginalized from mainstream political currents, liberal reformers embraced socialism. Those that remained in the fold fastened on purely political reforms on both sides of the channel.

In England, T. B. Malthus's theories showed that no one was entitled to *survival*, never mind relief. The poor needed to learn thrift and self-control. Solutions to the problems of poverty in England would continue to be framed along such moral lines throughout the nineteenth century. This shifted the responsibility away from governments to individuals. Yet social phenomena could not be denied, and French social critics, in particular, began to accuse machinery of lowering wages and throwing people out of work through overproduction. Supporters of mechanization argued that machinery per se was not to blame, but only the overproduction of specific items. In England, too, if some continued to have faith in the new machine age, others began to see it as the major cause of poverty and the decline in the standard of living. Such analyses gradually made those who argued purely along moral lines seem seriously out of touch.

Social legislation had, however, to await the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in both countries. Governments that worried about their military preparedness and the physiological conditions of their workforce (more so than their radical politics) voted for old-age pensions and national insurance for workers (excluding women and part-time laborers). For poverty was not going away of its own accord. The remedies that governments offered at the turn of the twentieth century, however, were a far cry from the universalism propounded by Condorcet and Paine, which would finally be instituted after World War II. It took 150 years for a universal, morally neutral series of welfare measures finally to be enacted.

Historians, too, separated economic phenomena from their political context, and reified and then blamed the Industrial Revolution and market culture for the evils of poverty. It is incumbent on the profession, Stedman Jones concludes, to clear up this confusion and rediscover the generous republicanism envisioned by Smith, Condorcet, and Paine.

Despite what recent critics have maintained, the Enlightenment "project" was feasible, progressive, and in-

clusive. Those who seek solutions to poverty might do well to reinvigorate that tradition.

Beyond historical analysis, Stedman Jones's book is a call for action. We need to redress the historical record, rethink our categories, and restore a proper reading of Smith and the Industrial Revolution. We must also set history back on "its proper course" by recovering republican ideals and forging, as he says, a middle way between socialism and traditionalism. These seem to me contradictory demands, since the second in effect cancels out the first. Showing that our ancestors had useful insights about the dignity of man is a fine thing; telling people that they have misunderstood their own "liberal" roots is a riskier endeavor, for it implies that what in fact *did* happen ought not to have happened.

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TESSA MORRIS-SUZUKI. *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History*. New York: Verso. 2005. Pp. viii, 279. \$35.00.

Children learn very quickly who Adolf Hitler was or what happened at Hiroshima, but they do not necessarily learn about it from history textbooks. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki makes clear in her absorbing study, the media collect, reshape, and pass on many significant historical events and allusions. Popular novels, movies, and the internet must be considered fundamental, if tendentious, sources of historical knowledge. Indeed, she notes, "many people in the United States know of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki primarily from media" such as television, movies, or comics (p. 231). Morris-Suzuki sets out to explore the form and texture of this knowledge, insisting on its ability to enrich and expand our conceptions of the world even while acknowledging the ways it can exclude alternatives or disrupts meaningful interpretation. But more: Morris-Suzuki sees the popular media, which she introduces with the nineteenth-century genre of historical fiction, as a necessary if not sufficient cause for the production of a modern historical sensibility. The media both challenge and enable the acquisition of historical truthfulness, which is not a final destination but an ongoing process of explaining the past, accounting its effects on our lives, and recognizing how representation influences interpretation. The historical novel, for example, encouraged readers to envision a complex social whole in which they were enmeshed but also to tease out individual positions and personal subjectivities. Novels by Honoré de Balzac or Walter Scott or Alessandro Manzoni fashioned both a panoramic stage and many parts—and thus a multiplicity of perspectives. Photographs also created bonds of empathy among strangers, because viewers saw images of suffering as extensions of the photo albums of their own lives. With exaggerated visual effects not bound by "the codes of realism embodied in photography and film," comic books made it even easier for readers to con-

template the perspective of victim or outcast (p. 259). Without these media effects, contemporaries would be much more trapped in their own narratives, more absorbed in their own trials and tribulations, and less able to see how historical explanations are constructed.

The guiding assumptions of this study are sound, and the itinerary that Morris-Suzuki sets is exciting. However, the book is hobbled by too many assertions that make sense but are not illustrated. I would have liked to know more precisely what it might mean to learn about Hitler from a late-night movie on television or Hiroshima from a comic book in a friend's basement. Are traditional historical narratives subverted, destabilized, or upheld? An analysis of reception is, of course, difficult, but it is not impossible. Morris-Suzuki herself notes, for example, that images of the Holocaust guided much of the international response to genocide in former Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s, although they failed to inhibit the perpetrators. What happened to the collective visual archive of World War II images? Moreover, the war in Bosnia eventually tore up the family albums that had constituted evidence of ethnic intermingling. "Everybody had prewar photographs," writes Roger Cohen: "The company photograph. The football-club photograph. The school photograph. The family photograph." He continues: "for Haris and Bisera and Fida and Asim in Sarajevo—and Slobodan, Jasna and Vesna in Belgrade—it became harder and harder to recall the world that had once placed them in the same photographic frame" (*Hearts Grown Brutal: Sagas of Sarajevo* [1998], p. 158). In other words, the photograph came to index inauthenticity, and the albums were finally thrown into the garbage when one family occupied another's home.

Unfortunately, Morris-Suzuki refrains from a close reading of media effects that would bolster her argument. She makes very plausible suggestions as to how the mobility of perspective in the popular media create new spaces for understanding or exchange, just as the photographs in the trash caught Cohen's eye, and readers will also agree with her conclusion that the media also repeatedly create communities of "we" that often resist reinterpretation and police boundaries. Her discussion of D.W. Griffith's powerful, racist film, *Birth of a Nation* (1915), is an excellent example of this closure. In the end the message that Morris-Suzuki wants to convey is that it is imperative to create new pluralities of belonging and identification if moral judgment is to be exercised or political action undertaken. At the same time, it is necessary to remain alert to how those constituencies came into being and to what they are not able to accomplish. This liberal stance is certainly appealing, but obviously not compelling for everyone.

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M. NORTON WISE, editor. *Growing Explanations: Historical Perspectives on Recent Science*. (Science and Cul-

tural Theory.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 346. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

This collection of essays concerns broad changes underway across several scientific areas: changes, in the first order, not in institutions, or areas of inquiry, or even in tools and techniques, but in guiding episteme. The argument is that across the physical and life sciences, the character of scientific explanation has undergone a major transformation during the past two or three decades. Where once the sciences had held up reductionism and unification as ultimate explanatory goals, now many focus on complexity, chaos, and contingency. Ecology has largely replaced elementary particle physics as the model discipline.

In case studies ranging from theoretical physicists' string theory, to the mathematics of topology and nonlinear dynamics, to civil engineering, molecular biology, immunology, and the new boom field of "artificial life," the contributors highlight several features common to this new brand of scientific explanation. According to the new view, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts; critical properties can be emergent, dependent on scales of observation and on complex interactions among components; nonlinearities can produce large effects from small causes; and the objects of study are often hybrid, inducing boundary crossing among experts in different specialties. Interest in dynamics now trumps (static) constituents. Many of these key explanatory elements have been stimulated, the contributors suggest, by new tools, especially high-speed computing and the ubiquity of simulations. Most important, editor M. Norton Wise suggests, these changes in forms of explanation have narrowed the gap between the "two cultures": natural scientists' turn to emergent phenomena has in effect turned them into historians, focused on narratives and contingencies.

Most of the contributions—eleven case studies, plus framing material from the editor—come from historians of science, with additional contributions from sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, and literary scholars. Not surprisingly, the styles of individual chapters vary widely. Some are straightforward (if somewhat narrow) case studies, carefully bounded in place and time; some are wider-ranging philosophical inquiries; and one or two, unfortunately, consist largely of lists of names and (unexplained) scientific developments, likely to be of little use to scholars who are not already familiar with the material.

Evelyn Fox Keller's excellent essay on biologists' oscillating treatment of holism and self-organization is perhaps closest to the book's overall aim. As she demonstrates, biologists in Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries routinely focused on holism; some even defined their discipline as the study of organisms' self-organization. Yet these topics rapidly fell from view after World War II, especially in the United States, where holism seemed tainted by its Germanic past and its eager embrace by Nazi propagandists. On top of that, molecular biolo-

gists began to score some of their most important successes in the 1950s—such as unraveling the structure of DNA—and the reductionist dream was at its peak. Only in the 1990s, especially with the aid of computers, have biologists turned with renewed vigor to the study of emergent properties, neural networks, and questions of self-organization. Even most molecular biologists now agree that genes do not simply encode outcomes or behaviors; there is no single gene for mathematics skills, for example. Rather, such outcomes result from the complex interplay between genes, proteins, and contingent, contextual histories of development. Ilana Löwy's close analysis of changing explanations among AIDS researchers likewise charts their shift from "one virus, one disease" to investigating the interplay between etiological agents and an individual's own complex immune system.

Taken individually, most essays are well executed, but the volume's balance does not always seem quite right. The lone chapter on elementary particle physics—Peter Galison's essay on contemporary debates over string theory—while fascinating, has little to say on the themes of reduction and unification *per se*. Instead, Galison mines the rich, values-laden struggle still unfolding among physicists and mathematicians for their students' souls. Will the next generation of particle theorists learn to look to mathematics and computers or to experiments to inspire and adjudicate their speculative musings?

Readers might also question the need for three essays—more than one-quarter of the volume—on "artificial life." Despite (or perhaps because of) sustained media hype over the past twenty years, the field of "ALife" still seems long on hope and short on serious scientific advances; indeed, a skeptic could still view the topic as little more than fancy video games dressed up in pompous philosophical packaging. At least one of its three analysts, the literary scholar Richard Doyle, acknowledges that the field sometimes strikes him, as he puts it, like a joke he just doesn't quite get (p. 252). Naturally he sees more than only this misplaced joke, and his essay (together with follow-up contributions by anthropologist Stefan Helmreich and biologist/philosopher Claus Emmeche) makes a strong case that there might be some "there" there, as enthusiastic biologists, physicists, mathematicians, and computer scientists dream up alternate universes in their computers, populate them with simulated organisms, and let code-based "evolution" run its course.

Even so, one might have limited the collection to one essay on artificial life, if only to free up space for discussion of (say) ecology or the earth sciences—especially since these fields now often serve as exemplars for explanation across the natural sciences. Likewise, an essay on shared developments within the social sciences would have been in order. During the past decade or more, several areas of social inquiry have tilted toward the very same types of explanation featured in this volume. The resurgence of (quantitative) social network modeling among economists, political scientists, soci-

ologists, and historians, for example, draws upon many of the same themes examined here.

Taken as a whole, this stimulating volume provides an interesting mirror of its subject matter. The dynamic interplay between essays may well capture the complexity of contemporary scientific practice better than any isolated chapter on its own. Hopefully this interesting volume will inspire further comparative studies.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

LORRAINE DASTON and FERNANDO VIDAL, editors. *The Moral Authority of Nature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004 Pp. vii, 519. \$26.00.

It is surprising that there is anything left of the idea that nature has moral authority. David Hume famously argued that "is did not imply ought," and, just to be sure, enormous intellectual effort over the last half century has, in the interests of equality and liberty, gone into shoving what might have seemed "natural" across the divide back into the realm of culture. Thinkers from Robert Boyle to Arthur Lovejoy have demonstrated that "nature" has so many meanings as to be virtually meaningless in any case.

In fact, it is a little surprising that the idea exists at all. If nature as a source of authority ever had a Golden Age, it is not clear when it was. Archaic Greece did not quite have the category, as Laura M. Slatkin writes in a lovely essay on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, even though the rhythms of the natural world were both explanatory and prescriptive in the making of culture. Medieval philosophers certainly had the idea of "nature" but, as Joan Cadden points out, it often carried little authority in legal contexts and was muddled in theological ones. Perhaps in the Middle Ages, as Katharine Park shows, nature was personified as a female figure who spoke articulately about important matters, but by the Renaissance her voice was increasingly enigmatic and available only through the questionable mediation of self-appointed experts.

And today, despite—perhaps because—everything from alcoholism to homosexuality and the inability to concentrate have been posted on the nature side of the ledger, biotechnology has, as Michelle Murphy argues in her essay, evacuated the term of its power. The molecular-genetic revolution, which seems the foundation of a new naturalism, has ironically turned nature into artifice, something to be manipulated, natural only in the sense of a piece of Robert Smithson's earth art: it is made of natural material. Thus sex itself no longer has the ontological power it once had, so that the focus of feminist politics shifts away from dismantling the sex/gender system and toward efforts to control the manipulation of reproduction and women's bodies more generally.

The editors and the eighteen contributors to this volume have embraced these difficulties as their subject

and have produced something rare in a collection of essays: a real book on an intellectually and politically exigent topic in which the whole is greater than the sum of its consistently strong individual parts. There is, in the first place, a strong argument made by Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal in their introduction. Whatever the sources of nature's authority—as the foundation of value; as a way of thinking about "necessity and freedom"; as a boundary between people, social groups, and other categories—and however that authority makes itself known—through punishing directly those who contravene its dicta; through human norms that give it voice; through internalized moral and aesthetic experience—"nature stands for order." "The natural," they conclude, is "synonymous with the self evident, melding habit with duty" (p. 14). "Is" and "ought" are not distinct; like something of real value as opposed to the artificial value of money and like the country in relation to the city, nature seems to stand to its opposite (art, nurture, culture) as "natural" and hence good. It will not go away.

Second, one can read this collection as a real book because the various contributors actually speak to each other across three millennia and as many continents. A conversation on the page builds on what seems to have been considerable face-to-face conversation earlier. Thus Valentin Groebner's learned essay on how "complexion" went from its medieval sense as an individual balance of Galenic humors to its sixteenth-century meaning as a description of bodily appearance, especially of skin color, shared by groups is in conversation with Robert N. Proctor's piece on the twentieth-century politics of the debate within paleontology between polygenists and monogenists and Londa Schiebinger's history of how different sorts of bodies came to be counted as physiologically and anatomical representative enough to be used in "human" experiments. The details are, of course, different: Proctor is interested in how the well-meaning, post-Holocaust insistence that is there only one human race with one very ancient beginning affects the interpretation of genetic and paleontological data; Schiebinger in how the biology of race and sex matter in some circumstances and not in others; Groebner in how changes in understanding how the apparently restrictive identification of individual through complexion is "linked to their movement, to their abilities to cross boundaries in space" (p. 383). But the questions are similar.

Essays on Asian topics are often isolated in books that focus on the West. Not so here. The editors connect Julia Adeney Thomas's resonant essay on Murayama Masao's claim that modernity, as a condition of individual autonomy, depends on liberation *from* nature while totalitarianism is "aligned *with* its continued presence" and Helmut Puff's essay on "crimes against nature" in early modern Germany, in which natural law curiously played little part. Fa-ti Fan's history of the ways in which a group of Chinese modernizing intellectuals sought to recover a sense of "national essence" (p. 413) that had been lost more than two thousand

years before is juxtaposed to Thomas's story of how essences are shed.

Finally, the essays probe the authority of nature over a dazzling number of topics that allow readers to see the problem refracted in ways that would exceed the erudition of any one scholar but that, at the same time, suggest connections. Thus Robert J. Richards's essay on how the erotic attractions of female beauty—a sort of aesthetics of desire—that informed J. W. von Goethe's scientific inquiry fits in beautifully with Eckhardt Fuchs's on *Bildung*—refined culture—as the enemy of both so-called rational and romantic naturalism that sought to do the civilizing work of culture through making education somehow conform to nature. Matt Price's piece on how one, literally, values nature through various ethical theories or through a more rigorous eco-economics articulates with the story told by Gregg Mitman about how the spread of ragweed and hay fever became an allegory for the transgression of the *rus/urbes* border. Ecology, we are reminded, is a science with an ethics built in.

Insects loom large. A. J. Lustig's wonderfully quirky and original piece on the place of myrmecology—the study of ants—reminds us not only that E. O. Wilson, today's most prominent and unreflexive social biologist, has a long ancestry (my connection not hers) but also that “wisdom . . . is evidently an attainment *contra naturam*” (p. 307). Danielle Allen shows in her probing reading of Bernard Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* that “nature's value is something that is made through our efforts,” no more stable than the social order or the machines we make. These two essays, in turn, might be set beside Daston's on how the minutiae of insect anatomy became the model for the close study of nature in the eighteenth century, as for how close and passionate observation of the tiniest detail spoke of the authority of nature in general. Together these pieces suggest that some other enterprising editors might want to convene a group to talk about bugs as good to think through.

Two figures are largely missing from this cornucopia. One is God. He does make a few cameo appearances as artificer and as dwelling in the intricacies of his works. But for a collection of essays focused on the centuries on either side of the Enlightenment, there is surprisingly no attention to the question of God overriding nature or God making himself felt providentially in its daily workings. (Vidal has published an illuminating essay elsewhere on miracles but there is no mention here of this central topic, about which Hume wrote the most famous skeptical essay of his period.) Onanists, as Vidal shows in his essay on S. A. D. Tissot, die because they have committed a crime against nature, not because they sinned against God. In other words, what used to be the top of the chain, above man and nature, gets short shrift.

I am also surprised that Sigmund Freud is so little in evidence. No one talks about the nature of desire in the making of men and women or of civilization and its discontents, the subject about which Freud and his followers wrote for a century. No one is interested in what one

might take to be the authority of nature in the human psyche, in the history of madness and melancholy, in the history of the passions and the emotions, in the history of instinct and of choice.

I note these absences not to criticize a book that could not be better but to suggest that its topic has resonance far beyond its already considerable scholarly range and that nature is not only “out there” but inside as well.

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KAREN R. JONES and JOHN WILLS. *The Invention of the Park: Recreational Landscapes from the Garden of Eden to Disney's Magic Kingdom*. Cambridge: Polity. 2005. Pp. 216. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

The park is one of the most common and popular features of our lives and surroundings. Within the past week, I have visited three different types: a national park (Dartmoor); a former eighteenth-century genteel landscaped estate that is now a spacious public park within city boundaries; and a small Victorian park located a stone's throw from where I live. The local scene on that Sunday afternoon evoked the cover photograph of the book under review: sunworshippers sprawled on the greensward in New York City's Central Park.

The book begins with dictionary definitions. At the risk of stating the obvious, Karen R. Jones and John Wills assert that “the park means many things to many people” (p. 3). They proceed to identify ten types: ancient hunting reserves; English landscape parks; city parks; baseball parks; national/nature/wildlife parks; amusement/theme parks; zoological parks; trailer parks; industrial parks; and culture parks. The catholicity of coverage in terms of country, chronology, and type (although where are American Civil War battlefield parks?) is suggested by a perusal of the index entries for the first letter of the alphabet, which include Alexander the Great, Adelaide Zoo, Amboseli National Park (Kenya), Augustus, and Assyrian parks of the twelfth century B.C.

Jones and Wills are British historians of the United States who write from a British-American perspective. Their book will introduce American readers predisposed to thinking that the United States enjoys a special relationship with the park to the antecedents of Central Park and Coney Island in industrial northwest England (Birkenhead Park and the seaside resort of Blackpool). Nonetheless, the authors are at pains to provide global coverage in a study that draws primarily on secondary sources but which is by no means innocent of engagement with primary materials. As we travel from the Hanging Gardens of Babylon to Hanford Reach National Monument (a former nuclear site in Washington state), we encounter lots of fascinating details. The amusement park was born in Denmark. A lesser-known Russian contribution to world civilization is the roller-coaster.

Deftly moving between different times and places, comparing and contrasting older models and newer manifestations, the authors display a highly developed sense of irony and a nice turn of phrase ("In the Garden of Eden, just two people wandered in its realms. Today, millions of people gather in parks around the globe," p. 170). Jones and Wills want it both ways. They stress the existence of a universal park idea that transcends time and place, yet they also insist that this idea has proved endlessly adaptable. Eminently worthy of inclusion in the book's illustrative material (consisting of eight images) are two recent *New Yorker* cartoons that also communicate this sentiment. The first shows Adam and Eve confronted by a park ranger who announces "I'm sorry, folks, but the park closes at sundown." The other depicts a mother and father explaining to their young son as they stroll through Central Park, "When they built this, Jeremy, parks didn't have themes." No person or era has copyrighted the park idea. Recent incarnations discussed in this book are beyond the wildest imaginings of Central Park's creator, Frederick Law Olmsted. Still, in the authors' eyes, this does not invalidate trailer parks, theme parks, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, the Eden Project (a recreation of the world's biospheres under canopy in the English county of Cornwall), or—possibly the most bizarre of recent proposals—Dracula Land in Romania. Instead of being evidence of a singular idea's loss of all essential meaning, this infinite variety serves them as testimony to the vitality of the park idea. Perhaps the strongest argument for the study of the park idea and its multiple physical manifestations—which this book articulates strongly—is how they serve as springboards for the examination of many of the core themes of scholarly investigation in the humanities: aesthetics, class, colonialism, consumption, democracy, elitism, entertainment, fantasy, gender, hunting, nationalism, nature, race, science, spirituality, sport, technology, and utopia.

Plenty of wonderful studies of individual parks and types of park are available. Outstanding in the former category are Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (1992), and Stephen J. Pyne, *How the Canyon Became Grand: A Short History* (1998), and, in the latter, Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (1979), and Judith A. Adams, *The American Amusement Park Industry* (1991). As Jones and Wills explain in their guide to further reading, "no dedicated work exists that maps [the park idea's] evolution and global dissemination—an oversight that stoked our enthusiasm for writing this book" (p. 190). This is indeed the first comprehensive study of the park idea and the perfect book, therefore, for next Sunday's afternoon's sojourn on a park bench.

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MADELEINE FERRIÈRES. *Sacred Cow, Mad Cow: A History of Food Fears*. Translated by JODY GLADDING. (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary His-

tory.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 399. \$29.50.

This cultural history of food safety and policy emphasizes that there was never a golden age when people were in harmony with their food—and quality as well as availability have almost always caused anxieties. But do not be misled by the title: there is nothing about Mad Cow Disease (BSE), the period covered ending in the early twentieth century.

Meat, consistently problematic, is discussed in the early chapters. Long before national legislation, there were local regulations, and it is with the scattered records of these, supplemented by medical and veterinary texts, that Madeleine Ferrières begins. She discusses a southern French town's 1303 charter, which governed the local meat trade. She interprets prohibitions on goat in terms of Galenic traditions, according to which goat meat was "hot," creating tendency toward fever. As for sheep, cattle, and pigs, meat from diseased animals was banned. Sheep were to be examined before slaughter, and cattle afterwards, but pigs needed ante and postmortem inspections to check for "pig leprosy." Stricter municipal regulation predominated in Mediterranean towns while regulation by trade guilds was common in the North. Guilds existed to protect their members but were also concerned with the quality of goods. Some features were common everywhere, such as the requirement for animals to walk into town for slaughter. Consumers were *zoophagus*, preferring to recognize the animal they devoured.

In discussing the "birth of the consumer," Ferrières notes that urban meat consumption was surprisingly high in fifteenth-century Germany (over 100 kg per head, dropping to 14 kg by the eighteenth century, with bread consumption increasing). But there were two classes of consumer: the richer patronized butcher shops selling quality meats, while others bought goat, sow, bull, and ram at stalls. The rural diet was inferior, relying on salted meat, but Galenic theory regarded coarse food as suitable for physical labor.

Apart from regulations, the five senses were central to the preservation of confidence. Ferrières contrasts the suspicions of urban dwellers about the content of meat pastries with their enthusiasm for garden produce. Color was an indicator of freshness, and certain colors were favored, such as white bread. Ferrières again attempts an explanation in terms of humoral theory, finding a text suggesting white foods counteracted an excess of black bile. Likewise, she invokes humoral theory in explaining the popularity of spices (cold, dry beef could be balanced by boiling with hot spices) and negative attitudes toward potatoes (plants grown in cold, humid soil engendered phlegm).

In discussing animal disease control, Ferrières argues that the Cartesian emphasis on human/animal differences made "stamping out" policies, introduced between 1711 and 1770 in response to rinderpest, an acceptable strategy. Yet Galenic ideas also still held sway with many advisors, who thought fear itself could

cause disease and emphasized the need to reassure the population that rinderpest only affected cattle. As for anthrax, the animal-human connection was well known, and the causes were intensively investigated during the Enlightenment. But rural inhabitants resisted the conclusions of Parisian experts that diseased meat was dangerous. During much of the nineteenth century, the political power of the peasantry, costs of compensation, commercial liberalism, and the retreat from contagionism led to relaxation of animal disease controls.

Increasing emphasis on air quality in disease causation relegated food to a secondary factor, illustrated by the relocation of slaughtering to the outskirts of towns after the opening of the Paris slaughterhouse in 1810. Meat inspection at the slaughterhouses was instituted but standards were lax. The formation of consensus and effective action regarding links between diseased meat and human tuberculosis, proposed in the 1860s, took decades to accomplish. Ferrières also argues that during the nineteenth century the new nutritional science of Justus Liebig and others, which analyzed foods in terms of nutrients, shattered the principles of Galenic dietetics and encouraged gastronomy among the bourgeoisie. But chemical adulteration also came to the fore, attracting the attention of chemists and doctors and leading to legislation in many countries before 1900.

Finally, Ferrières considers the impact of new phenomena such as long-distance transport, canning, refrigeration, food advertising and labeling, and changes in consumer behavior and the roles of government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This period, when consumers became *sarcophagus*, she regards as a turning point. Consumers' senses became less important in assessing the safety of foodstuffs, while relationships with retailers, and government interventions, became more so.

This is an original and useful book. It covers a lot of ground, is sometimes racy and not completely convincing, but is always thought provoking. However, one wonders how some errors have crept in and whether there are others less easy to spot. For example, René Descartes' *Treatise of Man* was "published posthumously in 1633" (p. 187), although he died in 1650, and Frédéric Accum, instead of leading a crusade against food adulteration in Britain, was "accused of having sold as fresh teas used tea leaves" (p. 277).

DAVID F. SMITH
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JOYCE D. GOODFRIEND, editor. *Revisiting New Netherland: Perspectives on Early Dutch America*. (The Atlantic World: Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500–1830, number 4.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xiii, 345. \$179.00.

This collection of essays, edited by Joyce D. Goodfriend, invites readers to consider an earlier scholarly visit made to New Netherland studies in 1988: *Colonial Dutch Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, edited by

Eric Nooter and Patricia U. Bonomi. The series title in which the present book appears situates New Netherland in an Atlantic world and flags the most significant difference between it and its predecessor. Several contributors make the transatlantic connection more strenuously than others. But all recognize that exploring New Netherland (later New York) now requires a concern for regionalism, the transatlantic cultural surroundings of seemingly local political and religious issues, and relationship networks that went well beyond geographical boundaries.

Three of the thirteen writers cross the Atlantic in particularly effective ways, each making extensive use of seventeenth-century Dutch sources. Willem Frijhoff, in "Neglected Networks: Director Willem Kieft (1602–1647) and His Dutch Relatives," takes a seemingly dull genealogical subject and makes it especially engaging. In part, he achieves this by presenting his research as a process of discovery. Thus readers accompany him as his research in Holland's records help him answer why Kieft was appointed as director of New Netherland by the West India Company when, in its generally accepted histories, he was such an egregious failure. Frijhoff is among the few essayists here openly reflective about the task of writing history. Thus, Kieft's densely tangled friendship networks are like other linkages in the past: "once you are ready to see them, they become self-evident and appear to play an overwhelming role" (p. 156).

Using Dutch archives extensively, Jaap Jacobs, in "Like Father, Like Son? The Early Years of Petrus Stuyvesant," carefully reconstructs Petrus's father's career as a minister in Friesland obedient to Calvinist orthodoxies but uneasy under the church's directives. Petrus's signing on with the West India Company flowed from religious motives but also testified to his "deference to authority" (p. 236). Wim Klooster's essay, "The Place of the New Netherland in the West India Company's Grand Scheme," features a trading company intent on functioning as a maritime war machine (pitted against the Iberian powers) and far less interested in colonization or, indeed, New Netherland. While this interpretation is not entirely original, Klooster handles contemporary pamphlet material and other sources deftly, drawing valuable distinctions between seventeenth-century colonialism and mercantile expansion.

The essays of Richard Waldron ("New Sweden: An Interpretation") and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke ("The Walloon and Huguenot Elements in New Netherland and Seventeenth-Century New York: Identity, History and Memory") are skillful but lack the creative drive of Frijhoff, Jacobs, and Klooster. Waldron's study has the merit of honesty—except for several local factors, he writes, it was surprising that, until 1655, "New Sweden survived at all"—but that same merit denies him an intriguing story (p. 81). Van Ruymbeke considers the debates over Belgian versus Dutch origins of New Amsterdam but overextends a discussion of semantic distinctions, delaying the story of the "premier . . . [and]

second Refuge" of these exiles to the New World (p. 47).

Both David William Voorhees and Charles Gehring offer updates of the recent work of New Netherland scholars, with Voorhees postulating paths forward in "Tying the Loose Ends Together: Putting New Netherland Studies on a Par with the Study of Other Regions." Among other things, he raises questions about creolization and the degree to which a continually changing identity and culture made Dutch regionally distinctive. Gehring updates his 1988 essay in "A Survey of Documents Relating to the History of New Netherland," specifically citing the New Netherland Institute's recent translations (and thus new research possibilities).

Simon Middleton and Dennis J. Maika support each other's work in "Joris Dopzen's Hog and Other Stories: Artisans and the Making of New Amsterdam" and "Securing the Burgher Right in New Amsterdam: The Struggle for Municipal Citizenship in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World." Middleton's New Amsterdam is a place where policies of compromise resulted in a civic-minded citizenry. Maika finds that with such protocols as the burgher right, New Amsterdammers consciously endowed themselves with a sense of order and security. Yet New Amsterdam was the city that Annette Stott, in "Inventing Memory: Picturing New Netherland in the Nineteenth Century," finds to have so completely disappeared architecturally that its nineteenth-century visual repertoire arose as much from "imagination . . . [invented] memory and . . . [contemporary] Dutch art as from real buildings" (p. 26).

Goodfriend, the volume's editor, emphasizes themes joining most of these essays. Many contributors, for example, regret that New Netherland's story has been left out of the United States' metanarrative, even left out of colonial gender or legal studies. To that extent, the volume is diagnostic, seeking to locate a (self-inflicted?) illness and prescribing possible cures. Harry Macy, Jr.'s "The State of New Netherland Genealogical Research—2001" summons scholars to take genealogical study more seriously, pointing, for example, to the greater availability of Amsterdam notarial records. Firth Haring Fabend's "Sex and the City: Relations between Men and Women in New Netherland" suggests greater attention to the social organization of those relationships and champions Karen Kupperman's call for the adoption of "analytical categories that transfer across colonial boundaries" (p. 268). Generally, however, scholars looking for such categories (or theorizing them) will not find them here.

DONNA MERWICK

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LINDA B. HALL. *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 366. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The ubiquitous presence of Mary, virgin and mother, in the cultures of the Hispanic world has long been a

source of wide-ranging reactions, from the wonder and reverence of traditional Catholicism to the ironic dismissiveness of liberal Protestantism, from the bewildered curiosity of modern secularism to the animosity of militant feminism. Linda B. Hall wisely treads a middle path between these perspectives, but her book is by no means a dispassionate account. The author acknowledges her Protestant upbringing and the consequent "meek and mild" notion of the Virgin that was transmitted to her; yet she emphasizes that throughout the Hispanic world Mary is more often seen as an "active, effective, legitimizing" force (p. 16), whose perceived power functions as a dynamic source of empowerment to her devotees, both male and female.

The book is therefore an attempt to strike a balance between conflicting notions from a perspective that is as scholarly and serene as it is sympathetic and engaged. The result is especially impressive in its range and comprehensiveness, covering a thousand years of Marian history, from the Christian *reconquista* in medieval Spain through to the present day. In the process Mary's attributes range from a universal earth goddess to a commander of armies, an admiral of the seas, a national heroine in a myriad of different guises, and even a street fighter in contemporary Chicano communities in the United States. Hall is adamant that these different attributes of the Virgin will never be adequately understood if seen only as statues, paintings, tapestries, or other forms of cultural manifestation. Rather, she argues, they should be seen as living images with which the faithful constantly interact: as effective channels, in other words, between the human and the divine.

At no point, however, does the reader get the impression that this guiding principle is the result of a pious or a naïve sort of optimism. In fact, it stems clearly from a sophisticated understanding of the cultural impact of a fundamental and surprisingly fertile theological principle. Although this principle has often been exaggerated and misunderstood, it has nonetheless always been at the heart of the Christian tradition. It is the result of the conviction that if the mystery of the Incarnation entails the affirmation of the goodness of creation, and the consequent need of human engagement in the world, it necessarily follows that the role of Mary is absolutely central to it. Indeed, the mystery believed to have taken place in her womb would actually come to be understood as the one and only channel through which the very life of God could be communicated to the world. For although the "seed" that God the Father was believed to have deposited in Mary's womb by the power of the Holy Spirit was in no way part of Mary's substance, it was, nevertheless, nourished exclusively by her. Moreover, this surrender of Mary's bodily substance had taken place beforehand in her spirit, which in full self-surrender had given itself to her son, who was also her God. Thus, Mary came to be perceived as so deeply implicated in the mystery of the Incarnation that, by her plain, unadorned "yes"—her fiat—all the Old Testament faith and obedience, from

Abraham onward, were seen as summarized and fulfilled in her.

Furthermore, in bearing the Messiah, Mary would come to be understood as embodying in herself not only the entire faith of the Old Testament but also everything that had been experienced in Israel's history as a painful hoping and waiting, for the mysterious dialogue within the one substance during the nine months of Mary's pregnancy did not come to an end with the birth. Christ, in other words, was not only the fruit of Mary's body but also of her faith and love. This would inevitably lead Mary to the cross, a kind of spiritual desert that had so evocatively been predicted by Simeon in the image of the sword that would pierce her heart (Luke 2.35), a desert in which she could only accompany Christ through her silent and distant prayer. Thus, although the *Mater Dolorosa* did not suffer the physical torments of Christ on the cross, she soon came to be perceived as sharing deeply—more profoundly, in fact, than any sinner ever could—in Christ's unbearable pain of *godforsakenness*.

Hall's book is not, of course, a work of systematic Marian theology, but it succeeds admirably in visiting the whole gamut of Marian manifestations across the Hispanic world with an instinct worthy of the best anthropologist studying, understanding, and coming to share in her subject matter. We have long needed a book like this. It will surely go well beyond Hall's rather modest hope that it might provide "a beginning to discussions and understandings" (p. 16).

FERNANDO CERVANTES
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DENNIS REINHARTZ and GERALD D. SAXON, editors. *Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 204. \$34.95.

This book provides an important and detailed account of the various cartographic histories of Spain's northern frontier in the Americas, which would later become the U.S. Southwest. Edited by Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon, it consists of six substantive essays by scholars with expertise in cartographic history. Mining the impressive map collection at the University of Texas at Arlington's Center for Greater Southwestern Studies, these essays provide an impressive overview of the maps produced by soldier-engineers from the earliest period of Spanish maritime exploration through the era following the U.S.-Mexican war.

The introduction by Richard V. Francaviglia lays out the key parameters of the volume, namely the focus on the role of the military, rather than the church or state, in expansion and mapping. As the title suggests, mapping and empire went hand in hand as various governments sought to make *terra incognita* legible and assert their claims over vast, sparsely populated territories. Francaviglia points to the devastating consequences for native people who "bore the brunt of expansion" (p. xvi), but the essays in the volume do little to examine

these conflicts or to explore the alternative mappings that native people had of their homelands. The summary of the chapters provided in the introduction helps to situate the reader and highlight some of the main arguments but does not provide an analytical framework that could have helped bring all of the essays into conversation with one another.

Half of the book addresses mapping done on behalf of the Spanish crown on their northern frontier in the Americas, begging the question as to why the title refers exclusively to the "Southwest Frontier." W. Michael Mathes's essay, "Spanish Maritime Charting of the Gulf of Mexico and the California Coast," provides a detailed account of the extensive mapping of coastlines by the Spanish, arguing that these maps were generally not made public to protect these territories from challenges by European rivals. Through espionage and treason, however, Spanish maps eventually made their way into the hands of British, French, and Dutch explorers who entered "Spanish territory with impunity" by the eighteenth century (p. 3). David Buisseret's chapter on "Spanish Military Engineers in the New World Before 1750" traces the fascinating history of engineering and fort architecture, showing how the use of Italian engineers gave way to a specialized corps of engineers in the Spanish Army by the late seventeenth century. The story of the Italian engineer Leonardo Torriani (ca. 1559–1628), who worked in Prague, then mapped the Canary Islands for Spain, and finally became a royal architect for Portugal, is emblematic of the cosmopolitan trajectories of this newly emerging professional class. Torriani's tantalizing map of the Canary Islands with an image of a crab superimposed, printed in a luxurious color glossy reproduction, left me wanting more visual analysis. The author briefly mentions that Torriani wrote a narrative describing the indigenous inhabitants of the island at the moment of their destruction, but he does not examine how this engineer's views of the natives may have influenced his idiosyncratic visual depiction of the islands. There seems to be more here than meets the eye.

The chapter by Ralph E. Ehrenberg on "U.S. Army Military Mapping of the American Southwest during the Nineteenth Century" highlights the ways in which scientific map making techniques were introduced to produce accurate topographical maps. More surprising and intriguing are the brief mentions of how Native Americans influenced and helped in the mapmaking enterprise. For example, Lieutenant James W. Abert held a council with a Kiowa band to determine the veracity of a map that had in turn been based on the knowledge of a Kiowa elder, Tai-kai-buhl (pp. 93–94). The reliance on Indian informants suggests a complicated interplay of "science" and local Native American knowledge in constructing these modern images of the U.S. Southwest. Some of the mapmakers implicitly acknowledged the importance and primacy of Spanish and Native American claims to these territories by retaining local (mostly Spanish) names, and even reintroducing Indian names such as "Goo-al-pah," the Co-

manche and Kiowa name for the Canadian River (p. 94).

Although most of the maps discussed in this book ultimately served the purpose of expanding empire into uncharted territories, some maps had a more explicitly military purpose. The chapter by Saxon on Henry Washington Benham's maps of northern Mexico provide a perfect example of how cartographers can serve the interests of an invading army. The engineer Benham worked alongside General Zachary Taylor during his invasion of Mexico in 1846–1847. One "itinerary" map of Taylor's march from Victoria to Agua Nueva provides detailed depictions of "towns, cities, ranches, churches, and other cultural features, as well as natural features such as rivers, streams, hills and mountains" (p. 143). Saxon argues that these kinds of maps were "critically important to General Taylor because reliable information of the geography and topography of the region was virtually unknown to the U.S. Army" (p. 143). Not only did such maps allow the army to plot strategy and troop movements, but these cultural and natural resource maps of Mexico made the country accessible to potential investors. Although these map-making engineers clearly played a support role in the war with Mexico, Saxon credits them with the U.S. victory against a "numerically superior enemy fighting on its own soil" (p. 151).

Paula Rebert argues that the engineers of the Mexican Boundary Commission have been denied their rightful place in history due to neglect by Mexican historians and because the dismissive words of the U.S. Boundary Commissioner have been taken at face value. She describes the important role that the Mexican Commission played, and notes several occasions when original Mexican surveys and maps were used by U.S. cartographers as the basis for their maps. Rather than attributing the incompleteness of the Mexican Commission's work to incompetence or lack of diligence, Rebert points to political instability in Mexico and the commission's loss of financial support. The significance of her essay lies not simply in documenting the valor and scientific rigor with which the Mexican engineers comported themselves but also in exposing the ways in which the role of the Mexican engineers has been distorted and minimized by subsequent historians.

The volume ends with a concluding chapter by John R. Hébert, subtitled "An Afterthought" (p. 185). This brief essay summarizes the proceeding chapters but does little to advance the analysis. His conclusions that these engineer-soldiers "provided a more detailed, more precise, and more lasting image of the Southwestern Frontier" (p. 185), and that their sponsors sought to "more fully define territorial holdings and to more effectively hold onto those lands" (p. 189), seem underwhelming. To his credit, Hébert notes the important role of the Native American population to the "understanding of the Southwestern Frontier," but he states "that would be a topic of another work and not this one" (p. 186). There are intriguing nuggets throughout this volume that should inspire others to explore further the

role of maps and mapmaking in the construction of empire. This volume provides a very useful starting place, tracing in great detail the work of soldier-engineers.

ELLIOTT YOUNG

Lewis and Clark College

FRANK LAMBERT. *The Barbary Wars: American Independence in the Atlantic World*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2005. Pp. 228. \$24.00.

The Barbary wars have become a hot topic. The last two years have seen publication of at least five books of varying sophistication on the subject of the United States' relations with North Africa, not including two recent biographies of Stephen Decatur, the great hero of these wars. These studies continue to be relevant due to their obvious connection to present-day concerns with Islamic terrorism. But they also reflect historians' current interest in cultural encounters, imperialism, and, more particularly, orientalism.

Frank Lambert's book provides a lively and detailed chronology of the conflicts between the United States and Morocco, Algiers, and Tripoli from 1784 to 1816, and it ought to be the starting point for anyone interested in these events for years to come. However, it may also prove frustrating to those readers interested in engaging with the issue of cultural conflict. Lambert's thesis is that economics rather than religion was the crucial issue, or, as he puts it, "the Barbary Wars were primarily about trade, not theology, and that rather than being holy wars, they were an extension of America's War of Independence" (p. 8).

The first chapter offers useful background on North Africa as well as a discussion of the postrevolutionary American economy and military. The next two chapters focus on the crisis of 1785–1796, during which Algerian "pirates" captured thirteen American ships and held well over 100 American sailors as "slaves." In the process, Algiers practically paralyzed America's promising Mediterranean trade, due to fear of further captures and the high insurance rates resulting from the elevated risk. The conflict continued for nearly twelve years, and, when the resolution finally came, it proved almost as disturbing as the crisis itself. The United States agreed to pay \$600,000 to ransom the captives and to buy peace with Algiers. The new nation would soon negotiate similar, but less costly treaties with the other Barbary powers, bringing the total cost of peace to \$1.25 million or twenty percent of the federal government's annual budget (p. 93). Far from being fully independent, the United States was now "tributary to the Barbary states."

The final three chapters focus on the Tripolitan War of 1801–1805 and its aftermath. Best known for its place in the Marine's Hymn and for the heroism of Decatur, this conflict was the "war to end America's tributary status in the Mediterranean" (p. 125), and its aftermath provoked much party squabbling, primarily over how and to what extent to protect America's commercial interests and to insure the new nation's ability to trade freely with others. As Lambert notes, these concerns

were hardly limited to the encounter with Barbary; even more seriously, continuing British interference with American shipping would ultimately push the United States into another far more dangerous conflict in 1812. During that war, the Algerians, apparently with British support, once again obstructed American shipping and captured yet another American merchant ship and its crew. As soon as the War of 1812 ended, President James Madison sent a naval squadron to Algiers to free those captives and to end once and for all Barbary's interference with American shipping. In a sense this action marked the end of the new nation's struggle for independence, but as Lambert observes, it also marked the end of Barbary independence. No longer able to prey on vulnerable nations' shipping while playing warring European superpowers off of one another, the North African states would slide into economic irrelevance, soon to become dependent European colonies.

Sandwiched between the sections on the Algerian crisis and the Tripolitan War is a short chapter on the "cultural construction of the Barbary Pirates" in which Lambert examines some literary representations of the North Africans. For Americans, "the contrast [with North Africa] was not simply Christianity versus Islam," he writes; "rather, Americans made religious freedom the fulcrum of comparison" (p. 113). According to Lambert, Americans viewed Islam, with its alleged "submissiveness to Allah" and lack of religious toleration, as the source of Barbary tyranny (p. 107). Lambert concludes that this tyranny rather than Islam per se was what really bothered postrevolutionary Americans, who were strongly influenced by the republican rhetoric of liberty versus tyranny and freedom versus slavery. The freedom with which they were most concerned, he argues, was "free trade," a term that Lambert never fully defines but which he seems to understand as the freedom to trade with whom one wants without being constrained by mercantile restrictions or piratical depredations. There is undoubtedly much truth to this thesis; however, Lambert's implied dichotomy of economic versus cultural causation seems a bit simplistic. Scholars of European-Native American contact have done a good job of showing how differing cultural constructions of trade caused friction between conquerors and indigenous people, and a similar dynamic appears to have been at play in Barbary where what was "piracy" to Americans was merely business to North Africans.

While it would have been interesting to see Lambert dig deeper into such cultural issues, he has nevertheless produced an excellent volume that will be useful to anyone looking for a succinct, scholarly introduction to America's conflict with Barbary.

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BRUCE VANDERVORT. *Indian Wars of Mexico, Canada, and the United States, 1812–1900*. (Warfare and History.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. xvii, 337. \$34.00.

In this thoughtful and well-crafted book, Bruce Vandervort focuses mainly on American Indian wars in the region west of the Appalachian Mountains from the War of 1812 to the end of the nineteenth century. Attention to Mexico and Canada is, in comparison, limited, and its findings stated with less confidence, but Vandervort writes in some detail about the second Seminole War, 1835–1842, in Florida—east of the Appalachian chain. The latter was a struggle that created a host of problems for the American military and, he argues, was the longest Indian war in the United States.

The author maintains that the Indian wars were "an integral part of a global pattern of imperial conflict" (p. 19). Although the argument for imperial conflict in North America is unconvincing, one of the many great strengths of the book is that Vandervort places the Indian wars in wide perspective, comparing them with military confrontations elsewhere in the world. In the United States, however, imperial designs of the government played no significant role in the ultimate defeat of western Indians. Indeed, government troops sometimes, as in the case in Indian Territory, moved to protect Native Americans from whites. Moreover, westward-moving pioneers overran the West with such aggressive speed and in numbers large enough that Indian people, at least in the long run, could not compete, even absent larger imperial designs. In other words, with or without government protection or support in the form of a large army, such groups as traders, precious metal miners, railroad builders, farmer-settlers, and others, often carrying diseases to which Indian people had little or no immunity, brushed Native Americans aside. Indian people fought hard and well, as Vandervort shows, and they often gave the army and its soldiers more than the U.S. military (or the Canadian or the Mexican armies) could handle, but, again, in the United States Anglo population numbers alone meant that Indian people, without government support and treaty guarantees, had no chance to hold on to their large domains. Contemporaries knew it; cattlemen especially understood it, and thus many of them for selfish reasons, such as grazing opportunities, supported Indian efforts to preserve Native American lands.

Another strong aspect of the book is Vandervort's attention to military doctrine, tactics, organization, and motives. No mere recitation of campaigns and battles, the book takes a broad look at strategy (offensive and defensive), logistics, and the ethos of war for both Indians and the American army.

Yet a third strength is Vandervort's knowledge and use of the most recent scholarship to challenge older views or the best previous common wisdom of events associated with Indian wars in North America. While the book can hardly be considered a revisionist account, its author has nonetheless incorporated modern interpretations and by doing so offers new and different opinions about western warfare.

The book is written in a pleasing, engaging style. The research and scholarship is impressive, and the maps are numerous and helpful. There is much that is useful

in the book, especially Vandervort's efforts to see western warfare from an Indian perspective.

This exceptional study is marred only by a number of minor errors: 1869, not 1867, for completion of the first transcontinental railroad across the United States (p. 18); Big Spring, not Big Springs, on the Colorado River (p. 161). One might also wish that the author had paid closer attention to chronology and, for example, discussed the so-called uprising in Minnesota (1862) and the Cheyenne-Arapahoe War (1864–1865) before the Red River War (1874–1875) in the Texas Panhandle.

Clearly, however, it is a splendid book, one that should find plenty of use as good reading or as classroom instruction.

PAUL H. CARLSON
Texas Tech University

AXEL W. O. SCHMIDT. *Der rothe Doktor von Chicago—ein deutsch-amerikanisches Auswandererschicksal: Biographie des Dr. Ernst Schmidt, 1830–1900, Arzt und sozialrevolutionär*. New York: Peter Lang. 2003. Pp. 602. \$108.95.

ANSGAR REIß. *Radikalismus und Exil: Gustav Struve und die Demokratie in Deutschland und Amerika*. (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 15.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2004. Pp. 501. €68.00.

Two German-language entries add to the historiography of the Forty-Eighters—the revolutionaries who chose American exile after the failed European uprisings of 1848. Both examine the Forty-Eighters through the lives of individual men and illustrate in compelling detail what has long been a standard narrative: émigré Forty-Eighters, many of whom abandoned careers in law or journalism, hoped to have an impact on the American political scene—an effort that culminated for many in their participation in the Civil War—and to reignite the revolutionary spark in Europe from afar. Some returned to Germany as soon as conditions there allowed, while others lived out their lives in America.

Gustav Struve, the subject of Ansgar Reiß's book, represents a Forty-Eighter of the first category. Forty-three years of age in 1848, Struve was an important agitator during the period leading up to the revolution. An ardent follower of phrenology and vegetarianism, Struve was barred from teaching law because of his politics and became a rabble-rousing journalist noted and occasionally jailed for accusing high public officials—including Klemens von Metternich—of betraying their constitutions. During the revolution, he led two failed armed uprisings, including the "Struveputsch," and served additional prison time. Two of his attorneys of this period, Friedrich Hecker and Lorenz Brentano, were themselves Forty-Eighters of significance. It is telling that Struve, who emerges as an idiosyncratic and at times embittered figure, quickly fell out with these men following brief periods of political collaboration.

En route to America, Struve spent time in England where—again, tellingly—he drew the ridicule of Karl

Marx, who saw in him a self-important bourgeois revolutionary, the very failure of whose revolution remained his only *raison d'être*. Despite the mean-spirited nature of the attacks cited in the book's excellent footnotes, the essence of Marx's criticism seems justified; like many Forty-Eighters, Struve clung hopelessly to the belief that the principles of the revolution would prevail in Germany, a goal toward which he, for one, continued agitating from a distinctly middle-class perspective.

Struve's American exile from 1851 to 1863, spent mainly in the New York area, was characterized by new public feuds, including venomous exchanges in print with several erstwhile allies. His hodgepodge ideology—Reiß refers to it as a "self-tinkered philosophy" (p. 57)—demanded of the public that it prove its collective virtue and maturity by dedicating itself to the overthrow of all institutions of oppression and the creation of a true republic. Europe's public having temporarily failed to show such readiness, it was America's paradox that its public, too, although having achieved a revolution, a republic, and a liberal constitution, lacked the will to intervene in the world's affairs toward progressive, liberal ends.

Disappointed, Struve adopted the role of revolutionary-as-public-intellectual. He published in the thriving German ethnic press, held lectures, organized ethnic associations and, increasingly, dedicated himself to the completion of a nine-volume world history. During the Civil War, he campaigned first for Abraham Lincoln, then for John Frémont, and at age fifty-five he joined New York's Eighth Regiment (the "Steuben Regiment"). Upon the sudden death of his wife and a simultaneous amnesty for all 1848 revolutionaries in his home state of Baden, Struve returned to Germany in 1863, where he died soon thereafter.

Ernst Schmidt, the "red doctor" of Chicago, represents a later generation of Forty-Eighter and a stream within the diaspora more dedicated to working-class politics. Only eighteen years old in 1848, he was forced into exile in Switzerland, then emigrated to the United States in 1857. By the time of Struve's departure from America, in 1863, Schmidt's lifelong exile had only just begun. Schmidt also volunteered for the Civil War and, like Struve, became active in his local German ethnic community. He ran as a Socialist Labor Party candidate in Chicago's mayoral election of 1879, intentionally spoiling the race for Republican candidate A.W. Wright in favor of Democrat Carter Harrison. Schmidt's strong showing in working-class German wards indicates the bond he had forged with the city's German proletariat. Well connected, he counted many of Chicago's upper crust among his well-heeled patients while providing free medical care for the poor. He spoke frequently at workers' meetings and was involved in the publication of a number of radical journals, yet he remained socially unassailable until he became chairman of the defense committee of the eight anarchists accused in Chicago's 1886 Haymarket bombing. Risking social ostracism, Schmidt secured his place in

American labor history as an indefatigable behind-the-scenes player in the anarchists' doomed defense.

Like Struve, Schmidt became disillusioned with America, pronouncing the Haymarket verdicts a worse miscarriage of justice than the postrevolutionary executions of hundreds of Prussian Forty-Eighters. Even Otto von Bismarck found, Schmidt wrote, that Americans treated their radicals more harshly than Germans. One of the achievements of these two biographies is that they show, in this as in many other instances, Forty-Eighters' persistent interpretation of ongoing issues in light of the historical events of 1848 and their repercussions. While this is often argued, it is rarely shown as clearly, largely in the exiles' own words.

Despite the occasionally striking similarities between the rhetoric of Struve and Schmidt, their biographies make a further contribution by reminding us of the differences among men of this generation and cautioning us that a monolithic treatment of the Forty-Eighters does an injustice to the nuanced ways in which they engaged issues such as nationalism, working-class politics, and the experience of exile. We are reminded of just how distinct these men were by the fact that it was upon the advice of yet another famous Forty-Eighter turned conservative, Gustav Körner, that Illinois Governor Richard Oglesby decided not to pardon the Haymarket eight despite thousands of pleas for clemency presented by Schmidt's defense team.

So the paradox of this generation remains along with questions these two books leave unanswered. Reiß acknowledges but does not sufficiently engage the troubling racism underlying Struve's philosophy, nor does he dig deeply enough into the possibility that Struve's reliance on the pseudo-science of phrenology may cast doubt on the validity of his philosophical framework from the start. As Reiß concludes, Struve generally elicited annoyance or ridicule among his contemporaries, and one is left wondering as to the actual impact of his life's work. Still, in its effort to embed biography in intellectual history and political theory, Reiß's book succeeds.

The questions for Schmidt's book, the more hagiographical in orientation of the two, are more basic: are the exacting biographical detail and the many digressions necessary, or do they occasionally eclipse what might be larger, more relevant historical questions, such as the "red doctor's" response to the Franco-Prussian War and German unification? These are events the book barely mentions, despite the conflicted responses they must surely have elicited within Schmidt.

Nevertheless, the portraits that emerge of both of these men are richly rendered. Excellent German is required of the reader—especially for Struve's biography, which is dense indeed—but historians of the Forty-Eighters, of ethnic and labor politics during the Civil War and Gilded Age, and of the politics of exile will find their efforts well rewarded.

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JUDITH RAINHORN. *Paris, New York: Des migrants italiens, années 1880-années 1930.* (CNRS Histoire.) Paris: CNRS Editions. 2005. Pp. 233.

Judith Rainhorn has written an innovative, ambitious book. Rainhorn responds to Nancy Green's 1990 call for a comparative history of immigration in *Annales ESC* and contrasts the development of the Italian immigrant community in the peripheral neighborhoods of La Villette in Paris and East Harlem in New York, respectively. The comparative nature of Rainhorn's enterprise required the inspection of archives in Italy, France, and New York, a task rendered more daunting by the longitudinal scope of the study, which moves from the establishment of the two communities around 1880 to their dissolution in the 1930s, and by the author's attention to the history of individual immigrants as well as the community as a whole. The investigation of different national locales over an extended period of time, combined with the fusion of macro and micro-analysis, enables Rainhorn to revise several accepted notions in immigration history, first of all the theory of distinct national models of ethnic integration. Instead of the assimilation of the Italian community in an allegedly universalistic France and its segregation in the United States, Rainhorn finds that the deconstruction of ethnicity took place in both national settings, although in different ways and with different rhythms. Additionally, her painstaking attention to individual histories allows her to reject another established notion—that of the homogeneity of the Italian immigrant community—and to underscore, on the contrary, its internal fragmentation in terms of regional origin, occupation, political orientation, marital status, and geographical mobility.

The body of the book is devoted to the systematic comparison of the two communities along numerous axes. While the Italian community of East Harlem was much more numerous than the one in La Villette, counting over 80,000 members at its apogee compared to the mere few thousands of its French counterpart, both were traversed by internal frontiers neatly separating the early, more settled, wealthier immigrants from the mostly male, single, and unskilled newcomers. Whereas the Italians of East Harlem married strictly within their national group, those of La Villette accepted exogenous unions, possibly due to the fewer opportunities for endogamous marriage offered by their smaller community. Religion separated both Italian communities from the host society, though in different ways: in New York, the dominant Irish Catholic clergy regarded with suspicion the flamboyant public religious expressions of the new immigrants; in Paris, instead, the Catholicism of the Italians conflicted with and was eventually diluted by the anticlericalism of the local working class. In terms of social mobility, the Italians of East Harlem escaped manual labor mostly through small commerce, which was seldom an option in La Villette because of the limited demand for ethnic goods in its smaller Italian community and the higher cost of real

estate. In Paris, the emancipation from industrial labor took place through office or service work, which—another difference—offered opportunities to second-generation Italian women as well as men. Politically, both communities were characterized by a large degree of indifference. In France, however, the state itself put obstacles to the political participation of the immigrant population through a series of restrictive laws lengthening the residence requirement for naturalization and eventually separating naturalization from the acquisition of civil and political rights. While in the United States a naturalized citizen was indistinguishable from one by birth, in France, by 1927, an immigrant who had obtained citizenship was compelled to wait another ten years to be eligible for public elective positions and even employment by the state.

The one exception to the immigrants' political indifference was their response to fascism in Italy. Since the rise of Benito Mussolini was concurrent with the Immigration Law of 1924, which virtually ended Italian immigration to the United States, it was France that received the new wave of political expatriates from Italy. Hence the rise of a marked Italian antifascism in France, but not in the United States, where Italian immigrants felt great ethnic pride in the feats of the new Italian state, especially the creation of a colonial empire in Africa. Ultimately, however, Italian immigrants to the United States sided unanimously with their new country. One million soldiers of Italian origin fought in the U.S. armed forces during World War II, a clear sign of the assimilation of a group that appears to have been more united and resilient than its counterpart on the other side of the Atlantic.

If any criticism can be made of Rainhorn's excellent book, it is that her otherwise commendable desire to reject definite national models of integration of immigrant groups leads her constantly to dilute the strength of her findings through extensive discussions of any exception to broader tendencies and risks making the exception more memorable than the rule. Nonetheless, Rainhorn's study contributes importantly to the new field of comparative immigration studies.

PAOLA GEMME
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MIKAEL HÅARD and ANDREW JAMISON. *Hubris and Hybrids: A Cultural History of Technology and Science*. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xv, 335. \$90.00.

This is a bold book. Rejecting the trend towards increasingly specialist histories of science and technology, Mikael Hård, a German historian of technology and Andrew Jamison, a Swedish scholar from the interdisciplinary field of science and technology studies, have chosen to write a synthetic history covering the period from the founding of modern science in the seventeenth century through to the most recent developments in technology such as the rise of the World Wide Web. Their focus is upon cultural appropriation: namely, how

science and technology are given human meaning in "discursive, institutional and daily practices."

Their goal is to sail between the Scylla of the heroic stories told of genius scientists and inventors conquering ignorance and bringing forth the wonder machines of modern life and the Charybdis of the counternarrative, whether fraudulent scientists spinning false hopes of stem-cell breakthroughs, or the doom and gloom of the current ecological angst, or the megamachine of technology running amuck. Indeed, their source of inspiration can be found in the writings of Lewis Mumford who first introduced the idea of the megamachine and its dangers.

The book starts by retelling the story of a failed English tailor, Gerrard Winstanley, and the Diggers (1648–1649), early communes founded in an egalitarian spirit that became the roots of the modern environmental movement with its narrative of resistance. Indeed, during the 1960s counterculture several of the Californian communes were named after the Diggers. The Ludites, too, were responding to the technology of their day, with some of the first organized protests against the domination of the machine. These early movements gained salience with the industrial revolution and spread in the subsequent centuries providing a variety of societal responses to technology. Modern departments of science and technology studies are only the latest manifestation of a long historical *durée*.

Rather than treating these responses to technology in terms of "social movements," Hård and Jamison perceptively see a set process of cultural appropriations at work that take many different forms. Sometimes, as in ages of technological hubris, when scientists and technologists overreach, the responses can be dramatic—such as the counterculture's reaction to the military-industrial complex and its war machine. They argue that both technological optimists and pessimists have it wrong and, drawing on recent science studies thinkers such as Bruno Latour, they argue that humans and machines are in a relationship of hybridity, and that movements and individuals such as Mumford (described as a hybrid intellectual) who recognize this have found the wisdom to live in a more harmonious relationship with science and technology.

The strength of the book is that it reminds us that the rub of science and technology is always found in its myriad impacts on everyday human life: how time and space were experienced by railway travelers in the nineteenth century; how an obscure German invented the first form of the Jacuzzi in the shape of a round-bottomed bathing tub known as the wavebath, where the bather could create his or her own waves by rocking backwards and forwards; and how Norwegian philosopher of science Arne Naess (Scandinavia's answer to Paul Feyerabend complete with his own slogan, "deep ecology") turned from philosophy to environmental protest in the 1970s in opposition to the building of a large hydroelectric dam on the River Alta in Norway.

The idea that the personal is political comes home to roost with science and technology. Modern life, as the

Luddites, Karl Marx, Charlie Chaplin, and Mumford were all too well aware, is conducted in choreography with machines. The personal today is technological, whether the cell phone, the internet, or the heart pacemaker. Technology and science shape our lives, discipline our minds and provide us with ever new experiences and fantasies of life and death. A mirror to such cultural appropriations is to be found in the representation of science and technology in movies, and the authors devote one chapter to analyzing such material.

This book provides a welcome balance to the familiar focus on U.S. and British stories of technology. Scandinavia and Germany take center stage, and there is a welcome chapter on Japan, China, and India. We learn, for instance, about the unique Swedish response to modernity. This, too, had its moments of hubris. The Swedish state with its combination of pragmatism and social democratic bureaucratic institutions remarkably carried the discredited racial hygiene policies of eugenics and sterilization through into the 1970s.

Given the sweep of the book, it is no surprise that in places the writing and coverage are uneven. Several chapters have already appeared as articles. This is a book to dip into and parts can be usefully assigned for teaching. The focus upon cultural assimilation and appropriation means that less attention is paid to the technical details of technologies. This is somewhat dissatisfying, as the technical details are often the carriers of the most subtle social meanings. The heroic narrative, if it did nothing else, made technology and science come alive. Certainly hubris needs to be tempered, and hybrids are everywhere. But hybridity, if not handled with care, soon becomes an empty concept. If hybridity and states of hybridity mean just bringing different things together, as it seems to become for these authors, we never have anything upon which to rest the lever of an explanation. All we get are more and more hybrids, and history becomes a smorgasbord. A smidgeon of hubris is always needed to bring the history of technology alive.

TREVOR PINCH
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JOAN W. SCOTT and DEBRA KEATES, editors. *Going Public: Feminism and the Shifting Boundaries of the Private Sphere*. Urbana and Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 406. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

Decades of feminist scholarship have revealed the concept of two separately gendered public and private spheres of life to be a historical fiction that failed to describe social reality. As historians have shown, social life was never clearly demarcated between a public, male world of politics and economic activity and a private, female sphere of intimate, domestic life. At the same time, the discourse of separately gendered spheres has held tremendous power to shape social behavior, influencing the parameters of citizenship and the nature of rights in Western liberal democratic theory and practice. The same distinction has profoundly

influenced the opportunities and rights of men and women in Western economies and has served as the basis of state policies, leading to strong disagreements among feminists about the boundaries of public and private and their practical, policy implications for women's rights and opportunities. For example, although historically, and in the present, some feminists have argued for state intervention to insure equal treatment in employment, to provide maternity leaves, or to reimburse women's care work, others have argued that the state has no place interfering in the private realm to curb women's reproductive choice.

These fifteen essays by prominent feminist historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and literary theorists, address issues such as these and demonstrate the complexity and instability of the meanings of public and private in settings as diverse as Thailand, India, France, China, Iran, and Sudan. An opening essay by Denise Riley points to the permeability and blurriness of public/private, outside/inside distinction and suggests alternative formulations. Part one addresses how the private has infused the public and thereby eroded the boundaries between the two spheres. Wendy Brown examines the relationship between equality and tolerance in liberal thinking by exploring the framing of women's status in terms of "equality," and the status of Jews in terms of "tolerance," in nineteenth-century France. The definition of Jews as a race rather than as a distinct community allowed them to be assimilated as citizens into the French nation within a regulatory framework of tolerance; women in contrast were sexed and thus irrevocably different. Afsaneh Najmabadi investigates another way in which the private—sexuality—infused the public in the historical process of Iranian nation building, and examines the displacement of male homoeroticism in favor of public heterosexuality for men and women as part of the modernizing project of Iranian society. Rosalind C. Morris similarly addresses how private sexual behavior became public in showing how prostitution and political corruption have transgressed the social order of these allegedly distinct domains in Thailand. Prostitution, embodying the commodification (public) of sex and love (private domesticity) produced anxiety about the distinction between "private truth and public performance" (p. 87). Corruption has complicated the distinctions between public political life and the private ties and interpersonal relations on which it (corruption) is based. Melissa Wright presents the fascinating results of her ethnography of an American company in China to show how, in the interests of efficiency and increasing production, employers managed women's "disposability" by regulating women's sexuality and reproduction, obliterating any real distinction between public and private realms.

Part two examines the role of the state and law in recognizing and legitimating the private domain of kinship and sexuality. Judith Butler examines the meanings of kinship in debates over gay marriage. As Butler writes, the idea that marriage should be the only way of

legitimizing sexual relations, organizing health care benefits, or inheritance for same-sex couples assumes that only states can confer legitimacy on intimate, private relations (p. 130). Zakia Pathak examines how the Indian judiciary made modern, professional Indian women's private lives the objects of public investigation but also gave women an opportunity for more control over their lives. Rayna Rapp and Faye Ginsburg examine the "public intimacy" associated with interactions among parents of disabled children and ask about the reconceptualization of kinship and inclusion they generate. Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf's ethnographic study of African female genital circumcision suggests that Western feminist views of this practice as the product of patriarchal social relations ignore the role of African women in its social reproduction. Co-editor Joan W. Scott examines how the recent French law legitimizing civil unions provoked a debate over the nature of the family and the right of homosexual couples to be parents, by refusing to incorporate the right of adoption into the law and by refusing to consider homoparental couples as "families." Scott argues that the historical evolution of the normative, legal arrangements governing the family shows tremendous mutability over time, in contrast to social observers' and jurists' claims about the supposed stability and universality of family forms. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century debates over the reform of legislation governing paternity suits show how feminists split over the question of recognition and support. Contemporary debate about the homoparental family, Scott argues, reflects social anxiety about the decline of allegedly "traditional" family structures and the corresponding desire to hide the social, cultural, and linguistic constructedness of sexuality.

The essays in part three consider scholarly conceptualizations of the public/private paradigm. Eric Fassin traces the limits of social scientific definitions of kinship that are themselves ways of deploying knowledge and power, and stresses the theoretical indeterminacy of "the family." He suggests, "we ought to replace the analysis of definitions with the study of usages" (p. 256), a practice Susan Gal takes up in her excellent essay on how the public/private dichotomy functions as a form of communication and has assumed different meanings of public and private in different historical and cultural contexts. Drawing on ethnographic work on postcommunist Eastern Central Europe, she shows how these different meanings can be explained. Peggy Watson's examination of the worsening of women's condition in former Eastern Bloc countries under democratization shows how privatization and marketization have facilitated the masculinization of politics, citizenship, and economic rights. Civil society discourse, central to the Western conceptualization of democratization, Watson argues, fails to encapsulate the new process of political differentiation and emerging conditionality of rights in the East. Gail Hershtatter argues that even though the concept of the "private sphere" did not mean the same in China as in the West, during over a century of revolutionary change, the meanings of public and private

were renegotiated. By the 1990s, equality between women and men was presumed to be a formal characteristic of the public political realm, but not of the public economic domain. In part four, Ellen Rooney considers the "semiprivate room" as a metaphor for those spaces that do not fall neatly into either the public or the private. Miglena Nikolchina develops this investigation further in her examination of "the seminar" that emerged as a form of opposition to the communist regime in Bulgaria, as an example of an institution that was neither public nor private.

These thoroughly original, critical essays confirm the instability and shifting meanings of public and private and the blurriness of their boundaries across time and cultures. But more than that, they move understanding of the public/private paradigm to an entirely new level, illustrating how, more than merely "categories," public and private are means of communicating and of enforcing ideology. Although their intersection and complementarily occasionally challenge the volume's four-part division, historians will find them provocative, stimulating, and enormously suggestive for theorizing historical research on gender, kinship, the law, and much else.

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ASIA

ANNE BEHNKE KINNEY. *Representations of Childhood and Youth in Early China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 294. \$55.00.

This pioneering work is the first scholarly monograph in any language that examines children and adolescents from the beginning of China's historical record until the end of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). Since available sources are mostly prescriptive and not descriptive, rather than systematically depicting the living conditions of young people, Anne Behnke Kinney charts how early Chinese envisioned children and used them rhetorically. The primary question the author seeks to answer is why children for the first time became an important topic in Han dynasty political and philosophical discourse. To do so, she masterfully employs a wide range of sources: histories, legends, philosophical tracts, poetry, law codes, medical treatises, and mantic handbooks. Examination of these materials leads her to conclude that the creation of the centralized empire was the most important factor responsible for the prominence of children in Han dynasty discussions.

Due to the paucity of historical records, rather than try to reconstruct ancient Chinese childhood in a comprehensive manner, Kinney looks at those aspects that are best documented. With the advent of an unified empire under the rule of one man, in an effort to ensure that the ruler was a morally worthy person, Han intellectuals became deeply interested in child development and educational theories, which are the focus of chapter one. This interest led Han thinkers to pay increasing attention to how princes, and by extension, all young

children, were raised, which in turn heightened awareness of the mother's significant role in education. Chapter two shifts attention to the popular literary motif of precocious children. Here, Kinney shows that the most prized children were filial to their parents, fond of peaceful rather than martial accomplishments, and without childish traits. She argues that this motif's appeal was due to the establishment of a meritocratic bureaucracy that needed competent administrators, regardless of their social origins. Chapter three takes us from the flawless behavior of ideal children to the bad conduct of noble brats. The author provides a compelling picture of spoiled boys who, under the eyes of their over-indulgent parents, squandered their time through frivolous pursuits, such as hunting, gambling, cock fighting, and horse racing. Emperors only reacted to their sons' unchecked misbehavior when it led to the most unforgivable crime: rebellion against the throne. These privileged children, especially royal heirs, were also imperiled because they were often the victims of court plots by ambitious consorts, rival throne contenders, or the whims of their imperial father.

Continuing the theme of violence against children, chapter four explores infant abandonment and Han intellectuals' reactions to it. Although the imperial government outlawed infanticide, Kinney shows that most officials turned a blind eye to the practice. In fact, many Confucians blamed this practice not on the parents but on the government's negligence in securing the people's economic welfare. For most Chinese, child abandonment was an economically reasonable measure and a form of birth control. Chapter five is entitled "Girls," but it is more widely an examination of the growing political influence of women during the Han dynasty and Confucian attempts to contain it. Distrustful of their male kin and disdainful of bureaucrats, Han emperors often chose consorts of humble background and entrusted political power to their male kinsmen. The resulting might of the harem increased social mobility and girls' importance and desirability. To counter women's growing influence, Confucians stressed the necessity of educating girls, so that they would subordinate themselves to their husband and their natal family's interests to those of their spouse's. Based on archaeologically recovered texts, the last chapter explores supernatural beliefs about childhood. Cosmologists became interested in fetal development because they viewed the newborn child as the most in sync with the *dao*, the cosmic force that orders the universe. Thus, a great deal of attention was devoted to prenatal and postnatal prescriptions and rituals.

One of the strengths of Kinney's approach is that by looking at a few aspects of childhood, she is able to provide an in-depth and insightful treatment of each. Despite the apparent lack of sources, however, one is still left wondering what the life of ordinary, non-noble children was like. The book also has a slight feeling of disjointedness, which is probably because many of its chapters were first published as articles—a point the author should have acknowledged.

On the whole, though, this is an excellent study. It does much more than illuminate early Chinese views of children and youth: it is also a superb cultural and social history that documents the enormous impact that the formation of the empire had on multiple aspects of Chinese social and political life. The book should be of interest to anyone interested in the history of childhood, education, gender, or early empires.

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The Citadel

VICTOR CUNRUI XIONG. *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty: His Life, Times, and Legacy*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York. 2006. Pp. xiii, 357. \$75.00.

This book is about an emperor who ruled China for only thirteen years (604–617) in the short-lived Sui dynasty (581–617), and who is one of the notorious evil rulers with the disparaging posthumous title, Yang, meaning lusting after beautiful women, abandoning ritual, defying Heaven, and abusing people (p. 227). Throughout the four thousand years of Chinese written history, many kings and emperors have passed through many dynasties, yet there have not been many books in English devoted to one emperor only. Why a book about Sui Yangdi, Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty?

Victor Cunrui Xiong makes a convincing case, arguing for the historical significance of Yangdi's reign and for the Sui as an important turning point in Chinese history that reunified China and made institutional reforms that led to the brilliance of the succeeding Tang dynasty (618–907). His study of Yangdi is a challenge to the simplistic condemnation of Yangdi by Tang official historians, who compiled the Sui history with evident bias to justify Tang's taking over the Mandate of Heaven. In his thorough examination of the life of Yangdi and his reign under the categories of the building projects of Luoyang, the Grand Canal and the palace networks, bureaucracy, the educational, ritual and legal institutions, religions, economic order, and foreign policy, Xiong demonstrates that, to some extent, Yangdi deserved his reputation as a hedonistic philanderer, a prodigal spendthrift, an oppressive ruler, a cold-blooded murderer, an impulsive aggressor, a hater of remonstrance, a lover of sycophancy, and a tyrant who had concentrated in himself the worst possible attitudes for a sovereign. More important, however, Xiong argues that Yangdi was different from many decadent last rulers of a dynasty. He was an innovative reformer who continued his father's aim of consolidating the reunification of China. The city of Luoyang, built during his reign, blossomed into a thriving metropolis under the Tang, and his building of the Grand Canal greatly facilitated the integration of North and South China. His patronage of Daoism and Buddhism paved the way for the further development of both religions. While Yangdi manipulated politics in order to concentrate power in his own hands at the cost of his bureaucracy and local governments, thus acting as a tyrant, in

administration, he reduced the harshness in laws established under his father and restored the Confucian education system that the latter had denigrated. His aggressions against foreign lands were aimed at enlarging Sui China's territory, although they eventually overextended the economic and military power of the Sui and led to its collapse.

Based on all available primary sources including archaeological findings, and secondary works in Chinese, English, and Japanese, this book engages in a dialogue with modern scholars in several academic debates. Thus Xiong discusses the various interpretations of different sources, Naito Konan's theory of periodization that treats the Sui and Tang as a medieval age when an aristocracy impacted the nation's politics, and Chen Yinke's theory of how regional blocs and their competition exerted influence in court politics.

Placing Yangdi and his reign in a still larger historical perspective, we can raise other questions that may shed light on this fascinating character and his time. For example, like Qin, the Sui dynasty was short-lived but innovative, ushering in the brilliant Han dynasty. How else was the Sui similar to the Qin? Was Yangdi's obsession with foreign conquest primarily for personal glory or for frontier security and strengthening internal order? One important legacy of the Period of Division that preceded the Sui was the non-Chinese rule of North China. Scholarly works have noted that the non-Chinese side infused new blood to the Li-Tang royal house, contributing to the cosmopolitanism of the Tang dynasty at least before 755. They see Tang Emperor Taizong's assumption of personal leadership in military campaigns as a nomadic influence, and Tang Gaozong's relationship with his father's concubine, Wu Zetian, as the impact of the nomadic practice of levirate. Could we see Yangdi's enthusiasm as a military commander and his taking over his father's concubines also as a part of the non-Chinese legacy? Further, some scholars argue that Tang Empress Wu was a proto-feminist, so could we see Empress Dugu, the mother of Yangdi, who was of non-Chinese ethnicity, and famous in history for defending monogamy and for exertion of power, in a similar light?

On the whole, this is a compelling and well-researched book, providing not just a judicious reevaluation of Yangdi but also an interesting case study to show how an emperor at an important transitional period, the time of state building, succeeded and failed, how his personal style affected history, and how sophisticated Chinese institutions developed.

YIHONG PAN
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DAVID G. ATWILL. *The Chinese Sultanate: Islam, Ethnicity, and the Panthay Rebellion in Southwestern China, 1856–1873*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 264. \$60.00.

The violent events in Yunnan between the years 1856 and 1873, which involved array of local ethnic groups

and the Qing state, have thus far been treated, for the most part, as a passing paragraph in the historiography of nineteenth-century China. This fascinating train of events, which culminated in the establishment of a rebel state, Pingnan Guo, in parts of the province, and which contemporary Western observers termed the "Panthay Rebellion," has long been overshadowed by the coterminous Taiping rebellion. For the most part, accounts of the Panthay rebellion—both those of state officials and of Western observers—simply emphasized "Muslim violence" as a central factor. Later histories of the period saw the rebellion as yet another sign of the growing incompetence of the Qing state, and counted it among the no less than five rebellions that plagued China in the second half of the nineteenth century. Still other accounts lump the Panthay rebellion with contemporary Muslim rebellions in the Northwest and Xinjiang, playing into the familiar notion of a "Muslim wave of violence" thought to have "swept" China in the period, causing vexing problems for, and antagonisms with, the state. To be sure, these two factors—Islam and the state—played key roles in this episode. Yet there is much to say and to learn about the Panthay rebellion, its contexts, and its broader implications. David G. Atwill provides the first thorough study of the rebellion undertaken to date in any language. His book is not only meticulously researched but also beautifully narrated and richly textured, with Atwill navigating confidently in a sea of events and personalities.

A series of massacres that killed significant numbers of Muslims in various urban and rural centers in Yunnan from the 1840s on, and the lack of a proper response by hostile or indifferent officials at various levels of the provincial administration, triggered a chain of reactions resulting in a near total collapse of Yunnan's security system. Local Muslims, not a majority in the province but a significant collectivity within the Yunnanese mosaic and with strong historical ties to the region, were mobilized to rebel. After an initial period of uncoordinated activity, a consolidated rebel movement emerged under a more coherent leadership. Things became clearer with the founding of the rebel state Pingnan Guo ("Southern Peace") with its capital in Dali. The emergence of Dali as the capital matched the city's historical and economic legacies. Atwill situates the city nicely at the center of a nexus of trade and transportation that located it from both a geographical and a cultural standpoint more in Southeast Asian geographical realities than in Chinese ones. Atwill's careful highlighting of Yunnan's Southeast Asian geographical context, well accomplished at the outset of the book, is one of its great strengths, and takes the reader the first important step toward understanding the Panthay rebellion on its own terms.

Among a handful of individuals, the one person most strongly associated with the leadership of the rebellion is the enigmatic figure Du Wenxiu, who became the head of the new state upon its establishment. Born to a Muslim family in 1823, Du prepared for a career as a bureaucratic official, passing his first examination at

the age of sixteen. From the perspective of the state, he was a somewhat known quantity as one of three *Hui* (Muslims) who had traveled to Beijing to petition for compensation after one of the more brutal massacres of 1845. He was elected, rather unexpectedly, leader of the rebels in a “Zunyi style” conference a decade later. Atwill’s richly written characterization of the man brings to the fore a fascinating personality; Du displayed, in Atwill’s words, “a rare mixture of charisma, vision, and cosmopolitanism” (p. 104), and knew very well how to present himself to the mixed crowds of Yunnan as at once the “Generalissimo of all Armed Forces and Cavalry” (*zongtong bingma dayuanshuai*, a military title dating back to Mongol times), and the Arabic “Leader of all Muslims” (*qa’id jami’ al-Muslimin*). This point is critical. Zeroing in on such detail Atwill, unlike earlier chroniclers of the rebellion, exposes its true multiethnic nature. Not only did Muslims take part in it, but many of Yunnan’s other ethnic groups, among them the Han, played key roles. As Atwill demonstrates, Du’s greatness was doubtless based in large part on his careful treatment of ethnic issues within Yunnan and his success at building a sustainable coalition. In setting Du in context, Atwill provides a thorough analysis of Yunnan’s “ethnic situation,” which both explains Du’s success on this front and demonstrates that Du’s multiethnic policies were genuinely designed to promote all ethnicities and were far more than a mere quest for legitimacy. Du tried to implement what Atwill calls “a multiple vision” (Islamic, Han, and non-Han) within his state. This vision stands in sharp contrast to the Qing state insistence throughout that troubles in the province were simply “Han-Hui quarrels.”

Du Wenxiu’s skill and charisma worked in other directions, as well. Even as he juggled the multiethnic constituency at home, Du knew well how to play to the imagination and interests of Western powers, based nearby across his borders, in the effort to gain their support. To them Atwill argues that he fostered a vision of himself as the “Sultan Sulaiman,” a notion that played to their orientalist ideas of Muslim authority. In the end, Du ultimately failed to keep his state and vision alive and was humiliated and executed (while overdosing on opium) in 1873, when the Qing state finally managed to suppress the rebellion.

Atwill’s book marks a major contribution to the historiography of nineteenth-century China and of Chinese Islam. At the same time, within the field of Islamic studies, his book adds nuance to the notion of sultanate in the period. But perhaps more than anything, his study vividly shows how miserably the Qing state handled multiethnic issues in the late nineteenth century. Atwill argues that Du’s ethnic visions were able to distinguish “his rule from the Qing’s [and secure] the favor of the Yunnanese” (p. 143). While the Qing government was able eventually to crush the rebellion, “it never did answer for itself the complex question of how to sustain imperial rule in an ethnically complex region” (p. 190). Yet only a century earlier, it had been the Qing rulers themselves who had successfully posed as the

champions of multiethnicity. The book’s price is an outrage.

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DONG WANG. *China’s Unequal Treaties: Narrating National History*. (Asia World.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. x, 179. \$60.00.

It is not news, of course, that themes of past humiliation have been central to the making of modern Chinese nationalism, or that the unequal treaties lie at the heart of the story. But when and how did the treaties assume that position? These are the questions Dong Wang sets out to answer in her valuable analysis, not of the treaties themselves, but of the rhetorical uses to which they have been put in shaping China’s national and international discourse since the late Qing.

Rather surprisingly (to me, at any rate), she finds that the term *bupingdeng tiaoyue* (unequal treaties) probably did not appear until the Guomindang’s First National Congress in January 1924, almost eighty years after the treaty of Nanjing set the pattern in 1842. Criticisms of their inequality were abroad earlier, of course, both among late Qing statesmen and the new diplomats of the early republic after 1912. Qing objections to the treaties, Wang argues, were couched largely in moral terms, the language of fairness and unfairness being drawn from classical Chinese, and hence without much popular resonance. By the early republic, however, international law was increasingly coming to be perceived as a useful weapon in the struggle for treaty revision or abolition. Still, in the eyes of the new cadre of foreign affairs specialists emerging in the 1910s and 1920s—men like Alfred Sze, Wellington Koo, and Wang Zhengting—foreign policy remained a matter for government officials rather than popular debate. Hence the emergence of the term *bupingdeng tiaoyue* in Guomindang and Communist rhetoric marked a striking departure, for it now served as an engine of popular mobilization.

The very vagueness of the phrase “unequal treaties,” Wang suggests, endlessly repeated and associated with concepts like “imperialism,” “militarism,” and “national humiliation” (*guochi*) brought an uncritical response from those who heard it, effectively awakening popular outrage. The treaties thus came to encapsulate the whole shameful history of China’s encounter with the West and Japan, and their abolition seemed to promise an immediate solution to the problems of weakness, disunity, and chaos that had beset the nation since 1842.

Even before the breakup of the first United Front in 1927, the Communists—despite their small size—had learned to use such language more effectively than their Guomindang rivals, thanks to the skills of writers like Qu Qiubai, Xiao Chunü, and Chen Duxiu. After 1927, the Communists were on their own, freely attacking the faltering efforts of the new Nationalist government to rid the land of the treaties, right up through the Amer-

ican and British agreements of 1943 that finally relinquished extraterritoriality (a development for which the Chinese Communist Party nonetheless took, and continues to take, credit). Not that the unequal treaties entirely disappeared, for in Wang's view both the American commercial treaty of 1946, and more particularly the Soviet treaty of 1945, had at least inequalitarian aspects.

In the last chapter, Wang examines the ways in which the study of international law in China came of age in the 1920s, bringing with it a proliferation of studies of the treaties. Overlapping with studies of national humiliation, these works often placed international law within a conventional Leninist framework of imperialism, strengthening the perception that it had primarily served to assist Western expansion and did little to address the questions of disparities in power and influence between nations. In the last half century, however, she argues that international law has come to be "indigenized" in China, in particular being used to insist on the importance of national sovereignty as a basis for state-to-state relations, and viewing disparities of power as political, rather than legal, problems.

Here, I think, Wang might have helped her argument by including some recent examples of the Chinese use of international law in combating these disparities: the bombing of the Belgrade embassy in 1999, or the downing of an American spy plane on Hainan in early 2001 come to mind. The reaction to such events certainly reinforces her views of the ways in which memories of the treaties and of China's humiliation retain their usefulness in shaping the narrative of the past. Still, she notes that at least in the world of contemporary Chinese scholarship, there are signs of a new approach and a break with the old sloganeering that remains such a strong legacy of the 1920s. History, she suggests, for so long written to serve the needs of the present, is coming to be taken on its own terms, and she cites, for instance, recent re-evaluations of Li Hongzhang, no longer seen as simply *maiguo zei* (national traitor) but rather as tragic hero, forced to sign a number of unequal treaties a century and a half ago, in order to prevent worse from happening.

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STEFAN TANAKA. *New Times in Modern Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 225. \$29.95.

Over the past several years, the nineteenth century has attracted the attention of a generation of scholars interested in coming to renewed terms with Japan's modern transformation. In this book, Stefan Tanaka returns to the Meiji era (1868–1912) to re-pose the fundamental question of how that vast transformation was accomplished. While his predecessors focused largely on political and economic institutions, Tanaka trains his sights instead on a less tangible infrastructure, offering readers a sustained inquiry into the formation of the

conceptual apparatus that allowed a modern world to take shape in, and as, Japan.

As the book's title suggests, a crucial constituent of that apparatus is a revolutionary understanding of time as historical: a progressive movement in chronologically measured steps from a displaced past toward a future "horizon of expectations" (p. 7). If this description sounds like common sense, it is because, as the author tells us, progressive time has become our time, long since internalized and naturalized. One of the book's strengths is the opportunity it gives readers to catch sight of the unnatural beginnings of modern time in Japan. *Neuzeit*, or new time, begins with a destructive act whereby inherited forms of knowledge are severed—now with a fine scalpel, now with a rough saw—from the body of contemporary practice and thought. Taking an initial cue from Walter Benjamin's meditations on history, Tanaka argues that the historical past only comes into being when living traditions yield to isolatable, objective data and time is rendered empty, homogenous, and universal. "To articulate the past," he explains, "a new conceptualization of time was necessary—that of progress, one that separate[s] the present from the past and then re-emplots that past as an earlier, now dead moment" (p. 93).

In the first pages of the book, Tanaka gives us an effective demonstration of just how precipitous and disruptive this temporal re-emplotment could be. In 1872, an imperial edict announced that Japan would now reckon time by a new set of coordinates, prompting considerable confusion about festival days, agricultural cycles, and countless other inherited practices: "I hereby abolish the old [lunar] calendar, adopt the solar calendar, and order the realm to obey for eternity" (p. 5). This act of calendrical bravado—not simply a necessary rationalization or a synchronization of Japan to Euro-American time (though it was indeed both of these things)—mandated a fundamental reorganization of the archipelago and the lives of the people who lived there around a new and single axis of power.

With this analytic move, the book takes us from time to place, demonstrating in multiple settings how this disembodied and objectified concept of time works to solidify the "body" of which historical time becomes a prime attribute: the nation-state. In successive vignettes, Tanaka catches Meiji intellectuals in the act of creating a Japanese nation by way of an operation that removed "parts of the past from history itself, relocating them to some transhistorical category" (p. 93). In an exemplary instance, Ernest Fenellosa and Okakura Kakuzō, on a government-sponsored mission in 1884 to catalogue important religious artifacts, pried the Buddhist image of the Guze Kannon from its local, ritual context and delivered it to the rarified world of abstract value as a crystallization of a Japanese spirit. This displacement of meaning, suggests Tanaka, produced the idea of Japan as a place that, on the one hand, is exempt from historical change, but, on the other, founds and finds its expression in (national) history.

Tanaka's chronotopical analysis brings to mind an-

other study of nation-making, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983). Both identify the idea of the nation as a relatively recent and historically contingent creation, one that is fraught with (constitutive) contradictions and defined by new perceptions of time and space. But if Anderson locates the origins of nationhood in a set of global transformations fueled ultimately by the rise of capitalism, Tanaka, an advocate of history as representation, discovers national beginnings in a moment of conceptual transformation that then makes possible new economic and social forms. Anderson's imaginary community is an artifact meriting sentimental attachment, while Tanaka's nation is a powerful organization of material and symbolic means that functions primarily to suppress the heterogeneity of experience.

Addressing his own field, Tanaka seeks to recast Meiji intellectual history by refuting the common view that a number of important Meiji intellectuals underwent a reactionary conversion from advocates of progressive change to defenders of cultural conservatism. He argues persuasively that the scholarly labors of Miyake Setsurei, Kume Kunitake, and others to find and fix a durable national essence were part and parcel of the task of assimilation to a progressive historical time—a time that required not only incremental forward movement toward a better future but also an unchanging foundation in the past. At the same time, Tanaka revisits a conundrum facing Meiji thinkers: how to produce history in a non-Western place already constituted as “nonhistorical” in the Western-dominated world system that materialized in the nineteenth century. Like their counterparts throughout the non-Western world, Meiji intellectuals lavished attention on the retrospective task of constructing a fixed and unchanging foundation for history, thus transmuting the “denigrated past” of an uncivilized people into moral and aesthetic ideas capable of underwriting a modern historical nation (pp. 98–100). However crucial this task may have been, it was also destructive in the sense that such ideas can only be created through an abstract alchemy that annihilates a pre-existing “space of experience” (a suggestive phrase drawn from Reinhart Koselleck's *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* [1985], but one that calls for more critical attention from the author).

Inevitably, some sections of the book are more effectively developed and some arguments are more convincing than others. Tanaka's discussion of childhood, for example, lacks the concrete, illustrative detail that makes the sections on calendrical change and the Guze Kannon so effective. His attempt to link the rise of a capitalist economy in Japan to the new epistemology he elucidates is evocative but leaves far too much to guesswork. And his reading of Takayama Chogyū, although provocatively revisionist, lacks the cogency that gives other sections of the book persuasive power. While Tanaka's references to theorists of history, time, and social production will inspire more than a few readers to read Koselleck, Nicos Poulantzas, or Moishe Pos-

tone for themselves, the tendency to set uncontextualized excerpts from their work like distant stepping stones in his own prose requires the reader to make a series of leaps among general theory, authorial argument, and Meiji sources. This is a demanding book, and the exposition is not always eloquent; but Tanaka's insights into the conceptual beginnings of history in Japan and Japan in history will reward readers from multiple disciplines.

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MARK METZLER. *Lever of Empire: The International Gold Standard and the Crisis of Liberalism in Prewar Japan*. (Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 370. \$49.95.

In part because I once tried to investigate Japan's monetary system only to drop the ball (or coin if you prefer), I found Mark Metzler's excellent work to be far more important to the general study of modern Japanese history than its title might suggest. Though billed as a study of “prewar” Japan, for example, the book actually begins with a prologue of young Meiji (1868–1912) individuals who would later become influential makers and government officials, and then circles back to discuss the collapse of the Tokugawa (1600–1868) monetary system after trade with the West began, Japan's adoption of a gold standard prior to World War I, Japan's economic policies between the two wars, and even post-World War II issues. Similarly, Metzler recognizes that he cannot describe changes in Japan's monetary system without also discussing British and American banking systems, and, at times, the social effects of Japan's economic policies.

Several themes run throughout the book. One is the contest between the generally “positive” (i.e. expansionist or Keynesian) policies of Takahashi Korekiyo, and what Takahashi supporters called the “negative” or deflationary policies of Inoue Junnosuke. Closely related are the willingness of international bankers to make loans to Japan, and the particular effects of J. P. Morgan and Company partner Thomas W. Lamont's friendship with Inoue. Lamont and Inoue believed that international monetary systems ultimately redeemable in gold would create a self-correcting world order. Metzler's description of the damage that this did to Japan's economy when Inoue returned Japan to the gold standard in 1930, and Takahashi's rescue attempt two years later, form the core of his book. Here Metzler is at pains to make clear that the distinction between the two men is not as stark as the polarizing terms might suggest, and that Inoue's 1930 decision, while it was “perhaps the greatest economic policy mistake in Japan's modern history” (p. xiv), was not totally without some positive effects.

A second theme is the relationship between foreign loans and Japan's imperial expansion. Despite the worries of bankers like Lamont that Western-style democ-

racy and militarism were competing against each other, loans provided by the West helped make it possible for Japan to carve out its own sphere of influence in Asia. Jacob Schiff's willingness to loan the funds needed to Japan to fight Russia—and Russian antisemitism—is one early case in point, but there were plenty of others. Metzler suggests that these financial dealings were normally shielded from public view, noting that “The sense of clubbiness was strong. So too was a sense of central banking apart from government” (p. 166). Put another way, Metzler's book discusses the often hidden ways in which Western bankers, no doubt without fully realizing it, quietly helped create a “Lever of Empire.”

All this is written up in a generally clear and non-technical way. The various chapters are chronologically based. The narrative also has occasional bits of humor, as when Metzler correlates the amount of *sake* drinking with the ups and downs of the economy, or when he translates *iya da* with the thoroughly appropriate but more hip phrase “no way!” At the same time, more economically trained readers will profit from the extensive bibliography and the various charts of price fluctuations and the like in the text, plus an appendix listing both Japan's specie reserve and note issue outstanding from 1885–1940, and the money supply and the yearly inflows and outflows of gold from 1885–1936.

I do not mean to suggest that Metzler's book is an easy read. There is, to begin with, an impressively large amount of information in the book that needs to be digested slowly. Also, although chronologically organized, there are flashbacks and places where world economic events and policies have to be discussed in order to explain Japan's policies. As (by now) a noneconomic historian, I might have suggested tightening up the chronology a bit and covering a little less ground in order to give more space to a discussion of the social impact of these various policies. I would also have liked a bit more explanation of why Inoue (in 1932) and Takahashi (in 1936) were both assassinated by right-wing hotheads.

That this book requires careful reading, however, is precisely why it should be read. Metzler's wide scope, prodigious research, and vivid writing clearly show how “the dry and technical details of monetary policy became a matter of life and death in newly industrializing Japan” (p. xv). By opening up areas that most Japan historians and (and perhaps also students of the world economy) do not always think about, Metzler has written an excellent book that we all need to master.

PETER K. FROST
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PAUL H. KRATOSKA, editor. *Asian Labor in the Wartime Japanese Empire: Unknown Histories*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2005. Pp. xx, 433. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$32.95.

As Paul H. Kratoska notes somewhat understatedly in his introduction, “the sufferings of European prisoners of war forced to work for the Japanese [during World

War II] . . . have been well chronicled, but the experiences of Asian laborers remain unstudied” (p. xvi). This is so despite the fact that the number of the latter clearly exceeded the former by an order of magnitude, as the various estimates in the various chapters of the volume make clear. (Unfortunately, given the lack of reliable records and the complexities and ambiguities of the Japanese labor mobilization system, it is virtually impossible to come up with definitive totals.) Possible ethnocentrism aside, a major stumbling block in researching Japanese mobilization of Asian labor during World War II has been the lack of written sources (numerous records were deliberately destroyed at end of the war, for instance) and the fact that even those that do exist (including oral histories) are often available only in local languages that are not widely used outside of the region itself. The self-proclaimed purpose of the volume, then, is to begin to fill this gap by “examin[ing] labor in different parts of Japan's wartime empire” and through this to provide a “representative sampling of Japan's labor policies,” as well as to “offer a harrowing look at the experiences of those recruited to work on Japanese projects” (p. xvii). In this reviewer's mind, both goals were achieved, although more in terms of the former than the latter.

The book is organized into nine parts, eight of which are devoted to developments within a specific geographic region of Japan's wartime empire, and with one containing topic-focused chapters. As is common in multi-author volumes, the focus and approach varies somewhat from chapter to chapter, and for that reason it is useful to describe the individual essays briefly. Relying heavily on a classic 1949 study by Jerome Cohen, Kratoska's essay on Japan's domestic wartime mobilization structure highlights how the labor regimes in the areas that Japan colonized and conquered were tightly integrated with the mobilizational apparatus for labor in the home islands that evolved from the 1930s onward. The regime was characterized by numerous status differentiations involving varying degrees of paid and unpaid labor and mixes of volunteerism and coercion. The essays on colonial Manchuria, Taiwan, Korea, and northern China extend this point by detailing how mobilizational regimes whose origins predate the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 worked, and how they grew increasingly coercive and brutal over time. The essay on Manchuria by David Tucker, in particular, which describes the role played by a leading Japanese construction firm in shaping the mobilization regime there, alerts us to the complex interplay of bureaucratic and business interests involved.

Thanks to their relatively large number, the five essays in the part of the book on the Dutch East Indies contain more narrowly focused snapshots. There is a chapter covering agricultural projects by Shigeru Sato, one by Harry Poeze describing a railway construction project in western Java where conditions were just as horrific as those on the Thai-Burma railway (made famous by the movie *Bridge over the River Kwai*), a piece by Kaori Maekawa on the nature and role of “military

auxiliaries" (*heiho*) another chapter by Remco Raben describing how stipulations that individual administrative districts attain self-sufficiency wreaked havoc in the eastern part of the archipelago, and a fifth by Henk Hovinga on the confusion and additional deaths that resulted during the process of repatriation as a consequence of the vacuum of authority engendered by the colonial status of Southeast Asia. These, along with the other Southeast Asia chapters, highlight how Japanese wartime mobilization schemes severely disrupted normal labor flows in the region in this generally labor-deficit region, leading to disastrous results. The first of the two chapters on Malaya by Paul Kratoska, and Michiko Nakahara outlines the evolution of the administrative structure for recruiting local labor, while the second describes the horrific conditions faced by Malayan workers on the Thai-Burma Railway. The chapter on the Philippines by Ricardo T. Jose also focuses on the administrative systems put in place to mobilize local labor there, while Tran My-Van's chapter on Vietnam provides an eye-opening account of the way in which two local religio-political movements actively recruited labor for the Japanese. The final part of the book, entitled "Memory and Reconciliation," contains two essays by Chun-Sung Chung and E. Bruce Reynolds covering military sexual slavery and labor conditions on the Thai-Burma Railway. Both extend their purview forward to discuss the status of compensation claims of victims today.

The one complaint that I have about this book is the absence of a concluding essay contextualizing the various snapshots provided by individual authors within the context of "the big picture." Although any conjectures made would have to be tentative, there seems to be more than enough content in the book to make this a meaningful exercise. Having said this, I hasten to add that this is a seminal work and a must-read for anyone with a serious interest in the subject of Japan's wartime mobilization of Asian labor.

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WOONG JOE KANG. *The Korean Struggle for International Identity in the Foreground of the Shufeldt Negotiation, 1866-1882*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2005. Pp. vii, 225. \$33.00.

The foreign relations of Korea's Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) became quite muddy and fraught with serious risks in the late nineteenth century, when the monarch, his advisers, and other leaders of the country gradually entered the uncharted and often treacherous territory of modern diplomacy. Their arena of action was now enlarged beyond the steady and predictable routines of a close and trusted interaction with a relatively benign, "elder brotherly" China—since 1644, China's Qing rulers had exercised only a ritualistic and nonmeddlesome supervision over Korea—and a more guarded, limited, and intermittent relationship with Japan, toward which

the Chosŏn rulers generally maintained a stance of ritual and cultural superiority. As a result, between 1644 and 1866 (a period of 222 years) Korea suffered no significant external threat to its territorial security. After the years 1866-1871, during which relatively small but violent Western attempts to undermine this framework were repulsed by Korea, the traditional pattern continued for five more years.

Then, in 1876, came the persistent and more aggressive actions of Meiji Japan to "open" Korea to its own brand of the "modern" world. Japan wrested from a weak and vulnerable Korea a treaty marked, *inter alia*, by unilateral privileges such as extraterritoriality and unfair trade concessions. The treaty was modeled after those that several Western powers had earlier imposed on China and Japan. With the post-1876 Western scramble to get into Korea, more treaties of a similar kind followed later, beginning with the Korean-American treaty of 1882, a major focus of Woong Joe Kang's monograph. In this way, the Korean government and society came face to face with new meanings of armed might, predatory imperialism, nationalism-driven pursuits of profit, territorial aggrandizement, racism, religious zeal, "international law," and assorted other issues and symptoms of modernity.

This was an ominous combination, and it would have been a challenge to any country not familiar with its milieu and implications. While surveying the key events of this history and their cultural and geo-political context, Kang inquires into Korea's quest for a new "international identity" and endeavors, in view of the commonly held Chinese and Western image of Korea as a "dependency" of Beijing, to explain whether Korea was both *de jure* and *de facto* an independent state. The author suggests that it was and contends that, despite the enormous difficulties it faced, Korea was not only capable of being economically "self-sufficient" but was quite well equipped to take "care of itself in all respects: national security, conduct of foreign relations, internal order, and stability" (pp. 1-2). Leaving aside the domestic issues, I am not sure Kang has made a fully persuasive case in the realm of foreign affairs.

On the one hand, his research shows the Korean king, his officials, and the Confucian literati outside the government as being actively engaged in foreign policy issues, although with a mixture of naïveté and sophistication, die-hard conservatism and progressive reformism. Amid all that, their natural instinct to preserve Korea's own interests was palpable. On the other hand, it is equally clear that few initiatives on any major issue of wider foreign relations came from Korea itself. The agenda was often set by China, Japan, or the United States, and Koreans were often reactive and weak, not boldly assertive participants in the process of treaty making (particularly in the case of the U.S.-Korean treaty). Above all, until the abortive coup of 1884 few Koreans directly and resolutely challenged China's claims of suzerainty over Korea, although some intellectuals of the Silhak ("Practical Learning") school had

long voiced misgivings about their country's China-centered policies.

During 1866–1884, the Korean government continued to acquiesce in Chinese overlordship of its foreign affairs even while harboring doubts about Chinese advice on how to deal with Japan, the United States, and Russia. Despite the fact that, on a par with their representation in China, Japanese and Western diplomatic missions in Seoul were designated as legations to a sovereign state and their heads were called ministers, China continued, with Seoul's nonresistance, to treat Korea as if it were a dependency. From both the Chinese and Korean points of view, the new international law in East Asia did not apply to their mutual, "familial" relationship, only to relations with other countries. It was this muddle that was to create, if we move the clock forward to 1884–1894, the unprecedented appointment of Yuan Shikai as the Chinese Resident in Korea. His record as one who arrogantly ordered Korean officials about with impunity in both domestic and external affairs is all too well known. And while he lasted, Korea, Japan and even the Western powers came to live with the irritating ambiguity of Korea's juridical as well as actual international status.

Finally, as late as the mid-to late-1890s, by which time the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 had once and for all removed that ambiguity in favor of a total juridical independence, Korean progressives were still complaining about the ingrained sentiment of reverence toward China in the ranks of Korean elites. The leading Korean newspaper of that era, *The Independent*, amply documents this problem. Kang's arguments do not take such complexity fully into account, and so his thesis remains less than convincing in the end. His chief merit is in showing some different, at times even fascinating, "trees"—especially where he meticulously documents the Japanese, American, and Chinese machinations and vividly shows the Korean court's fear and anxiety over its limited options—but the shape of the familiar "forest" of Korea's ambiguous status until 1895 remains unchanged.

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HYUN OK PARK. *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 314. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

After decades of neglect, the modern history of Korea is now enjoying a wave of popularity in the Western academy. Korea has often been seen in scholarly terms as merely an adjunct to China and Japan, and it is refreshing to read work that places Koreans and their experience at center stage. Hyun Ok Park's book is a powerful and innovative study that gives us significant insights into the role of Koreans in pre-1945 Manchuria. It is grounded in an impressive range of archival

sources in Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, which serve to provide a rich array of empirical evidence. Overall, it provides a detailed and valuable account of the nature of the Korean peasantry in Manchuria from the 1920s to the 1940s, a topic which up to now has not been extensively treated in English.

Park suggests that, up to now, research on the Japanese client state of Manchukuo has remained too strongly bounded by the idea of the nation to capture certain important elements of the relationship between ethnic groups in the region, and argues instead that "capitalism . . . was the primary determinant of social relations in Manchuria" (p. xi). She makes a powerful argument that the Japanese imperial project bound its Korean subjects in Manchuria to it by encouraging them to invest in land and property and thereby become indebted to agencies of the Japanese Empire. She also shows that this alienated them from the majority Han Chinese population of the area, who were not given such access.

Park provides a fascinating picture of the way in which Korean settlers were encouraged to take support from banks run by the Japanese state, forcing them into a sly complicity with the colonial project. Previous work researched only in the Chinese sources has characterized the pre-1931 Chinese regime in the region as a nationalistic administration attacked by Japanese imperialism. Park convincingly shows that, from the point of view of the Korean peasantry, that same Chinese regime was attempting to undermine the ethnic Koreans of the region and whip up tensions that would make them vulnerable. In that context, it was less than surprising that the Koreans regarded the Japanese colonial state, at least ambiguously, as their protector. Park also gives important insights into the reason for the split between the Chinese and Korean communist movements in occupied Manchuria. She points out that the two movements were both strongly bound by essentially contradictory nationalist projects, since the Koreans in Manchuria could hardly be expected both to be part of a Chinese nation-state and a Korean homeland. Park observes that "in social space, an individual does not acquire a singular identity either as a class member or national subject" (p. 15). In addition, the relationship that Koreans had to land and property meant that their class status was not the same as that of the relatively impoverished Chinese peasants; despite the rhetoric of the communist parties, there was no one category of "peasantry" that could be mobilized with one single type of rhetoric. The inability of the Chinese and Korean communists to understand these ambiguities of identity, as well as the sheer pressure that both groups were under while on the run from the Japanese, led to horrific results: immense fratricidal purges that pulled apart both organizations for several years, until a new joint anti-Japanese campaign was begun in 1936.

The book is highly stimulating, but there are some areas where it is less accessible than it might be. Park uses a Marxian framework that leads on occasion to rather densely expressed language and sometimes over-

emphatic points. For instance, the epilogue, which tackles the need for true “decolonization” in contemporary Korea, postulates that the Cold War was an “American project for establishing capitalist hegemony” (p. 234). This is one way of looking at the Cold War, but one might equally argue that the Cold War was a Soviet project for establishing communist hegemony, or that it was an unspoken accommodation between two emergent political blocs that recognized rival spheres of influence in an effort to avoid nuclear catastrophe. The book also characterizes Manchukuo as a “fascist” project, but this term is not fully problematized, being briefly defined as a political system derived from an “alternative capitalism,” but with capitalism’s contradictions ironed out. Of course, “fascism” is one of the most slippery terms in the political vocabulary, but it is still a matter of debate whether the Japanese imperial project can be described in that way, and further analysis of that issue would have been valuable.

Overall, however, this book will be essential reading for all scholars of the history of Korea and Manchuria, and will be of immense interest to scholars who are interested in the comparative history of empire.

RANA MITTER

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LIAM C. KELLEY. *Beyond the Bronze Pillars: Envoy Poetry and the Sino-Vietnamese Relationship*. (Asian Interactions and Comparison.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 267.

Liam C. Kelley has written an extraordinary book based on some truly impressive research the author conducted at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan and the Han Nom Institute in Hanoi. It offers fascinating glimpses of the political and literary worlds of Vietnamese scholars who traveled to China as envoys representing Vietnam’s vassal kings. Kelley’s work is remarkable for its erudition and for what it reveals about tributary ties between China and Vietnam from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. It is remarkable, also, for what it conceals (until p. 179) about Sino-Vietnamese relations. Even though this book is problematic, it is absolutely original and deserves to be widely read.

In the first chapter, “The Bronze Pillars,” Kelley argues that, from the perspective of Vietnamese literati, the bronze pillars commemorating Ma Yuan’s suppression of a Vietnamese rebellion marked a border between two unequal domains of “manifest civility” (p. 9). Asserting that generations of scholars have misconstrued the Sino-Vietnamese relationship, Kelley first skewers Henri Maspero and then spars with Keith Taylor, John Whitmore, Oliver Wolters, Li Tana, and Nola Cooke, who, he believes, have downplayed and even denied the extent to which Vietnamese scholars willingly accepted Vietnam’s subordinate status vis-à-vis China. Rejecting their interpretation, Kelley counters that envoy poems, documents dealing directly with the Sino-Vietnamese relationship, “depict a wholehearted affirmation of the world order that the tributary

relationship was based on and of Vietnam’s secondary position” (p. 23).

In the second chapter, “Articulating the Purposive Mind,” the author offers simplistic characterizations of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Judeo-Christian assumptions about poetry and cosmology, which he contrasts with “classical East Asian poetic theory” (p. 42). Had Kelley, instead, focused more systematically on his main sources—the collections of envoy poetry—the manner in which Vietnamese literati “staged” their representations of China would have emerged more clearly. Although many of the poems were written as Vietnamese scholars traveled to or returned from China, the prefaces to these collections of poems, from which the author also quotes extensively, were usually written years later by someone else. Moreover, some envoys were “mediocre” writers, and thus their poems were rewritten, years later in Hanoi, by more gifted composers.

Some of the most compelling parts of this book appear in the third chapter, “Off to Revolve Around the North Star.” Kelley begins by identifying the reasons for which Vietnamese envoys were sent to China: to present tribute, offer congratulations, request investiture, and express gratitude. He explains the remarkably complicated process through which a southern delegation was officially dispatched to the North and illuminates the complex logistics. Kelley also treats readers to a “brush talk” between the famous scholar Le Quy Don, who traveled to the North in 1760, and Zhu Peilian, an official from Guangxi who wrote prefaces to two of Le Quy Don’s major works.

The fourth chapter, “The Hardship of Travel on the Efflorescent Trail,” is bewildering. Kelley begins by observing that certain qualities in the terrain and even sounds caused Vietnamese envoys “to pine for home” (p. 97). The author explores this topos, which is altogether normal in travel literature, in the work of several esteemed scholars, including Trinh Hoai Duc, Le Quang Dinh, and Nguyen Du. But he also quotes extensively from the poetry of Nguyen Du, who (readers learn in the last chapter) was involved in an elaborate scheme to deceive the Chinese. In the 1790s, when Nguyen Du, Phan Huy Ich, and Vu Huy Tan traveled to the North on behalf of the short-lived Tay Son dynasty, the Vietnamese king was supposed to accompany them. Rather than comply with what must have seemed a troublesome and perhaps even dangerous request, the Vietnamese court sent an imposter in his place. Because Kelley fails to address the mendacity at the very core of this mission, he is able to invoke Nguyen Du’s comments as simple expressions of nostalgia. When the author concludes this chapter by remarking that there is “no evidence of mockery or belittling of the tributary relationship” (p. 93) in the poems that southern envoys composed, readers can only wonder what kind of transgression Kelley would regard as less than respectful of Chinese norms.

This problem becomes even more glaring in the fifth chapter, “Viewing the Radiance of the Esteemed King-

dom." As he sets out to guide readers through the places that so moved the Vietnamese envoys—Mount Nine Doubts, the Dayu Ridge, Yellow Crane Tower, and so forth—the author remarks: "Such sites represented all of the moral ideas and values that literati, Southern and Northern, held dear" (p. 127). And yet, in addition to quoting the great luminaries of Vietnamese intellectual life, scholars such as Nguyen Du, Phan Huy Chu, Le Quy Don, he also cites the work of two other distinguished scholars—Ngo Thi Nham and Phan Huy Ich—who helped orchestrate the fraudulent mission of the Tay Son. When the Nguyen dynasty was established in 1802, these two scholars were publicly flogged, Kelley explains, for having supported the Tay Son. But most readers, I think, will reject that explanation and will speculate, instead, that Ngo Thi Nham and Phan Huy Ich were punished in such a humiliating (and deadly) way because their dishonesty vis-à-vis the Chinese court could have resulted in real disaster for the Vietnamese.

In the final chapter, "The Celestial Fragrance," Kelley dwells on the exquisite incense in the imperial palace. He describes how the Chinese emperor's benevolence was embedded in that distinctive aroma and how, as it permeated their robes, it imbued the envoys who traveled to the North with the emperor's extraordinary virtue. Strangely, though, the discourse on perfume and purity draws extensively on the poetry of the four scholars most directly linked to the deceit of the Tay Son mission. Rather than explain why he first mentions their trickery only in his final chapter, Kelley minimizes the seriousness of their offense and remarks rather flatly that, although Chinese emperors had on earlier occasions requested the presence of Vietnamese kings, "Southern rulers had always managed to evade these requests" (p. 179). Readers who were prepared in the beginning to agree with Kelley's main point in the end will find it less than convincing.

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VICENTE L. RAFAEL. *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 231. \$22.95.

This book is a further development of themes and issues first explored by Vicente L. Rafael in *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (1993). Rafael's earlier work was one of the first in colonial studies to draw attention to the problem of translation, and as such has influenced subsequent scholarship. Rather than seventeenth-century Spanish friars deploying translation as a method of conversion, here we see nineteenth-century Filipino nationalists using Castilian Spanish as a communicative technique in a secular project to transform the Spanish Empire.

In the foreground of the book is a dense analysis of Filipino nationalist writers. Under discussion are arti-

cles in the newspaper *La solidaridad*, José Protasio Rizal's *El filibusterismo* (1891) and *Noli me tangere* (1887), and Francisco Balthazar's *Florante at Laura* (1838); there is also an intriguing chapter on popular theater or *comedia*. From these sources, Rafael tracks the transformations of Castilian and native vernaculars such as Tagalog into languages of liberation. The process was not simply confined to a literate elite. Popular theater had long circulated images of Europe and, more importantly for Rafael, elements of Castilian to a broad public. Nationalist rhetoric couched in Castilian language could, therefore, find purchase in a mass audience.

In the background are global processes transforming all of East and Southeast Asia. Although the Spanish colonial administration of the Philippines had almost maniacally managed to prevent economic development of the islands, even of the extractive plantation type, a huge increase in regional trade, stimulated in part by demand for opium and new world silver in China, and tea and other commodities in Europe and North America, could not fail to have an impact on the Philippines. With the arrival of traders came news about developments in other parts of the world.

As these global processes were felt in the Philippines, some Filipino intellectuals traveled to Europe and confirmed the vast changes wrought by science and technology there. Clear to most of these observers was that Spain was hopelessly behind modern trends. Understanding themselves to be citizens of Spain, these cosmopolitan Filipinos attempted to unite with progressive elements in the imperial center. And they did so through the medium of Castilian. Although the Spanish reaction was mixed, when this thinking found its way back to the Philippines through new print technologies, secular and religious officials were outraged by the presumption of their colonial charges, all the more so because the message came in the language of colonial rule.

Rafael demonstrates that there were at least two significant effects of this negative reaction. For nationalists, the Spanish rebuff led to further radicalization; it indicated that while Filipinos could be subjects of Spain, they could not be partners with Spain in a Spanish revival. By the 1890s, many concluded that if the Spanish Empire was not going to modernize and reform, the Philippines were better off without them. Castilian had moved from being a language of conversion to one of reform, and ultimately, revolution. On the Spanish side, messages received from Filipinos in Castilian were unnerving. They not only alienated the colonizers from their own language but suggested that there were vast hidden conspiracies afoot prepared to challenge Spanish rule. Castilian had become a language of subversion.

It is clear from the way the book is constructed that Rafael wants to reinforce the fundamental arguments about the emergence of nationalism made by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* (1983). In that work, newspapers and new communication technolo-

gies were shown to be major actors in the transformation of consciousness beyond the local level, while "Creole pioneers" were key agents of change and "old languages" found "new models." Rafael's study aligns the Philippines with these general patterns.

The role of the linguistic and the communicative in nationalism would, however, have been more convincing if the development and organization of the independence movement had been covered in greater historical detail. In addition, given the great diversity of the Philippines and longstanding separatist movements, more discussion about the historical place of these nineteenth-century nationalist imaginings in the context of regional, class, and religious struggles would have been welcome. One wonders about the other islands and vernaculars, and people outside the Castilian-Tagalog nexus; what, if anything, was the promise of the foreign to them?

It also does not seem unreasonable to expect Rafael to engage with more recent developments in colonial studies, especially works that deal with translation as political event. Given the richness of his sources and his obvious familiarity with the issues, such an engagement is critical for demonstrating that the study of the remnants of the early phases of European empire building has just as much to offer to our understanding of imperialism and colonialism as does study of the nineteenth-century heyday of empire.

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MALAVIKA KARLEKAR. *Re-Visioning the Past: Early Photography in Bengal 1875–1915*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 197. \$49.95.

Historians battle everyday with the opacity of the past. Since the 1960s, this has been made particularly challenging by the subjectivity of interpretative practices. Documents and texts no longer simply empirically narrate the words contained therein but are almost encoded visions of their times waiting to be unraveled through contextual interpretations. Given the potential and reality of conflicting interpretations, one assumes that a direct visual record would simplify, and more importantly objectively convey, the past as transparent series of events. This is where Malavika Karlekar's book makes an important critical contribution; she points out that photographs, despite their formal concord with empiricism, where they are seen as direct records of the real, are anything but "innocent" (p. 15). Creatively using Roland Barthes, Karlekar shows the colonial photograph to contain "onion-skin like layering . . . lead[ing] to multiple meanings, each determined by the specificities of the viewer's situation" (p. 15).

Karlekar makes a case for the analytical significance of the visual at two important levels. First, the past, she rightly advocates, needs to be viewed "visually" as opposed to simply "textually," as is done more frequently in the historical profession through documents, diaries, and letters. Following from this, photographs, Karlekar

argues, should be read as "a narrativized visual history" of both individuals and institutions. But photographs record reality more than just imaginistically. At another level, beyond direct depiction, photographs prompt a "more critical insight into what lies behind the image . . . this is the interface between roles and changing expectations." Photographs, then, do not simply record reality, they also serve as tools to complicate any monologic versions of it for along with images they project social norms, institutional mores and contemporary morals (p. 96).

Karlekar's work is richly studded with visual and textual instantiations of this simultaneity of methodology. The young, untutored bride of a prominent nineteenth-century intellectual shies away from photographic/social scrutiny in her semi-downcast eyes (p. 101); clean, obedient children stare "stoically" into cameras, the burden of representing the new bourgeois family clear in the lines of their stiff formal wear (pp. 105–110); Pathan porters in official British photographs huddle inconspicuously letting the camera and the colonial photographer "fix" their image and social position for posterity (p. 56). In these and many other excellent visuals from colonial India, Karlekar masterfully establishes a powerful argument about the relationship between the real and the image of the real and how the latter is not necessarily the embodiment of the former.

The work is also significant in its insistent politicization of the subliminality of anticolonialism. While it is relatively easy to establish the official camera-vision of the colonizer as surveillance of conquered landscapes and peoples, it is a much harder task to read in detextualized images the refusal of the colonized to be visually supervised. Karlekar compellingly draws our attention to the apparently trivial posture, the negligible tilt of a hand as cataloguing a vital ocular history of conflict between the viewer/ruler and the viewed/ruled. Her assertion about photographic studios as contested spaces in an era of spatial segregation is a decisive substantiation of this argument. In an age when public spaces were racially bounded and public presence of the colonized cordoned by imperial prejudices, studios provided the wealthy Indian with a fantasy of autonomy, whereby by choosing the same backdrop as his European counterpart, the colonized could "place" himself in any setting, thus sharing the "same physical space" with the ruler (pp. 4–5; 64).

It is, however, in the reading of resistance that the work appears at its most problematic. The historical practice of reading archives "against the grain" has, for at least three decades, resolutely reminded us that documentary silence is almost always not the same as historical silence. The absence of articulated confrontation from the oppressed may simply point to the successful textual maneuvers of the oppressor in expunging such acts from history. Interpretive and creative analysis thus of necessity plays a critical role in extracting utterances from the mesh of dominant noise.

But resistance cannot solely be an outcome of intense interpretation, for then modes of resistance are homog-

enized by radical relativism and *post priori* speculation. The fact that the women in the nineteenth-century photographs appear uncomfortable leads Karlekar to assume that they “seem to want to resist the pose/role imposed on them by the photographic event” (pp. 100–101). While this may be true, the analysis is weakened by not qualifying the status and import of this mode of resistance. Surely photographic depictions of awkward femininity cannot be on the same plane as the writing of autodidact women about the oppressions of the familial everyday, or the organizing of communities to fight for women’s right, examples of both of which abound in the chronicles of nineteenth-century women’s history in Bengal. In other words, resistance by Karlekar is read solely in its act, not necessarily in its consequence. To this reviewer it is important, particularly when dealing with such rich material, to interrogate any essentialized action (resistance) in itself and constantly situate it within the consequence, validity, or context of such action.

Finally, while the work provides important insights into the nature of colonial modernity and its attendant tensions, it fails to push the analysis about the modern impulse to its logical conclusion. For instance, Karlekar provides a powerful account of the sartorial mimicry of Bengali bhadralok society in how they chose to “appear” to the camera. For Karlekar this is simply an evidencing of the colonial matrix. But surely colonial modernity being inextricably (if tragically) linked to the growing networks of world capitalism could only provide a limited number of normative visual models. The expansion of capitalist market forces, structurally allied to the visual homogenization of the world, is an issue that could be productively delineated by Karlekar’s magnificent visual narrative. It is only placed in this larger context beyond Bengal, indeed beyond the nation state, that the quizzical look of Karlekar’s uncomfortable women derives poignancy in a new world that provided, for the first time, the language of rights but not always access to them.

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SWAPNA M. BANERJEE. *Men, Women and Domesticity. Articulating Middle-Class Identity in Colonial Bengal*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 247. \$35.00.

The nature of domestic work and the relations forged around it have been of especial interest to feminist scholars. At first, the focus was on the housewife and the difficulty of characterizing her unpaid labor within the rubric of a capitalist economy dominated by relations of reciprocal exchange (however unequal these may be). In the last two decades, the question of paid domestic work has also received considerable attention. There are perhaps two reasons for this. First, historians have noted the critical significance of women’s domestic service in early industrial societies, both as the chief wage-earning occupation open to women as well as its

role in the construction of intimate oppressions of class and gender within middle-class homes. Second, there has been, in the past few years, growing concern over the international migration of young women for domestic service. The bulk of this movement has been within Asia or from Asian countries to countries of the developed West. In Southeast Asia, for instance, civil society groups have raised the question of how to protect such women from the extremes of physical and sexual torture to which they are often subjected. There have been a variety of initiatives examining domestic work across historical, spatial, and cultural contexts and the specific ways in which domestic work and domestic workers have been constituted through race, class, gender, and ethnicity.

Swapna M. Banerjee’s book contributes to this growing literature. Her specific context is colonial Bengal and her chief concern the interplay of class and gender within the domestic context. She concentrates on the politics of representation of domestic servants by the middle classes, both men and women, highlighting “the articulation of Bengali middle class (bhadralok/bhadramahila) self-identity in relation to servants” (p. 205). This is emphasized throughout the book, and the reason is simple and oft-repeated: there is little by the way of historical record of “voices” of the laboring poor, including domestic workers in societies like those of India. Drawn largely from unlettered groups, marginalized in official record, unrecognized as “workers,” these people have left little impress of their own on the kind of written material historians conventionally use as sources. Banerjee thus depends on accounts of middle-class British and Indian employers, to read through and against the dominant tropes of representation.

Chapter four, which explores the representation of domestic servants and, especially, gendered and generational differences between male and female employers as well as between male and female servants in autobiographies, memoirs, novels, and short stories, is easily the most insightful. The emphasis on dependence, sharing, and love in the depiction of the employer-servant relationship and the suppression of labor, subordination, and resistance was, Banerjee argues, motivated by a “middle-class desire to establish hegemony over the subaltern population” (p. 162). Moreover, infused with a humanizing consciousness of bourgeois civility, a new generation was articulating its distance from the older cultural values of a dying feudal aristocracy with a very different sense of class and caste distinctions. There were thus a great deal of ambiguity and multiple layers in these representations.

In the first sections of the book, Banerjee explores how central to the crystallization of a colonial middle class was dependence on the labor of domestic servants. She also argues a discernible feminization of domestic service in Calcutta in the 1930s. Her analysis of these processes is, however, derivative, depending largely on fragmentary and secondary sources. Some of the shibboleths of official and middle-class prejudices are reproduced without consideration, such as “an acute sex

imbalance leading to widespread promiscuity and prostitution" (p. 87), or that unwholesome urban living conditions led to "mass movements of women from Calcutta to the countryside" (p. 88). Also, in the period under study, distinctions between different forms of urban employment were fuzzy, even mill employment being casual and unregulated. Can the contours of this labor market and the feminization of domestic service be understood without examining the linkages between the countryside and the urban economy? We need a clearer view of the wider processes of the industrial economy of the region.

These criticisms apart, this book is an important contribution to understanding the meaning and characterization of domestic work and workers in non-Western and historical contexts. It is thus a valuable addition to feminist studies on domesticity. It contributes also to the burgeoning literature on the Bengali middle classes and the construction of *bhadralok* identity and will be useful reading for those interested in class formation in a colonial context.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

MAKIKO KUWAHARA. *Tattoo: An Anthropology*. New York: Berg. 2005. Pp. xix, 268. \$29.95.

Makiko Kuwahara's ethnographic account of tattooists and tattooing in contemporary Tahiti has two stated goals: to address the "discontinuous nature of Tahitian tattoo history" as well as the "defining importance of the spatiality of tattooing" (p. 2). Only the first chapter looks at the history of Tahitian tattooing, while the remainder of the book ambles through descriptions of tattoos, tattooists, and tattooees. These descriptions attend to the antecedents of tattooing as well as the consequences. The reader is given insight into why tattooists become tattooists and why tattooees become tattooees. The formation of personal identity is, perhaps not surprisingly, articulated as an important feature of the decision to tattoo and to be tattooed.

At the end of the introductory chapter, in which the author lays out the purpose and plan of the book, I penciled a note to myself: "Is there enough for a book here?" The answer is "perhaps not." The history of Tahitian tattooing is represented as both discontinuous—proscribed by Christian missionaries beginning late in the eighteenth century—as well as continuous—adopted by Yankee and European mariners and surviving as a cultural transplant away from Polynesia. This creates the interesting (although certainly not unique) irony that contemporary Tahitians must look to Europeans in order to reinstate a native form. The book implicitly promises to address the ways in which (at least some) Tahitians wrestle with this history, but in many respects, the (dis)continuous history of tattooing is cast aside after the initial chapter.

With the benefit of some sixty photos of tattoos and the results of many hours of interviews with tattooists and tattooees, one does come away from the book with insight into a set of people and behaviors that is likely to have been (at least relatively) unfamiliar. But this insight occurs in a relative conceptual vacuum, and the reader is left to guess at how knowing a lot more about Tahitian tattooing can be related to tattooing in general and Tahitians in general—not to mention body art and people around the world.

At times the lack of context is probably due to a simple oversight that can be surmounted; for example, when reading about the costs of tattooing implements and materials the reader is never told that a *Comptoirs Français du Pacifique Franc* is roughly equivalent to a U.S. penny. At other times, the problem cannot be solved by looking up an Internet site. For example, in reading about tattooed Tahitians, I do not know if I am reading about a tiny percentage or a significant slice of the population.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this volume is that it reads very much like a dissertation—and one that is in need of some editing. There are a number of typographical and other errors, including at least one in-text citation to a work that does not appear in the reference section (p. 242), an erroneous index entry (Marylin [sic] Strathern is not on the listed page), an absent index entry (the well-known Tahiti scholar Douglas Oliver is not listed, although he is cited on p. 35), and a footnote that seems to have disappeared (n. 1, p. 4). At one point we are told that Tahitian tattooists are always men (p. 11, and again on p. 117) while elsewhere that they are "generally" men (p. 25). Key theoretical positions are alluded to but not contended with, as when the names of Strathern, Christopher Gregory, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Marcel Mauss are simply inserted into a discussion of objects and exchange (p. 138) with a sentence of explanation.

These shortcomings can set a reader's teeth on edge, with the result that when the author seeks to make a general claim, one has a jaundiced eye. For example, in describing tattooists and tattooing at art festivals, the author claims that "Colonial fetishism and touristic fetishism are preoccupied with race and sexuality. While French colonial discourse articulated indigenous women's sexuality within a signifying sexual economy of immoral looseness and licentiousness, it expressed indigenous men's sexuality within a discourse of savagery and barbarism" (p. 167–168). It is not that I doubt that this is true; it sounds quite plausible. But there are no data to support the claim. Furthermore, references to relevant significant theoretical positions such as Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) or, closer to home, Nicholas Thomas's *In Oceania* (1997) are conspicuously absent.

The audience that will be pleased with this book is likely to have interests that are narrow and deep: for example, contemporary Tahitian tattooists and tattoo-

ing. For those whose interests are less parochial, this book may be of limited value.

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PAT JALLAND. *Changing Ways of Death in Twentieth-Century Australia: War, Medicine and the Funeral Business*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 409. \$39.95.

By the late twentieth century, the most common "way of death" in Australia had become cremation. This was in contrast to the influence of Christian faith on the rituals associated with death and the practices of mourning during the previous century. Indeed, as Pat Jalland argues in this insightful and wide-ranging study, one of the most profound cultural transformations underpinning modern Australia concerns the significant shift in attitudes toward dying and bereavement, and how these have been expressed within the private circle of the family as well as in the wider public sphere.

Jalland is well placed to comment: in *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History, 1840–1918* (2002), she examined in rich documentary detail the historical specificities associated with dying and loss in Australia's immigrant colonies. Although understandings of death were transplanted from Britain and Ireland, Jalland argued that the everyday experiences in the relatively isolated and highly masculine settler communities resulted in a distinctive and individualized Australian approach to death. Here Jalland extends this argument into the twentieth century, where evolving influences—from the impact of non-British immigration to the "Americanization" of the funeral business—have shaped Australian responses to dying, and to such associated issues as medical intervention and the psychological management of grief.

In 1904, the most likely time of death for the Australian population switched from infancy to old age. Increased life expectancy, and the rapid decline in infant and child mortality, were accompanied by growing disillusionment with institutionalized forms of religion and a more marked (at least in comparison to Britain) secularization of society. The "two dominant motors of change" affecting death and mourning were Australia's participation in wars and the developments in medical knowledge and services. Jalland examines both in relation to the "death denial" prevalent in Australian society from 1914 until the 1970s.

The high Australian casualties in World War I were the catalyst for an enormous shift in the culture of death. Of the young men who volunteered for overseas service, 60,000, or one in five, failed to return. Almost half of their families received inconclusive information about the cause of death; indeed, 25,000 of the dead were never identified. The absence of bodies, and of the opportunity for families to hold traditional mourning services, meant individual grief was suppressed and in-

ternalized, while collective sorrow was directed towards a national project of memorialization.

Jalland draws upon diaries and letters of soldiers and their kin to explore wartime loss and its longer-term consequences. Her skilful interweaving of personal voices with broader analysis captures most effectively the mood of particular historical moments. There is, in this regard, a very moving chapter based on the writings of the noted Australian novelist and intellectual, Katharine Susannah Prichard. Her soldier-hero husband, Hugo Throssell, suffered war-related depression and committed suicide in 1931, and Prichard wrote perceptively about the private nature of her acute grief.

World War II perpetuated the Australian silence of sorrow. The casualty rate was lower than in World War I, but this time 10,000 of those killed were airmen, and another 8,000 died in Japanese prisoner-of-war camps. Such deaths were horrific and unimaginable, with family pain often prolonged because of the large number of men reported "missing." Again, Jalland uses correspondence and diaries to illustrate the depth of wartime trauma. For most World War II veterans, emotion was generally hidden in public; only in the wake of the Vietnam War was it acceptable to speak openly about their fear and grief.

This national culture of death denial was reinforced by the revolution in medicine, especially the use of sulphonamide drugs from the 1930s to treat and cure disease. The increasing medicalization of death, including the hospitalization of the terminally ill, meant that dying was not just delayed but institutionalized and further removed from daily life. By mid-century, cancer had replaced tuberculosis as the most feared "death sentence," and Jalland traces the cultural responses to cancer, to palliative care, and to recent controversies over euthanasia. Her discussion on medicine and death is, from necessity, more diffused than other sections in the book, although this actually highlights the complexity and emotional messiness of dying.

The late 1970s, Jalland maintains, heralded the second cultural rupture in Australian attitudes toward death. Immigrants from diverse European and Asian backgrounds challenged the dominant ideology and brought their mourning beliefs into full view. The funeral business sought to modernize and professionalize its services in line with widening community expectations. And psychologists recognized that emotional denial may hinder the healing process, bestowing a new respectability on public displays of grief as expressed through, for instance, "in memoriam" notices in the press. As Jalland concludes, these changes are part of an ongoing—but now noticeably more diverse—historical engagement in Australia with the social and individual dimensions of death and commemoration.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

PETER E. POPE. *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 463. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

In this excellent book, Peter E. Pope examines the early English settlement at Newfoundland, a colony that many contemporaries dismissed as a failed, peripheral outpost (an opinion later echoed by historians). As Pope points out, however, Europe's trade to the North Atlantic outstripped its exchange with the Gulf of Mexico for much of the seventeenth century. Rather than an isolated outpost, Newfoundland "was a central node in an international network" of commerce and migration (p. 80).

A welcome corrective to our focus on those North American colonies whose inhabitants constructed states, founded churches, and left extensive paper trails, Pope offers a distinct model of colonization and a different perspective on success and failure in the Atlantic world. Initially colonized for England by West Country fishermen, Newfoundland soon attracted the attention of the same gentry projectors and mercenary adventurers who participated in other colonial ventures. Sir George Calvert secured a charter from James I in 1621 and invested considerable capital in constructing wharves, warehouses, and fishing stations before relocating to his newly acquired proprietary of Maryland. With no proprietor, no government, and a largely transient population of fishermen, Newfoundland in 1630 looked like a failed experiment, but Pope argues that these conditions facilitated a successful "vernacular" or informal settlement on a smaller scale. For example, Lord Baltimore's departure opened the door for mid-dling merchants to enter the Newfoundland trade, most notably Sir David Kirke. Kirke and his partners secured a commercial monopoly rather than a proprietary charter and reaped the benefits of Calvert's earlier investment.

Pope quietly demolishes one myth after another regarding English settlement and maritime culture in the region. Environmental and resource constraints limited the number of inhabitants that the fishing industry could support. Still, by the 1670s the profitable export of dried cod—"the first mass-produced food commodity"—had attracted a permanent population of 1,700, while the seasonal demands of the fishery raised that number to over 6,000 in the summer. Alongside the fishery, residents profited from the "sack trade." Connections with markets in the Americas, England, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Wine Islands made the North Atlantic an entrepôt for a wide range of goods and services, including tobacco, wine and spirits, cloth, pottery, and sugar. Carriage of such goods formed an important part of the income of everyone from Kirke to the humblest fishing servant. Newfoundland also acted as a "nursery for seamen," although not

in the way that English mercantilists anticipated. Empty ships carried passengers to the fisheries cheaply, but return trips to England were costly. As a result, Pope estimates that 20,000 servants and planters migrated to New England.

In tracing the settlement of Newfoundland, Pope provides a fascinating socioeconomic history of "one of those early nodes of capitalism," the Atlantic fishing industry (p. 193). In this three-tier society, merchant families like the Kirkes dominated the sack trade and anchored a string of patron-client relations. Successful resident "planters" presided over the households that were the key units of production. They and their servants operated small inshore fishing boats, maintained extensive stations to process their catch for export, and provided essential services to the planters' non-resident counterparts, the "by-boat-men." Fishing servants endured wretched living conditions and limited opportunity for advancement yet enjoyed relatively high incomes.

Useful comparisons help put Newfoundland wages (three times higher than laborers in Old and New England received), households (two-thirds had children), and rates of transience (lower than Boston and parts of Virginia and England) into transatlantic perspective, even as they highlight certain differences. Newfoundlanders tended not to invest in housing, but even the poorest were "first adapters" of luxury goods new to the market, especially tobacco, wine, and spirits, which had cultural as well as material significance for users. Indeed, Pope argues that mariners played as important a role in the development of a consumer society as did aristocratic trendsetters.

Throughout the book, Pope remains refreshingly attuned to the interplay of class and culture during an era of capitalist transformation. He teases an amazing amount of information from the available written and archaeological records, and his nuanced use of material culture is particularly effective. A Baroque iron cross suggests that absence of churches did not preclude religiosity; a plaintive inscription on Portuguese pottery becomes an opportunity to reflect on the human cost of a transient industry; monogrammed accessories illustrate the premium placed on gentry literacy in a place where "only those with the ability to contact a transatlantic bureaucracy could exercise political power" (p. 270). I would like to learn more about the local civil culture that allowed Newfoundlanders—living in a state of nature, as it were—to maintain social amity, as well as marriages, property rights, and contracts, despite intense competition over resources.

At times the narrative is repetitive. The references are somewhat dated, and the book deserves a full bibliography. Overall, however, this is a must-read for any student of colonial America, a model of what the new Atlantic history should be.

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RUBY L. GOUGH. *Robert Edwards Holloway: Newfoundland Educator, Scientist, Photographer, 1874–1904*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 274. \$49.95.

Ruby L. Gough undertakes a labor of love in this fascinating biography of Robert Edwards Holloway (1850–1904). English born and trained, Holloway emigrated to St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1874 to become principal of Wesleyan Academy, so marking the institution's growth into Methodist College (1887) that the community ultimately renamed it Holloway School (1929). Holloway's career is interesting beyond the local level for three reasons: first, he ranks among the pioneers who introduced cutting-edge science into secondary education. Second, as an early photographer Holloway created a remarkable visual record of nineteenth-century Newfoundland; McGill-Queen's University Press deserves praise for interspersing examples of Holloway's stunning photographs throughout this volume. Third, Holloway's active life offers important insights into late Victorian culture on the edge of empire, continent, and dominion (Newfoundland remained outside of the Canadian Confederation until 1949). Sickness loomed as a constant threat, from Holloway's lifelong battle with tuberculosis to an 1888 diphtheria epidemic that swept away two of his four children, along with faculty and students at the college. Fire lurked not far behind, the worst destroying the school and half the town in 1892. Music, art, and sports round out a poignant picture of family, school, and community life intertwining almost inextricably in Holloway's experience.

Gough's account becomes problematic when she claims for Holloway a place in the history of science beyond his rightful place in the history of science education. Holloway's work "As a practising scientist," we are told, consisted of efforts "in his laboratory to replicate discoveries he read about in scientific journals and to share them with his students and an interested public" (p. 115). Timely scientific demonstrations ranged from telephone, microphone, electric light, phonograph, "and other inventions occupying popular attention" (p. 59), to X-rays only months after W. C. Röntgen announced his famous discovery in 1895 (pp. 136–138), and radiation from pitchblende identified in the college mineral cabinet in 1903 (pp. 224–226). Yet none of this made Holloway a scientist, then or now. The Royal Society of Canada at the time expected original research from its scientific members, at best relegating nominees with records similar to Holloway's to its literary sections. And if Holloway was precocious in replicating X-rays in 1896, then this judgment should be cast in light of the same accomplishments at the University of Toronto, McGill University, and Laval University that same year.

While Holloway made no claims for himself as a scientist, he did proclaim Newfoundland "a hard country for the scientific experimenter" (p. 59) who wished to equip his college laboratory. Among his greatest

achievements was repeated success in obtaining funding from the college board and/or generous community members. More than a one-way reflection of "His influence on the society and culture of the day" (p. 206), these achievements reflect a widespread admiration for science among the late Victorian middle classes in general, and among Methodists and other denominations in particular. Parallel outlooks by Sir J. W. Dawson, principal of McGill University, and Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, respectively, suggest larger patterns to be discerned in this regard.

Unfortunately, the relevant context of science, in Canada and abroad, is largely missing here. A weak and outdated research base peppers chapter four with chronological confusion, anachronism, key omissions, and factual errors: a comparison of Canadian religious colleges mistakes Ontario for Upper Canada and omits Quebec entirely; the geologist Alexander Murray had been surveying Newfoundland since 1864, not "later"; Dawson superintended Nova Scotian education only in 1850–1852, not "later"; Abbé Léon Provancher's name receives a superfluous "de"; Thomas McCulloch of Pictou Academy could not have "lagged behind Holloway and many of his American counterparts in his acceptance of Darwinian theory," since McCulloch died in 1843; nor was the Scottish-trained botanist George Lawson McCulloch's student (pp. 72–75).

Gough does not explain Holloway's position on Darwinian evolution, if he had one. This, too, is important, since she emphasizes the influence of T. H. Huxley's summer courses for teachers at the National (later Imperial) College of Science, which helped Holloway to work toward a science degree at the University of London (pp. 16–17, 21–23, 55, 62); whether he completed the degree remains unclear. In addition, Gough credits Holloway for "opening the mind" of the poet E. J. Pratt (1882–1964), a college student who appreciated the advanced nature of Holloway's science classes (p. 168), "to the thinking of Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and others by lending him books from his own library" (p. 165). Again, no further details elaborate this tantalizing scenario, just as frequent allusions to visiting scientists lack names and dates, and names too frequently lack identification. One delightful account does describe local responses to Guglielmo Marconi's famous visit to St. John's in 1901 to demonstrate his transatlantic wireless telegraph from Signal Hill (pp. 163–165).

Holloway's remarkable life is noteworthy less for its "unique" quality (pp. 206–207) than for its deep thematic resonances with the larger picture of his day. We have Gough to thank for this illuminating portrait, and for recognizing much of what Holloway has to offer our broader understanding.

SUZANNE ZELLER
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JUDITH FINGARD and JANET GUILDFORD, editors. *Mothers of the Municipality: Women, Work, and Social Policy in*

Post-1945 Halifax. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 318. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$35.00.

In the last decade there has been increasing interest in the postwar period of Canadian social history, a transformative period in state-citizen relations that deeply affected understandings of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Much of this scholarship has focused on the national level. This collection of essays, edited by Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford, shifts the terrain by exploring these dramatic changes in social life at the local level. Halifax is a wonderful site for such local analysis as a port city with international influxes of people and ideas, a place dominated by a military presence, and the capital of a province considered a leader in Atlantic Canada yet one also known for its conservative social values.

Out of this city came a surge of women's activism in the postwar period that reconstructed women's roles and provided new services for those in need. It is women's activism of this particular period that is the focus of the collection. This activism was tinged with maternalism, which, in many cases, had both liberating and oppressive effects on various groups of women. The contributors to the collection are aware of the contradictory nature of such maternalist causes, but for the most part the authors choose to focus on the positive and celebrate the contributions that women made during the era. They highlight how women improved the lives of women and children through women's organizations, women's volunteer experiences, and individual campaigns. Contributors address four major themes: the role of the state, the secularization of services, the influence of the Cold War on Halifax, and the complicated relationship between city and province.

Several essays in this collection are simply gems, giving us an understanding of a certain aspect of women's activism that has not been fully developed previously. Here I must first acknowledge Wanda Thomas Bernard and Fingard's essay on African-Nova Scotian domestic workers. This is an important contribution, a first in Canadian scholarship, detailing the challenges of these domestic workers and the racism that they experienced in their postwar work lives. And yet, I want to know more, particularly about the relationship between Jewish women employers and African-Nova Scotian domestic workers. Was there more of a bond, an understanding of exclusion, between these two groups than between the workers and their Christian bosses? I also want to know more about their experiences of racism, harassment, and exploitation as domestic workers. In recent scholarship there is considerable attention to these negative aspects of this job, and yet it appears that these issues are glossed over here. What kind of worker solidarity was there between these domestic workers? Above all, I want to hear the voices of these domestic workers. It is such a shame that the authors interviewed these women and yet provide no quotations where the women speak for themselves about their work experiences.

Shirley Tillotson's essay on child welfare worker Gwendolen Lantz is beautifully crafted to personify the tremendous changes in public and private welfare through the career of one woman. Unlike some of the other essays, Tillotson provides a strong analysis that situates Lantz within the political, economic, and social milieu of her time. This is very thoroughly researched to capture the nuances of the tensions between Lantz and various social agencies. Tillotson is not afraid to provide a critique of the child welfare pioneer, criticizing her strong opposition to unwed mothers. She also provides important research through the use of the city directory to determine that Lantz lived much of her adult life with one particular woman. While it is not possible to define the nature of this relationship, it is vitally important that the living arrangement be declared. The history has yet to be written that documents just how many women living with long-term female companions (including the likes of Charlotte Whitton) were instrumental in the development of social welfare in Canada.

Another stellar essay is Jeanne Fay's discussion of the regulation of welfare single mothers from 1956 to 1977. This is a period when most assume that the moralism of an earlier period diminished or entirely disappeared with the emergence of the "modern" postwar welfare state. Fay proves otherwise with her strong analysis of the moralism and maternalism of this era. Fay is attentive to the issues of race and racism in her understanding of welfare state regulation.

Frances Early's examination of the Halifax branch of the Voice of Women (VOW) is also informative. Here Early explores the courage of women who defied the military dominance of the port city and spoke out clearly against war, nuclear weapons, racism, and sexism. I had not previously realized that VOW took public stances against racial discrimination in the workplace and made a concerted effort to include African-Nova Scotian women in leadership positions within the organization.

As with any collection, there is the difficulty of ensuring that the authors speak across one another's essays. Although there is some conversation, it would be wonderful if there were more talk across the essays about race. Bernard and Fingard focus exclusively on African-Nova Scotian women, whereas many other essays do not address these women at all. In Suzanne Morton's study of Halifax Maternity Homes, I want to know if African-Nova Scotian women ever ventured through the doors. In Tillotson's essay on child care, I want to know about the race of the children and the race of the childcare workers. In Guildford's study of public welfare, I want to know if African-Nova Scotian women had more difficulties receiving welfare and experienced more public scrutiny.

Throughout this collection I was struck by the hesitancy to critique women activists and their contributions. Can we not applaud their efforts and yet at the same time acknowledge their morally oppressive, elitist, and racist attitudes when appropriate? This speaks

to the belief that women social reformers can only be heroic or moralistic, not both at the same time.

Despite these two challenges (speaking across essays about race and incorporating both positive and negative attributes of these social reformers), the collection provides an important contribution to our understanding of postwar women's activism. This area has been neglected for good reasons. There are often few records of activists' behavior, given that women leaders were often too busy acting to write and store records. Another difficulty is locating former activists who have retired, moved, and otherwise disappeared from the political scene. As someone who has attempted to find and write about postwar women activists I applaud the authors for their thorough research of a much-ignored group of important social reformers. May this collection spur others into more research on this topic.

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EDWARD E. GORDON and ELAINE H. GORDON. *Literacy in America: Historic Journey and Contemporary Solutions*. Foreword by GERALD GUTEK. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xxi, 329. \$24.95.

Edward E. Gordon and Elaine H. Gordon investigated the history of education for literacy in the United States from the Pilgrims in Plymouth to the present day with a goal of finding exemplary practices that can be applied to contemporary needs. Their conclusion is that "home background and parental support are more powerful influences than schooling in determining personal literacy achievement" (p. 302).

The authors back up their conclusion with examples of successful efforts at literacy education from every era and many regions of the country. For the most part, their evidence is anecdotal, from diaries and letters, and their stated goal is not to measure the growth of literacy but to find out how it was accomplished. Some of their examples are well known: the importance of the ability to read the Bible in Puritan Massachusetts, the rise of sectarian education in the Dutch, Quaker, and Catholic communities in the middle colonies, family tutors on southern plantations, and one-room schoolhouses in rural America. For an example of community-directed schooling among American Indians, they chose the Cherokees, who developed their own written language. For African Americans they detail the efforts to learn to read of such well known individuals as Frederick Douglass.

Although the book presents many examples of strong parental support for literacy education, the authors do not examine the issue of children whose parents felt powerless to influence their children's education or even opposed it because it was a threat to the home culture (as described by Anzia Yezierska in *Bread Givers* [1925]). In fact, the goal of acculturation, sometimes forced, is another side to the story of literacy education. The question to be asked is whose interest was served

by teaching children to read and write in English? Delineating the examples of social control by the dominant culture on less powerful groups might have strengthened the author's argument that the opposite approach, namely education for literacy involving and even defined by parents and community, is the more successful.

An extreme example of forced acculturation is the history of the Indian boarding schools. Yet even that experience reveals some examples of Native people taking control of literacy education. Polingaysi Qoyawayma describes her methods of using Native folk tales in teaching Native children in *No Turning Back: A Hopi Indian Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds* (1964). In *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (1994) K. Tsianina Lomawaima demonstrates that in at least one case students turned the boarding school into an Indian-identified place. A modern example of an effort at cultural empowerment is the story of Rough Rock, a contemporary Indian-run school analyzed by Teresa I. McCarty, in *A Place to Be Navajo: Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling* (2002).

Bilingual education, a longstanding and critical issue in literacy education, is not covered in this book. Part of the goal of Rough Rock is the survival of the Navajo language. The authors do not explain whether or not they define literacy in any language, including Spanish, as meeting their goals. The issue is not a new one: the United States closed German-speaking schools during World War I and, even earlier, several New England communities forced French-language parochial schools to teach in English.

Although the authors cite the segregation of African American children in inferior schools as a reason for low levels of school attendance and literacy, they do not present either desegregation or contemporary African American-directed schools as opportunities for the involvement of parents and the community. Without a feeling of empowerment, parents are less likely to participate in the development of their children's literacy.

The strength of the book is in its variety of first person sources. Writings range from Cotton Mather's plan for the education of his children to the eighteenth-century schooling of Hannah Adams. Early Moravian immigrants to Pennsylvania established twenty bilingual schools. Antebellum Virginia planters advertised in English newspapers for tutors to teach their children. Beginning in 1717 and continuing today, the Ursuline sisters in Louisiana have educated young women. In the early years, they offered classes for African American and Indian girls in the afternoons. Frances Willard, later president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, found teaching twenty-seven scholars in a leaky building outside of Chicago more than she could handle. Yet there were successes, too. The enrollment in Iowa of the school age population rose from sixteen to seventy-five percent in less than forty years. These stories and others of approaches to literacy education add

color and credibility to more standard histories of education in the United States.

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E. JENNIFER MONAGHAN. *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America*. (Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press in association with the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. 2005. Pp. xiii, 491. \$49.95.

This book is the fruit of E. Jennifer Monaghan's years of experience as both teacher of reading and writing and historian of the same in early America. She is thus uniquely qualified to explain to a modern audience how colonial children learned the three Rs. Her book adds to a field that has been quiet since the 1960s and 1970s, when such historians as Bernard Bailyn, James Axtell, and, above all, Lawrence Cremin, moved beyond the institutional histories of the past to stress the multiple agencies of education in the home, church, field, and workshop as well as the school. Monaghan reminds us, however, that although many children learned their letters and began to read at home, for most any further acquisition of literacy came from formal schooling.

Monaghan's study is divided into three parts. Part one concentrates on Puritan New England. After describing the unprecedented school laws Congregationalists passed in their commitment to literacy as the path to Protestant piety, Monaghan explains their method, the progress from hornbook to primer to Psalter to Bible that became what she calls, after John Locke, the "ordinary road" to literacy in colonial America. Subsequent chapters discuss the Massachusetts Bay Colony experiments with teaching Indians to read; the available books for children; and the cases of the Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather families. Part one concludes with two chapters on Anglican efforts to spread literacy, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, among both Europeans and the Mohawk Indians. Monaghan considers denominational differences while stressing the common features of the "ordinary road" and the overwhelmingly religious motivations for teaching reading in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Part two offers two chapters on the transitional years from 1730 to 1750. The first surveys the expanding provisions for schooling in different colonies; the second describes an important new stretch in the ordinary road: the spelling book. Monaghan argues that the adoption of spellers helped to increase both the number of readers and the amount of secular reading matter in the period that followed. Part three moves on to continuity and change in the decades preceding the American Revolution, beginning with some efforts to teach slaves to read. Monaghan then turns to writing and notes the persistence of one trend—it was always taught after reading—while describing the expansion from traditional male-centered and practical purposes for writing to new more expressive forms, such as the personal letter, penned by men and women alike. Mon-

aghan also describes the appearance of children's books for pleasure alongside the traditional works designed for moral instruction. She links these changes to the rise of consumption and pursuit of gentility on the part of both sexes, as well as new Lockean attitudes toward children. Her concluding chapter, devoted to the cases of Benjamin Franklin and Virginia tutors Philip Fithian and John Harrower, illustrates the continuities, changes, and regional variations from the "ordinary road" trod by the Puritans.

This exhaustively researched book will be useful to scholars of reading, books, education, gender, and childhood in colonial America. Monaghan's careful examination of variation over time, space, race, region, and denomination give it a wide scope. That it is written in clear and jargon-free prose helps, too, as does her gracious way of acknowledging (and thereby pointing the reader to) the work of other scholars. Monaghan makes some things clearer than they were before: the exclusion of girls from early schools, even in New England, for example, or the difficulty in teaching Indians posed by the simple lack of texts in their languages.

More hands-on editing would have made this an even better book. First, more signposting was needed. Monaghan's tendency is to take her reader on a tour of all the evidence and then to offer conclusions at the ends of sections and chapters. Indeed, the full weight of her argument only becomes clear in the book's concluding chapter, where she ties all her pieces together. Second, the force of Monaghan's arguments is blunted by a lack of proportion and context. Occasionally the reader is frustrated when a detailed description of a text or an experiment in teaching is followed by the admission that the phenomenon in question was never widespread. Further, her case studies tend to focus on the few at the top and bottom of society—the elite who left personal papers and the few Indians and slaves who acquired literacy—with only the occasional nod to the vast majority in between. Because Monaghan herself admits (in parentheses, p. 370) that "We should, however, remember the large numbers of colonial children who had no access to schooling at all" her work should be read in addition to, and not instead of, the older classics by Cremin and others. It will nevertheless become the reference volume of choice for those interested in rudimentary education in colonial America.

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DAVID A. WEIR. *Early New England: A Covenanted Society*. (Emory University Studies in Law and Religion.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2005. Pp. xviii, 460. \$34.00.

As he was preparing a previous book, *The Origins of the Federal Theology in Sixteenth-Century Reformation Thought* (1990), David A. Weir began to compile a list of every covenant enacted by a New England congregation in the seventeenth century, eventually doing the same for patents or covenants employed by civil gov-

ernments in the same region. The fruits of this research comprise the heart of his new book: a checklist of all such covenants, civil or church-related, as these were enacted between 1620 and 1708 in New England, as well as in the communities founded by like-minded immigrants in New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere. A bibliographical essay and extensive endnotes, many of them citing the work of other scholars, take up the final 135 pages. As Weir points out, the information he has brought together in one place is scattered through a host of records, published and unpublished. His, then, is more a book of reference than it is a work of narrative or interpretive history; and although some of the bibliographical materials can be found elsewhere, especially in the thirteen-volume *New England Bibliography* (1976–2003), Weir has done us all a service in making so much information available in a single place.

Weir broaches two large matters of interpretation. The first concerns change over time as manifested in the civil and church covenants. The second is whether the civil documents imply or assert a place for Christianity. Were these, he asks, “primarily theocentric, christocentric, or secular” (p. 2)? In the church covenants Weir finds little evidence of change but much repetition. A “covenant formulary” rapidly emerged and remained in use through the period. The principal element of change he discerns is a greater attention to the question of infant baptism, which the orthodox colonists justified as an expression of continuity with the covenant God enacted with Abraham and his “seed” (Genesis 17:7). Civil covenants were more diverse, for obvious reasons: those who sought such documents from the crown or other agencies were not of the same mind about the Stuart kings or the Church of England. Thus we learn that the patent obtained by the Anglican Ferdinando Gorges is quite different from those secured by Plymouth and Massachusetts, although religion figures in all of them.

Because Weir’s description of these texts offers little beyond what early Americanists can find in Charles M. Andrews’s *The Colonial Period of American History* (1934), and because the texts themselves are filled with boilerplate—notably so in their references to the conversion of the Native Americans—Weir’s coding of them as being, in the main, Christian texts tells us nothing about on-the-ground debates as the colonists in New England wrestled with the meaning of such key terms as law, democracy, “gospel liberty,” consent, and theocracy, almost always doing so in the context of a Christian primitivism as well as uneasiness about the excesses of Stuart rule or the uncertain legality of their own institutions. Two of the four orthodox colonies made church membership a condition of the civil franchise, but two did not; and efforts to ground the civil code on “Moses his Judicials,” to use John Cotton’s phrase, foundered everywhere except for a handful of capital laws, most of which were never enforced. These aspects of civil society complicate the meaning of “Christian” or religious beyond what appears in this book.

The description of church covenants is similarly constrained, ignoring, for example, the innovative and important role of late sixteenth-century Puritan “Separatists” in foregrounding covenant as a basis for the true church or congregation. Fifty years later, English and Scottish moderates, well aware of this history, assailed the architects of the “Congregational Way” in New England for making the legitimacy of their churches depend on a covenant, a practice that also abetted the restriction of church membership to a subset of the population. The politics investing all of the church covenants Weir surveys is, then, no simple matter. But for Weir, who is both critic and admirer of Perry Miller’s recovery of the covenant, much of this politics shrinks to the question of “declension,” another problem of interpretation that the covenants themselves seem ill-suited to clarify.

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T. A. MILFORD. *The Gardiners of Massachusetts: Provincial Ambition and the British-American Career*. (Revisiting New England: The New Regionalism.) Hanover, N.H.: University of New Hampshire Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 306. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.00.

The title of this book might better be *Three Gardiners*, since it concerns only one member in each generation: Silvester Gardiner, his son, John, and John’s son, John Sylvester John. T. A. Milford makes good use of a trove of family papers to reconstruct each man’s public career and has read widely in manuscripts, newspapers, and magazines on both sides of the Atlantic in order to situate his subjects in their place and times. Milford views the Gardiners as simultaneously British and American because they were active participants in the intellectual and economic life of the empire.

The first two Gardiners were moderately successful in their business endeavors. Silvester grew up as an Anglican in Rhode Island, went to Paris and London to study medicine, made a good living selling drugs in New England, and invested in land in Maine. He was a Loyalist whose property was confiscated when he fled to England, but he returned after the war to pursue his claims in Maine. Son John, the most interesting of the three men, went to Britain to learn the law and, while there, absorbed the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment. He practiced in Wales, where he married and settled down, but found his income wanting and sought a post in the West Indies. He eventually returned to the newly independent states, first to Philadelphia, then to Boston. His father cut him out of his will when John helped turn the Anglican King’s Chapel into a Unitarian church. John served in the legislature but failed in most of his political endeavors. He enjoyed controversy, was frequently quoted in the newspapers, and published a string of contentious pamphlets and articles over the years. Eccentric and curmudgeonly, John seemed to delight in making enemies and embarrassing his friends. When he disappeared at sea during a storm

in 1793, this typically acid eulogy appeared in a Boston newspaper: "Better, far better, had it been for thee / Had mill-stones drown'd thee in the depth of sea" (p. 171).

John's son, John Sylvester John, led a very different life. He was born in 1765 in his mother's hometown in Wales but was sent at a young age to live with his grandfather in Boston when his parents moved to the West Indies. During the Revolutionary War, the family dispatched him to England to be educated, but he never earned a college degree. As a result, when he returned to Boston, he did not qualify to pass the bar. In 1787, he entered the Episcopal diaconate at New York City and eventually returned to Boston to serve at Trinity Church, where he became rector in 1805. Growing increasingly conservative as the years passed, John Sylvester John became an arch Federalist culturally as well as politically.

These three Gardiner men were not especially important or influential in their times, but their lives, opinions, and careers cast welcome light into some of the more shadowy corners of early American history. Milford's description of how law was taught and practiced in eighteenth-century England is fascinating, as is the material on John Sylvester John's brief but close connection to John Wilkes Booth. The analysis of John's business on the Caribbean island of St. Christopher may be the book's most important contribution to historical knowledge.

Milford's book is a most uneven affair, however. The text is highly episodic, often gossipy rather than pointed, and ultimately fails to tell a well-integrated story. The prose all too frequently goes baroque; here is my favorite example: "Thus Hume, who loved Paris, admitted London's primacy, and despised Scotticisms in the English language, was also a proud Scot who praised the counterfeit minstrelsy of Ossian and damned the roast beef bigotries of English 'Barbarians'" (p. 56). Important Enlightenment figures such as David Hume and Adam Smith take up a great deal of space in the section on John's education and career, which may explain his anti-Trinitarian views, but Milford fails to connect them or their ideas conclusively to the rest of his career. I suspect the family papers that furnished the main sources for his study provided rather meager materials on the interior lives of the Gardiners.

Inadequate evidence may explain why there is virtually no information in the book on Gardiner family life or their children, but we are not even told how many of the latter each man had. In sum, this is a very limited study of the careers of three British American men who were neither farmers nor patriots nor major political figures yet whose histories serve to illustrate less familiar but no less real dimensions of life in the late colonial and early national eras.

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FRANK LAMBERT. *James Habersham: Loyalty, Politics, and Commerce in Colonial Georgia*. (Wormsloe Foundation Publications, number 24.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. 197. \$34.95.

A superior biography must not simply tell the story of one person's life but must also recreate the larger world in which the character under study lived. Frank Lambert's excellent examination of James Habersham successfully accomplishes both goals. Using this colonial Georgian's eventful life as a touchstone, Lambert deepens our understanding of both eighteenth-century Georgia and the Atlantic world. Born in 1715, Habersham experienced a world as complex as our own, and Lambert effectively demonstrates how this individual dealt with the many political, religious, and economic transformations of his age. The one constant in Habersham's life, Lambert argues, was loyalty. Throughout his life, Habersham remained steadfastly loyal to his family, to God, to Georgia, and, in the end, to the empire. Although not without some shortcomings, this biography is well worth reading.

Two forces influenced Habersham's formative years: commerce and Christianity. Born into an artisan family in northern England, Habersham was orphaned at a young age. This event led the youth to London, where he apprenticed with a merchant uncle. Under his kinsman's guidance, Habersham quickly demonstrated superb mercantile abilities. In the 1730s, Habersham also underwent a powerful conversion to Christianity after hearing one of George Whitefield's sermons. In 1738, Habersham's association and eventual friendship with the Methodist leader led him to the new colony of Georgia. Committed to spreading the gospel, Habersham worked with Whitefield to establish an orphanage outside Savannah where parentless children could learn practical skills and hear the Lord's word.

A merchant by temperament, Habersham left the orphanage in 1743 to establish a trading business. The Georgian prospered enormously in this venture due to his talent, attention to detail, and grasp of market forces. During the 1740s, moreover, Habersham became a leading advocate in the colony for slavery's introduction. Despite his religious convictions, he possessed no moral qualms about the institution. Slavery was simply essential if Georgia was to produce marketable commodities. Habersham's spiritual beliefs, if anything, led him to view bondage as a "positive good" because it introduced pagan slaves to "the glories of the Christian faith" (p. 113).

Financial success brought political clout. In 1750, the Georgia Trustees appointed the merchant to the Board of Assistants. After Georgia became a royal colony in 1752, Habersham eventually became president of the governor's council, where he gained a reputation for diligence and public mindedness. Nevertheless, Habersham sometimes used his political power to enhance his wealth and position. When president of the council, for instance, he amassed enormous land grants and soon became Georgia's third largest landowner. Lambert ex-

plains how Habersham utilized his wealth to “self-fashion” (p. 137) himself as an English gentleman. In the years before the American Revolution, he meticulously purchased finely made English garments, had his portrait painted, and built a large and impressive library for his home.

The imperial crisis unraveled Habersham’s world. Although he deplored the London government’s colonial policies following the Seven Years’ War, he equally deplored the extralegal activities of radical patriot committees. Despite his views, the Georgian remained unswervingly loyal to the king and empire. Habersham also remained loyal to his two sons, both of whom joined the patriot cause. Indeed, the Habershams are a rare example of political divisions not leading to family dissolution. James Habersham died in August 1775 at the age of sixty, leaving behind a world that would continue to change but in which his family would remain an influential force in Georgia.

Lambert’s book is impressive. He tells a good story and effectively interweaves Habersham’s activities into the larger context of the Atlantic world. There are, however, several shortcomings. First, the Georgian’s evolving religious beliefs need to be more fully discussed. In early chapters, Habersham’s spiritual conversion and work with Whitefield are superbly explained. But when Habersham’s business activities take center stage, religious issues are thrust far into the background. Lambert notes that the Georgian’s Christianity “mellowed” (p. 130) later in life, but more analysis is needed. For example, was there a correlation between Habersham’s economic and political successes and the cooling of his religious ardor? Did Habersham tamp down his spiritual passion in order to move closer to the center of power? Another shortcoming involves the volume’s sparse research notes. Lambert is clearly familiar with the latest scholarship on the Atlantic world, especially T. H. Breen’s important contributions. But the endnotes do not adequately explain the scholarly foundation upon which the book rests. This decision, most likely made by the publisher, is unfortunate, for it makes the volume less useful for historians and graduate students. Finally, I wanted to learn more about Habersham’s twenty-three-year marriage to Mary Bolton. Although the wedding in 1740 and Mary’s death in 1763 are briefly noted, more insights into the marriage itself would help explain the dynamics of eighteenth-century family life. Overall, though, this is a strong volume that scholars will benefit from reading.

PHILLIP HAMILTON

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JILL LEPORE. *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. xx, 323. \$26.95.

Much ado is made of the 1692 Salem Witchcraft trials, where twenty people were executed. Considerably less ink has been spilled on the alleged slave conspiracy of 1741 in New York City, where thirty-four people, thirty

of whom were people of color, lost their lives. Much of the scholarship on the latter event centers on whether or not a string of suspicious fires betokened a real conspiracy among African Americans to liberate themselves. Jill Lepore is more interested in the “specter” of rebellion and how that threat affected the development of American politics. But first, she combs through the evidence and reveals new constellations of characters who emerged over the course of the 1741 arson investigations.

In this evocatively written and carefully researched book, the author finds four distinct plots that run through the evidence. The first conspiracy centered on John Hughson’s tavern, which Lepore suspects was a harmless, playful riff on freemasonry rituals. But the laughing and joking took an ominous turn when some enslaved men, seething under the daily indignities of their situation, may have seriously plotted to burn the city. This “Negro Plot” featured only black men whose rituals were African, not English. Later in the crisis, a “Spanish Plot” unfolded featuring black sailors captured on Spanish ships in the Caribbean and sold in New York City. Although likely suspects with respect to background and motivation, Lepore sees them as unlikely plotters. And, finally, there was the “Catholic Plot.” For white New Yorkers who doubted that blacks could concoct so vast a conspiracy on their own or who questioned how a loser like Hughson could direct the plot, authorities nabbed an alleged Catholic priest whose religious identification satisfied the Protestant judges that they had finally found the conspiracy’s ringleader. This hapless Latin teacher became the tragedy’s last victim.

Beyond the discovery of distinct plots in the 1741 story, Lepore finds broader significance in the trial’s connection to the John Peter Zenger case, which occurred a brief six years before the events of this book. In the dispute over a royal governor’s imperious behavior and a printer’s right to criticize him, political parties formed that almost ripped apart the city. Colonists had a hearty suspicion of factions to begin with, and the Zenger episode only reinforced their dislike. Lepore sees the 1741 black defendants as a “phantom political party,” synonymous in the minds of the white community with murder and arson. This kind of political party made the factions around the Zenger case look harmless. While softening New Yorkers’ view of political parties, Lepore claims that the 1741 trials caused a decline in political factions as the white community united to confront a dire threat. Thus, says Lepore, “while they ebbed and flowed, fear of black rebellion and the embrace of opposition, like liberty and slavery, traveled with the same tide.”

It is difficult to test Lepore’s thesis, because she claims that the events of 1741 both doused party flames and simultaneously made factions more palatable, so both the rise and decline of party activity will bear out her thesis. The trials occurred in a notoriously factious town, which makes all the more imperative an epilogue on how the course of New York politics turned on this

discrete event. Lepore also accords too much freight to the Zenger case, claiming that the chief prosecutor's motivation sprang from "a blacker version of the Country Party of the 1730s." While Daniel Horsmanden probably sought to redeem his reputation after the rough ride of the Zenger case, he was certainly prone to more powerful and obvious motivators: a fire could destroy a city of largely wooden buildings; arson and increasingly stringent slave codes had traditionally gone hand-in-hand; the Stono Rebellion was relatively fresh news. We do not need the Zenger case to account for Horsmanden's ardor or the grisly executions.

Over and above her thesis, Lepore takes the reader to 1741 New York, allowing us to walk alongside an accused man as he weaves his way through the city's streets. We see how slaves' duties took them out and about, allowing them to meet other people of color and to gather gossip and news. We learn how eighteenth-century New Yorkers fought a fire, dealt with drinking water problems, and conducted a trial. Through laws and confessions, through GIS mapping and tax records, through runaway ads and naming analysis, Lepore reconstructs the enslaved population's daily lives. In Appendix A, Lepore explains how she used these sources to "walk down a digital Broadway and see what there was to see." We lucky readers amble along with the author, seeing, smelling, and hearing that world of long ago. This wonderful book knocks us off our modern perch and lands us in the middle of a gripping drama.

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CASSANDRA PYBUS. *Epic Journeys of Freedom: Runaway Slaves of the American Revolution and Their Global Quest for Liberty*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 281. \$26.95.

SIMON SCHAMA. *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution*. New York: HarperCollins. 2006. Pp. xiv, 478. \$29.95.

These books about the American Revolution begin with the stories of freedom-fighting southerners named Harry Washington and British Freedom. *Harry Washington? British Freedom?* This Washington was a slave of the better-known George Washington for thirteen years—until 1776, when he ran away to join the British. He became an artillery corporal, went to New York when Royal Governor Lord Dunmore's forces left Virginia, and later served in Charleston before coming back to New York, the center of British operations, in 1782. After the war he was evacuated, with thousands of other white and black loyalists, to Nova Scotia, where black settlers did not meet with an especially friendly welcome from the locals. Harry Washington later left with his family for the abolitionist-sponsored African colony in Sierra Leone, where he participated in another rebellion, this one against the paternalistic Sierra Leone Company. The Company directors refused to let

the objects of their charity run their own settlement. Colonies are colonies, after all.

Cassandra Pybus follows the black exiles of the American Revolution literally to the ends of the earth as they helped to found the Botany Bay colony as well as Sierra Leone. American readers may be most taken, though, with her unsentimental rendering of the revolution at home. Tens of thousands of slaves fled to British lines and became an important factor on the southern front. This campaign is utterly ignored by recent valentines to founding heroes like David McCullough's *1776* (2005) and David Hackett Fischer's *Washington's Crossing* (2004). These books tend to stay pretty close to Boston and Philadelphia. After reading Pybus one can not help but wonder if Fischer's and McCullough's breathless admiration for Washington and military virtues has passed muster only because of their focus on the Revolutionary War's early, northern turning points. Pybus also will have none of Fischer's contrast between a tyrannical British military machine and an American citizen army. Her British officers are gentlemen of their word. They broke the terms of the Treaty of Paris rather than return black fugitives to their owners.

Then Pybus moves on, going global, as it were, with the exiles. The relatively few self-liberating blacks who left the territorial United States make an inspiring story, even limited as it must be to shards that can be gleaned from the imperial archives on three continents (Pybus's detective work here is remarkable). But following her subjects so closely comes at a price. These people were special not so much because they fought for their own liberty (others did that), but because they kept the journey going so far and so long. They appeal to the cosmopolitan sensibility, perhaps more so than those forced to make the most of being African in the United States. The other black Washingtons will have to wait still longer to have their tale told this well.

And what of George Washington? Was he embarrassed by his slaves' flight to the enemy? Absolutely—but not so much that he did not try to recapture them. Pybus offers some other tantalizing facts. Thomas Jefferson actually exaggerated the numbers of slave runaways after the fact to justify Virginians' refusal to pay their prewar British debts. Mostly, though, Pybus is less interested in judging the white founders or contributing to the provincial American debate about the revolution than in telling the other side of the story, in order to bring those usually forgotten not only to life, but to her readers' admiration. The strategy of turning the usual subjects and objects of history upside down, so that white founding fathers verge on becoming mere types, has its interpretive costs, especially when it relies on key tropes from the standard paleo and neo-whig narratives. By insisting that her runaways "carried to the far corners of the globe the principles of the revolution that had so emphatically excluded them" (p. 205), Pybus makes the fugitive slaves the heroes of the American Revolution, but for the same reasons that the patriots are usually treated heroically. She lets us keep believing

that it is the ideals that matter most in history, not what sides were taken by whom, or who did what to whom. This is hardly an advance over Benjamin Quarles's deft observation, in *The Negro in the American Revolution* (1961), that blacks fought for liberty—on both sides. She also implies that the ideals of white and black founders were the same, a conceit that may be more politically useful, then and now, than it is historically accurate.

It is intriguing that another master historian should address the same phenomenon and come up with a complementary story. Simon Schama insists more directly, from the outset, that taking the black fugitives and exiles seriously means realizing that the American revolution had "a third party," and that the story of the revolution itself must now be told "in a freshly complicated way" (pp. 6, 9). "Seeing the Revolution through the eyes of enslaved blacks turns its meaning upside down," he remarks in a characteristic riff on eighteenth-century turns of phrase like "the world turned upside down" (p. 10). In Schama's telling, this means making English abolitionists like Granville Sharp and John Clarkson central players in the story, and seeing the British, more wittingly than some would have it, as the true facilitators of black freedom. One of the loyalist exiles recognized this and wore it proudly when he declared his (presumably new) name to be British Freedom.

Schama draws on Public Record Office documents to bring the British players, like Lord Dunmore, to life, while integrating their story with the work of disparate historians who have made a persuasive case for black agency in determining the shape and nature of the Revolutionary War, and the cause itself, in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia (although Woody Holton and Robert Lowell are not credited). Schama also lends needed balance to the question of what the British alliance with slaves meant. An alliance of convenience that sometimes became one of honor, it need not be celebrated as idealistic or denounced as cynical, once we can imagine slaves as historical figures who made political choices.

What Schama dramatizes beautifully, and perhaps better than anyone has before, is that slavery really was a central issue in both the pre-1776 Revolution (as struggle for liberty or rights) and the Revolutionary War (as struggle for national independence). As a result, the American Revolution gave birth to antislavery not solely or even mainly through the qualms of American liberty lovers with troubled consciences (as Bernard Bailyn and Gordon S. Wood continue to insist), but rather through a broader, deeper British Atlantic world debate over governance. Schama makes as vivid an argument as anyone has for the judicial, and thus constitutional, origins of the crisis of slavery in the wake of the Somerset decision, which people of African descent pushed into an argument that slavery was inconsistent with British tradition. Logically, then, Mansfield, Somerset, and Sharp are all players in the story, and a "Somerset effect" follows into the peace, when Sir

Guy Carleton clashed with George Washington over whether refugee slaves should or could be returned to their owners (p. 151).

Schama is famous for his ability to evoke scenes, feelings, smells: among Americanists, if not Europeanists, he is most admired (and reviled) for pushing the boundaries of what may be permissibly narrated, sans footnotes, through the historian's combination of omnivorous reading and imagination. Much of the last two thirds of book evokes the highs and lows of the abolitionists' experience in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, where a few extensive journals, and the letters of various officials and colonists, allow for the recreation of these largely forgotten worlds. While Schama devotes more pages to the white governors and reformers who generated the archive than to the black settlers, he treats their relationships sensitively and at length. The effect, to the nonspecialist at least, is revelatory, especially where it comes to the experiential transformation of John Clarkson on the voyage to Sierra Leone, and the (perhaps hopeless) struggle of the emigrants against any vestige of slavery or racial discrimination in a British empire still, after all, dependant on such structures.

Unlike Pybus, Schama tries to justify the lengthy and compassionate attention he devotes to the relatively few blacks who went to Canada and Africa during the 1780s and early 1790s by making huge claims for their historical significance. Here he does not so much trip as overstride. A handbill for the Sierra Leone Company is the "first explicit anti-discrimination document in Western history" (p. 277). Nascent black politics in Sierra Leone is "an assertion, the first of its kind, of the civil and political rights to which blacks knew they were entitled" and "the beginning of authentic black politics" (pp. 347, 375). Elections in Freetown were "the first occasions on which African Americans voted in any election" (p. 352.) The disinclination of early African Americanists to engage the terms of political history may be partly to blame here, but this hardly excuses forgetting the black petitioners and voters in the late eighteenth-century North. Some coherence is recouped, however, by an epilogue in which we are reminded that England remained central to the black freedom struggle of nineteenth-century figures like Frederick Douglass.

Schama begins his brief "Further Reading" by praising Sylvia Frey, Ellen Gibson Wilson, Ira Berlin, Gary B. Nash, and Graham Russell Hodges for having "transformed what was once a marginal curiosity in the history of the American Revolution and Great Britain into something approaching a paradigm shift" (p. 449). These powerful, beautifully written, accessible books tip the balance. The paradigm shift has occurred.

DAVID WALDSTREICHER
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DAVID DIXON. *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North Amer-*

ica. (Campaigns and Commanders.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 353. \$34.95.

David Dixon's book is the latest in a series devoted in whole or part to recounting and explaining the war fought between 1763 and 1765, pitting Native nations in the Ohio Country and the Great Lakes region against British regulars and colonists. For its first historian, Francis Parkman, *The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851) marked the last stand of a doomed people led by a devious but charismatic Ottawa chief, Pontiac. Almost a hundred years later, Howard Peckham's narrative, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (1947), removed Pontiac from a central role and emphasized as causes the British prohibition of rum sales, stoppage of ammunition and presents, and failure to halt the westward movement of settlers. More narrowly focused, William R. Nester's *"Haughty Conquerors": Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763* (2000) explored in greater depth the central role of the ill-advised actions of the Indian-hating British commander, Jeffrey Amherst. Finally, *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations and the British Empire* (2002) by Gregory Evans Dowd restored Pontiac to a prominent place in planning and leading the war, emphasized the influence of religious ideas propagated by the Delaware Prophet, Neolin, and argued that the threat to the Natives' status posed by the British "emerged as the single most important issue in Pontiac's War, far more important than, for example, trade, Indian hating, or even title to the lands themselves" (p. 2). In addition to these books, there have been significant treatments of the war in Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991), which analyzed the conflict in the context of previous alliances between the French and the region's Natives, and Fred Anderson's *The Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (2000), which placed Pontiac's Uprising among the events leading to the American Revolution.

In an introduction that could have been more forthright, Dixon proclaims that "a cursory investigation of the historical literature concerning this Indian conflict proved unsatisfactory" (p. x). Still, his book clearly builds on previous studies even as he attempts to distinguish it from them. Specifically, he seeks to provide an updated, detailed narrative of Pontiac's Uprising that explains why his students' "frontier ancestors" in Pennsylvania took up the cause of American independence. Thus, while the book's approach to the conflict is broadly narrative, the underlying question that Dixon seeks to answer is narrower. Despite this fact, he promises "new insight into causes and important consequences of [the] war" (p. xi).

The book does deliver a well-written, detailed narrative of the war. Dixon vividly recreates the conflict's dramatic events such as the siege of Detroit, the surprise and capture of a half-dozen smaller British posts, and the battle at Bushy Run. Interspersed throughout the narrative are concise, informative sketches that in-

troduce the major characters. While the narrative tends to focus on the better documented reactions and actions of the British, it brings out Pontiac's leadership and "personal magnetism" (p. 131), while also making clear the important role played by Neolin's religious message and the grievances of Natives living in the Ohio Country. Amherst's arrogant, contemptuous, and short-sighted actions also figure prominently in the story, as do the fears created by the encroachments on Native lands of British military posts, land speculators, and colonial squatters. This list of causes, which is inclusive, really does not contain new insights; instead the narrative is to be commended for its inclusion of insights drawn from the most recent scholarship.

The book's discussion of the consequences of Pontiac's Uprising and its effort to link the conflict to the American Revolution are less satisfactory. Treatment of the Native position after the war is rather cursory. Even though the Natives did not push the British military and colonial settlers back over the Alleghenies, they did force a reversal of Amherst's trade policies and remained in their homelands while strengthening intertribal organization and propagating a religiously based resistance that persisted into the next century. Dixon, however, moves too rapidly over these achievements to focus on the frontier residents' growing resentment of the inability of the British military to protect them during the uprising and the broader discontent resulting from the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which was drafted before news of the conflict reached England. For Dixon, this proclamation, which prohibited settlement west of the Alleghenies, became a "crucible in which resentful and defiant social strata would come together" (p. 247). But the causes of these resentments and the movement for independence over a decade later in Pennsylvania go well beyond the war Pontiac helped launch and the treatment that can be provided in this book.

KEVIN SWEENEY
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ALAN TAYLOR. *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2006. Pp. 542. \$35.00.

Land was the greatest resource the early American republic possessed—or aspired to possess. At independence, the majority of the land within the newfound borders of the United States actually belonged to Native peoples determined to preserve their ownership and sovereignty in the face of the new government's claims. Recent studies have focused on the wars of resistance fought in the West, or the dramatic case of Jacksonian-era Indian removal. This book by Alan Taylor provides a thorough and clear-eyed analysis of the less spectacular but more revealing dispossession of the Six Nations Iroquois.

Until 1760, the Six Nations thrived on their position between the French and British empires. Politically savvy and militarily strong, they parlayed their position

into a steady stream of gifts, favorable trade, and fundamental respect from colonists on all sides. In doing so, they relied on cultural mediators, men like Sir William Johnson, Christian missionaries, or white captives who learned their language enough to serve as translators. These mediators profited from their positions. But to keep the benefits coming, they needed to keep the Six Nations autonomous. Johnson accumulated vast tracts of land from the Mohawks he supposedly was protecting, but he never imagined reducing them to poverty or subjugating them directly to British authority. Had that happened, he would have been out of a job.

Matters changed in the wake of American independence. The Jay Treaty (1794) put the final nail in the coffin of the old play-off system. Impoverished and weakened by the war, their homelands devastated, the Iroquois now faced a government dominated by land speculators and elected by farmers on the one side and a Canadian government determined to dominate them on the other. The British empire in North America had collapsed in part because it would not satisfy the colonists' insatiable appetite for Indian lands. The Iroquois now had to appease it in two different contexts. This comparative, cross-border approach expands our understanding of the universe of wheeling and dealing that took Indian land.

Taylor denaturalizes what is often presented as a chronicle of inexorable dispossession. We glimpse alternative possibilities: Iroquois schemes to lease their land for a profit, for example. If prominent New Yorkers could live off the income of landed estates, why not the Oneidas? We see the dense combination of factors that undermined the Iroquois, from personal rivalries between Iroquois leaders to the dynamics of treaty councils, unreliable mediators, international diplomacy, and more. Iroquois leaders could not agree on where or how their people should be concentrated: Canada? Further east? Further west? French agents hoped to resurrect the French empire in America through Iroquois influence. Massachusetts hoped to grab the land before it could become part of New York. Federal agents tried to curb the power of the states. Each twist and turn involved bargaining over land. The possibilities were sometimes compelling and always distracting. On occasion the Iroquois gained new lands or recaptured lost acreage. But the overwhelmingly cumulative effect was a rapid reduction of Iroquois territory and autonomy.

Taylor is forthright about the multiple forces that brought about land cessions above and beyond the actual business negotiations. Pressure to sell was stronger from the politically influential land speculators than from poor farmers. But the growing numbers of farmers represented a persistent threat. They terrorized the Iroquois with murders, rapes, and robberies that almost never were prosecuted. When they were, they became struggles for sovereignty as Iroquois and colonial agents vied to see whose justice would be imposed. Land agents bribed lawyers, judges, translators, mis-

sionaries, and individual Iroquois. Backroom diplomacy at night determined the outcome of treaties negotiated by day. A fundamental dishonesty permeated all dealings over land. The Americans could not imagine not having it. Dealing fairly would only have impeded them.

Both the British and the Americans deliberately and persistently prevented the Iroquois from profiting from their lands. Their paternalistic attitudes justified buying land at far below market value and then selling it at enormous profits. Charts (pp. 201–202) show how that revenue (over half of total income 1791–1795) took New York's budget from a deficit to an enormous surplus. Hence also the refusal to allow the Iroquois to lease their lands; then the profits would go to the Iroquois and the poor farmers they rented to, not the land speculators and the governments they dominated.

Taylor's book exposes what one might call the political economy of frontier expansion. Intensive research in political, business, and personal correspondence illuminates the links among individuals, their patrons, their profits, and the powers that coerced them. Even religious affiliation does not escape this web. A careful illustration of the intense pressures that dispossessed the once powerful Iroquois, it is a model case study of this most fundamental dynamic of American history.

EVAN HAEFELI
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LINDSAY G. ROBERTSON. *Conquest by Law: How the Discovery of America Disposessed Indigenous Peoples of Their Lands*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 239. \$29.95.

It is hardly news that half a millennium of transoceanic European expansion planted "settlers" of one stripe or another throughout the Americas and, later, Australasia, nor that the indigenous subjects of European attentions consistently suffered catastrophic consequences, including disease, depredation, displacement, and death. In light of all this, why should we accord any particular significance to one early nineteenth-century U.S. court case's post hoc rationalizations of European land grabbing? Was the pattern not already clear? Lindsay G. Robertson's slim but taut account of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* (1823) gives us cause to consider the matter anew, although perhaps less for the reasons Robertson offers us than for the brief window he opens upon the rapacious greed, manipulative genius, limitless ambition, and sheer arrogance of the early republic's elites.

As a case, *Johnson v. M'Intosh* is best known as the first of the Marshall Court's Indian law "trilogy," its confederates being *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Together, the cases confirmed the federal government as sovereign (sole and exclusive) successor to the British imperial state in dealing with Indian tribes within the concertina-like boundaries of the United States. *Johnson's* contribution

was to formalize the doctrine that European “discovery” of extra-European territory conveyed title in the territory to the discovering sovereigns not only as against claims of other Europeans (preemption) but also against the claims of the actual inhabitants. Once discovery had conveyed title to the European sovereign, title might be further alienated, subject only to the indigenous population’s retained right of actual possession and use, analogous to a lease.

Robertson’s narrative of the case is far less concerned with parsing its legal doctrine—about which much has already been written—than with the historical circumstances of the case itself. *Johnson’s* origins are to be found in the fever of later eighteenth-century western land speculation in which virtually every member of the revolutionary and postrevolutionary elite (presidents, congressmen, Supreme Court justices) eagerly engaged. Argued in February 1823, the litigation was an elaborately crafted attempt to confirm title to seventy million acres of land in present-day southern Illinois purchased from local tribes some fifty years earlier by land speculators on fraudulent authority. *Johnson* has long been suspected as a feigned (collusive) case carefully designed to produce the desired confirmation. Robertson amply proves the collusion, but adds that Chief Justice John Marshall independently manipulated the litigation for his own political purposes. Disappointing the purchasers, Marshall found their purchase had been at the time a violation of the British Proclamation of 1763, restraining western settlement. But in order to dampen Virginia’s fury at the Court’s decision on an unrelated matter in *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821), which had aggrandized federal authority at Virginia’s expense, Marshall turned the Proclamation from a governmental claim of the sovereign’s preemptive right to purchase Indian land vis-à-vis other colonizers into an affirmative claim of actual ownership by dint of “discovery,” which he then vested in Virginia as a sovereign successor. This was undertaken, says Robertson, for the purpose of confirming the soundness of Virginia grants of Indian land to members of its revolutionary-era militia, then under contemporaneous litigation in the case *Green v. Biddle*, and thereby soothe Marshall’s indignant home state.

All this seamy maneuvering, from initial purchase to final resolution, is crisply recounted by Robertson in a book easily absorbed in a single sitting. But if Robertson’s narrative successfully exposes the dirty laundry of “the great case of *Johnson v. M’Intosh*,” as the Warren court would supinely name it, what it also exposes is the astounding fecklessness of “the great chief justice.” Marshall, Robertson would have us believe, was so happy to have an opportunity to solve his little local difficulty with Virginia that he gave virtually no thought to the consequences of his “discovery” doctrine for Indian lands. Then, when “discovery” was seized upon by the state of Georgia in its campaign to dispossess the Cherokee, and the realization dawned, Marshall, as fecklessly, tried to disown his own proud invention in *Worcester*.

Historians are always fond of unintended consequences (to which Robertson enthusiastically adds “multiple contingencies”; p. 144). Robertson spreads the influence of Marshall’s unintentionality worldwide, noting the recent use of discovery—and *Johnson*—by courts examining indigenous land rights in other anglophone settler states, Australia and Canada. But those settlers, of course, have no need of *Johnson* to construct apologetic histories of their own expropriations. They have plenty of local rationalizations to draw upon. The record is relentlessly the same everywhere.

The larger point is that expropriation does not happen by accident. It is a crime. Americans should learn to take responsibility for what they did, not weep over the awful unintentionality of it all. If Robertson wants an Australian coda for his book, try “pay the rent.”

CHRISTOPHER TOMLINS
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CALVIN H. JOHNSON. *Righteous Anger at the Wicked States: The Meaning of the Founders’ Constitution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 294. \$75.00.

The U.S. Constitution granted the federal government the power to tax the American people directly, without intervention by the state governments. The new federal government used its fiscal power to restore public credit and to support an active foreign policy, acquiring territory and waging war against European and neighboring nations. In this way, the power to tax greatly strengthened the national government. Studies of the framing and adoption of the Constitution have largely ignored issues of taxation, however. The dominant interpretation sees the Constitution as the crowning achievement of a conservative movement to stifle the democratization of American social and political life that began with the revolution. Others have argued that the Constitution was simply a means for public creditors to safeguard their investments in public bonds or for slaveowners to safeguard their property in fellow humans. Calvin H. Johnson dismisses these and other interpretations as misleading or simply wrong. Instead, he argues that the founders first and foremost aimed to provide the national government with the power over taxation. This was also the most important issue in the ratification debate as Federalists and Antifederalists battled for and against the Constitution.

The opening is the most original part of Johnson’s book. The author states that the founders’ “most pressing need” was “to give the federal government a source of revenue to restore its ability to borrow” (p. 1). Congress was responsible for the defense of the Union, but effective defense required the ability to raise money through loans. Having mismanaged its creditors, this was no longer an option for Congress. The Constitution, Johnson says, is best understood as an attempt to rectify this situation. “The Constitution was first a pro-tax document, written to give the federal government revenue to pay enough of the war debts to restore the

public credit so that the federal government could borrow again in the next emergency" (p. 2).

According to Johnson, this desperate need does not in itself explain why the founders made such radical changes in the structure of the American union. Public credit could have been restored by amending the Articles of Confederation. Instead, the founders created a new national government and made it sovereign over state governments and state constitutions. This transformation can only be explained by the deep anger felt by the founders against the self-serving and short-sighted behavior of the states during the War for Independence and the postwar period. It was this "righteous anger at the wicked states" that turned the Constitution into "a radically nationalizing vector" (p. 2). Anger explains the scrapping of the Articles of Confederation, but not the specific design of the new national government, however. To Johnson, this design was the brainchild of James Madison. To "an extraordinary degree," the Constitution's revolution in government was "Madison's revolution" (p. 77). Here Johnson enters terrain familiar to most students of the Constitution. Madison's views of confederacies ancient and modern, and of the vices of the Confederation, as well as his theory of the extended republic, are all accounted for. Although Madison suffered setbacks, Johnson contends that he was largely successful in replacing the weak Confederation with a strong national government.

Historians have argued whether or not Madison changed his views between the meeting of the Constitutional Convention and the party struggles of the 1790s. Johnson has no doubts. Within a few years Madison turned from nationalist to champion of states' rights and from creative political leader to a supporting role as Thomas Jefferson's "loyal lieutenant" (p. 255). With the debate over the creation of the Bank of the United States, Madison's break with the nationalists became final. His defection took the force out of the nationalizing impulse in American politics.

This is a work of legal history, and historians are likely to raise objections to Johnson's methodology and treatment of the historiography. Johnson is to be commended for having read widely in the ratification debates, far beyond *The Federalist* and the most accessible Antifederalist writings. Yet, despite the fact that he subscribes to a contextual method of textual analysis, Johnson's analysis often lacks social and intellectual context. An example is his treatment of the Antifederalists. The failure to make sense of the Country tradition in political thought leads him to dismiss Antifederalist rhetoric as irrelevant and exaggerated. This it may well be, but the task of the intellectual historian is to understand and explain why this particular rhetoric was used to oppose the Constitution. Johnson's historiography is somewhat dated. There is no mention of recent works by scholars such as David Hendrickson, Robert McGuire, or Peter and Nicholas Onuf. Nor is there any attempt to engage directly with the arguments of historians who have explicitly linked the framing and

adoption of the Constitution to problems of taxation and public finance, such as Roger Brown, Robin Einhorn, and Woody Holton.

Nevertheless, Johnson's book is a useful addition to the literature. It challenges a number of entrenched ideas about the origins of the Constitution and asks historians to take more seriously the practical questions of policy making and institution building that so preoccupied American statesmen in the 1780s.

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GLENDYNE R. WERGLAND. *One Shaker Life: Isaac Newton Youngs, 1793–1865*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 247. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

Glendyne R. Wergland's book follows a recent trend in Shaker scholarship, yet her biography of Isaac Newton Youngs contributes new information to that scholarship as well. Since the appearance of Edward Deming Andrews's *The People Called Shakers: A Search for the Perfect Society* (1953), several studies have provided overviews of the communal, perfectionist sect from various disciplinary perspectives. By the time Stephen J. Stein's *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (1992) appeared, scholars had begun to acknowledge that such overviews were problematic; there is not one Shaker experience. The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, as the sect formally called itself, was united by some basic beliefs and practices, such as celibacy and communal ownership of property. But the lives of believers in Watervliet, New York, just after the American Revolution and those in Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, in the antebellum years were not identical. Differences in clothing, architecture, and most significantly, personalities contributed to diversity that those who study the Shakers have come to understand and appreciate. Wergland simultaneously reminds readers of one male Shaker's uniqueness as well as the potentially representative elements of Youngs's experiences among the perfectionist sect.

The carefully constructed and well-researched biography includes details that are placed within the context of both the community at New Lebanon, New York, in which Youngs lived for most of his seventy-two years and scholarly interpretations of life among the Shakers. As expected of an historical account, the volume proceeds in roughly chronological order, although it also consists of thematic chapters. This structure contributes to some redundancies and overlap, as events and sources sometimes appear in more than one chapter. The positive perspective, of course, is that the repetition clarifies the points Wergland wishes to make, and the book's clarity is among its numerous strengths.

For those readers familiar with the sect and the scholarship, Wergland insightfully challenges and extends prior arguments about such popular topics as labor, lust, and aging. For example, prior attention to labor

has appeared in feminist analyses that have focused on female leadership initiated by founder "Mother" Ann Lee, the power gained by female Shakers free from childbearing, and the Shakers' maintenance of traditional female roles such as food preparation and needlework. Here Wergland foregrounds the expressive and repressive aspects of a male's numerous laboring roles, beginning with his apprenticeship at tailoring, through his oversight of apprentices in the tailoring trade. This analysis compares the Shaker experiences to those in "the world," in a period predating child labor laws and extended education for most American youths. Discussing Youngs's love of clockmaking, Wergland provides a full-blown picture of one artisan and engineer, extending Jerry V. Grant's and Douglas R. Allen's *Shaker Furniture Makers* (1989), which distinguishes the craftsmanship of specific Shakers—who were not supposed to assert their individualism or their egos through design and artistry.

The richness of Wergland's analysis emerges not only from the breadth of her research in American history and psychology but also from the depth of her immersion in Shaker documents and other material artifacts. The clocks that Youngs created as well as the voluminous pages of documents he left behind contribute to the account. Chief among the texts are the official public record of the church family at New Lebanon and Youngs's personal diary, in which he sometimes inscribed encoded passages. Easily decoded yet unlike others he clearly deleted, these reveal his differences with the church leadership and disappointment with his own imperfections.

The chapter "Youth and Lust," for example, surveys prior scholarly commentary, reconsidering how male Shakers did or did not deal with celibacy. Those who chose to be sexually active, Wergland explains, left the community; those who chose to remain embraced celibacy, although not without difficulty. She notes that Isaac's frustration with his fleshly desires, recorded in his journals, diminished as he aged, in keeping with what would happen in "the world." In the chapter "Intimacy between Men in Shaker Society," she explores the nineteenth-century language of love, including Isaac's comments about wanting to kiss other men, explaining not only that it was platonic rather than erotic but also that it follows Christian traditions. Most interesting in Wergland's discussion of sexual desire within Shaker communities are her suggestions about castration. The word "eunuch," used often in Shaker communities, has a history of religious usage; "the world" suspected and accused the Shakers of employing castration. Previously, scholars have not discussed it. Youngs's journal, however, encodes comments about a surgery to remove Jonathan Woods's testicles, revealing Youngs's concern about the procedure but no clear explanation of its purpose.

Among other fascinating details of Youngs's life is his death. Was it suicide caused by depression or madness? Was it a murder or a mercy killing, prompted by a Shaker brother who had tired of dealing with Isaac?

Here as elsewhere, Wergland presents the possibilities, providing evidence and suggesting readers need to draw their conclusions based on as much inside information as possible. While Isaac's family had a record of mental instability, and his journals record increasing frustration and anxiety—signs of depression, according to contemporary studies Wergland cites—Isaac most likely was changed by his years of work with tin, which could have resulted in lead poisoning, contributing to mental and physical debility.

While Wergland carefully qualifies her claims and asserts her differences with others, she understates the extent of studies that have examined the lives of individual Shakers and apostates. Certainly no other book-length biography of one Shaker exists, yet several autobiographies and analyses have allowed readers to zoom in on unique Shaker lives. Jean McMahon Humez's *Gifts of Power: The Writings of Rebecca Jackson, Black Visionary, Shaker Eldress* (1981), Diane Sasson's *The Shaker Spiritual Narrative* (1983), and Frances A. Carr's *Growing Up Shaker* (1995) come readily to mind. But this understatement and the slight repetition within the volume do not prevent it from making a significant contribution to historical studies of the Shakers.

For those unfamiliar with the sect, this biography may or may not be a good place to begin trying to understand them, depending on readers' taste for details. But for those interested in intriguing details of one person's daily life and of individuals living within highly demanding communal boundaries, Wergland's story is a fine one.

ETTA M. MADDEN
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GRETCHEN MURPHY. *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 195. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

In U.S. history, the Monroe Doctrine remains a cornerstone of American foreign policy from the early republic until today. While some have declared it irrelevant, the Monroe Doctrine and its emphasis on American exceptionalism and justifications for U.S. intervention, posited largely in later corollaries, continue to affect American foreign policy into the twenty-first century.

Gretchen Murphy attempts to deconstruct the Monroe Doctrine to demonstrate its influences on prominent USAmericans (her term) and several Latin Americans during the nineteenth century. "Through cultural analysis of the Monroe Doctrine," she argues, "I want to better understand how the United States came politically to dominate and culturally to express 'America,' and how 'the hemisphere' became a meaningful cultural and geopolitical frame for American nationalism" (p. 4). A major component of the book is that it "demonstrates that imagining the place of the United States in the world was an ongoing process that occurred in a number of different spheres of life and let-

ters" (p. ix). This flexibility explained different interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine. "My research reveals a nineteenth-century United States in which national identity was continually revised to address competing visions of global connectedness and domestic isolation" (p. x). She concludes that the story is one of the "development of an ideology that impelled and concealed U.S. imperialism inside the imagined confines of the Western Hemisphere and beyond" (p. 26).

Murphy breaks the book into two chronological sections. The first focuses on the pre-American Civil War period. In the first two chapters, she concentrates on the writing of John Quincy Adams and Lydia Maria Child's *Hobomok* (1824), Francis Lister Hawks's *Narratives of the Expedition of the American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan*, coauthored by Commodore Matthew Perry (1855–1856), and Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The House of Seven Gables* (1851). In the last two chapters, Murphy examines the late nineteenth-century works of Cuban nationalist José Martí, Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton's *Who Would Have Thought It?* (1872), Lew Wallace's *The Fair God; or, The Last of the 'Tzins: A Tale of Conquest* (1873), and Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* (1897). In each section, she develops the theme that domestic considerations related to the Monroe Doctrine affected the literature and indirectly literature affected perceptions of the Monroe Doctrine. She seeks a cultural framework of a "wider cultural imagination that is expressed through romance novels and other popular entertainments as well as political texts" to show how "these intersecting arenas of the cultural and political were the spaces where the Monroe Doctrine rose to ideological hegemony" (p. 17).

While a concise work, this book is extremely difficult reading even for a person well versed in the history of the Monroe Doctrine. Postmodernist jargon dominates large sections along with numerous references to postmodernist literature, especially that related to imperialism. As an example of the jargon-laden prose, Murphy writes "Ruiz de Burton decenters Anglo-American culture and politics while simultaneously deconstructing the utopian concept of a New World with radical transformative power" (p. 98). The result is a book with some provocative ideas, but these are often buried and difficult to grasp because of the grammatical and organizational structures.

The most discouraging aspect of the book remains the cause and effect of the very few examples of elitist works chosen as representative of America's and Latin America's views of the Monroe Doctrine. Murphy admits that there is often little evidence on whether the Monroe Doctrine really shaped the writers as she typically ignores other important factors shaping perceptions of the time, such as positivism in the late nineteenth century. She cannot determine whether the writers really influenced popular consciousness or general public attitudes about the Monroe Doctrine. That begs the question of why spend so much time on the project? Ultimately, the book is disappointing and lends itself to further critiques of the applicability of

this methodology in historical studies outside of a very narrow, often parochial, and elitist structure.

KYLE LONGLEY

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GARY CLAYTON ANDERSON. *Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820–1875*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. x, 494. \$29.95.

The title of this book by Gary Clayton Anderson suggests not only the subject matter but its narrative tone as well. "Ethnic cleansing" is not a term commonly applied by Americans to the history of the United States. It seems even less applicable to Texans in describing their own state's proud history. The interpretative tone is provocative throughout the narrative, and it targets Texas traditional history and its hagiography. At the outset, Anderson justifies the presentist use of the term "ethnic cleansing," but he defines it and proceeds to defend his argument. He drives a forceful argument on the brutality of Anglo-American expansion in the conquest of Texas lands. His singularity of purpose gives a unity of style to each chapter that pointedly critiques ethnic cleansing and implicitly, the Texan identity.

This is only the latest in a growing number of books to confront the mythology and hagiography in Texas history. Recent books have also begun to address the state's violent "lynching culture," atrocities by the Texas Rangers, and conquest as the Texas legacy. This book is distinctive in that it focuses on the American Indian experience, but it must be seen as part of the growing critique of the state's history (see, for example, William D. Carrigan, *The Making of A Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836–1916* [2004]).

The author offers a new paradigm of violence as policy. As "an Anglo-Texas strategy and a policy," the Texas Creed cleansed Texas of Indians and native Mexicans, or Tejanos, through fifty years of violence and warfare unprecedented in American history (p. 7). Although the analysis is harshly worded, Anderson's methodology is most useful in understanding how the legacy of conquest has structured ethnic and national identities in Texas history.

The essential character of Texas ethnic cleansing was its brutality. While modern Texas historians continue to write an "exculpatory" hagiography of brave Texan heroes spreading democracy to a rugged frontier, this author argues that most of the Indian battles were actually Anglo-Texan vigilante raids against peaceful villages of women and children. The heroic Texas Rangers were usually ad hoc "rangers" or vigilantes who raided villages to plunder the Indians' horses, supplies, and weapons as booty. In every chapter of the book, Texans are depicted as vindictive vigilantes perpetrating a "total war" in order to take the fertile river bottoms of the Brazos and Colorado.

Anderson provides sophisticated analysis of nineteenth-century Texas as a four-way clash of forces. Native Indians clashed with Mexican armies. Anglo set-

tlers clashed with immigrant Indian tribes. The book offers a perceptive view of Texas Indian culture before whites arrived. It describes the 40,000 Comanches dominating the exchange economy and trading in horses and mules. Their chiefs controlled young braves with small gifts and maintained a peaceful trade with Tejanos and other Native tribes. By the early 1830s, this arrangement was upset when Texas was invaded by an immigrant Indian population who fled the Indian Removal program in the southeastern United States. The incoming 10,000 Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Kickapoo Indians strained the political arrangements as well as the economic resources of the state. When the 30,000 Anglo-Americans transformed Texas into a market economy by the 1830s, the competition became more than the shaky Mexican government could peacefully negotiate. Anderson's analysis of these contending forces throughout the early Mexican period, the Republic of Texas period, and the Civil War is one of the major contributions of this book. The analysis examines the impact of each population group and offers a balanced treatment with homage to none.

Another valuable contribution of the book is the dynamic role given to mixed-blood Indian tribes and individuals like Richard Fields, Chief Bowles, Jesse Chisholm, and Big Mush. The marginalized attempted coalitions with Anglo-Texans, infringed on Caddo and Comanche lands, and solicited formal land grants from the Mexican government. Even the uncompromising Comanche tribes are revealed in this book to have been infused with a significant percentage of Mexican blood, "Spanish women," and Mexican children (p. 90). Throughout the book, tribes and leaders fight, treat, and accommodate in effort to survive. The narrative reveals a complexity of negotiated reciprocities that give agency to a new population of culture groups and individuals historically neglected in the history of nineteenth-century Texas.

The extensive historical research revealed in this book is amplified by the author's mastery of Indian ethnology. His explanation of the tribal marriage structure and its accompanying power relationships affords a more convincing analysis of the motivations of the Comanche leaders and tribes. His style is candid to the point of abrasiveness, particularly in his harsh criticism of Anglo racism and brutality. The book's interdisciplinary approach makes it highly readable for the general public as well as for scholars in a variety of fields. It offers a new view of the Indians of Texas, revealing that they had complex societies in their cultures, interstate and intrastate immigration movements, networks of large villages, and profound acculturation to Anglo-American values and lifestyle. They made a conscientious effort to adjust to the changing cultural landscape, and Anderson chronicles their concerted efforts to negotiate, to coexist, and to survive the persistent Anglo-Texan advance. The book successfully argues that the brutal ethnic cleansing made Texas an exclusively Anglo-Texan land. Unfortunately, Anderson neglects to

argue explicitly how ethnic cleansing shaped the Anglo-Texan identity.

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MICHAEL L. TATE. *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2006. Pp. xxiv, 328. \$29.95.

In 1979, scholars of the overland trail migration in the mid-nineteenth-century United States were treated to the meticulous posthumous publication of *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Transmississippi West, 1840–1860* by John D. Unruh, Jr. Since then, other historians have expanded on several themes touched on by Unruh, including women's experiences of trail life, gender roles, family life, U.S. Army forts along the various trails, and Indian-white interactions, among others. Michael L. Tate's new book synthesizes much of this previous scholarship and adds insightful analyses of published and manuscript trail diaries and ethnohistorical methodologies to demonstrate the complexities of the Indian and emigrant experiences of each other.

Limiting his study to the familiar California-Oregon Trail, Tate uses a topical approach to examine various "encounters" between Indians and emigrants. Each chapter draws on examples from the 1840s through the 1860s. Based on extensive research in published trail guides, newspaper accounts, novels, word-of-mouth trail stories, and other sources of contemporary information, Tate informs us that emigrants began their journeys filled with stereotypes and misconceptions about Indians (the "savage" versus "nature's noble-men").

Other chapters cover emigrants' first impressions of Indian country, Indian assistance to the emigrants, the possibilities of discovering each other as fellow human beings and the limited ability to overcome cultural differences to establish friendship, and the trade relationships that often dominated or at least precipitated many of the initial encounters between emigrants and Indians. Three final chapters deal with more specific aspects of the overland experience. These include hunting (especially the decline of buffalo herds), diseases and epidemics, Indian burial customs and emigrant transgressions of these customs, violence and so-called massacres, captivity concerns, and, finally, the increasing turn toward more hostile relationships in the latter 1850s and into the 1860s.

The passages that focus on commerce are worth noting. Tate states that in the eastern plains, Pawnees, Osages, Otoes, and other peoples initially saw the overlanders, especially during the 1840s, as trading outlets. Indians provided fresh vegetables early on, as well as meat, hides, decorated moccasins, and other Indian-made goods in exchange for manufactured metal goods, such as sewing items and knives, and occasionally, horses, mules, or cattle. This was an old-fashioned barter economy, one at which many emigrants realized that

their trading partners were quite adept. Trade could become the basis for continued friendly relationships, or, if participants perceived that cheating or subterfuge occurred, trade set the stage for mistrust or even violence. Trading opportunities occurred from the beginning to the end of the trail. Once emigrants left the eastern plains region, they frequently met Sioux bands who generally negotiated on friendly terms well into the 1860s. In the Great Basin, Shoshones, Bannocks, and Paiutes provided food and assistance, despite the perceived paucity of resources in their desert homelands. Tate also explains that Indians enmeshed themselves in other commerce by building bridges or ferries and then charging fees to transport wagons and goods, rather than accepting items in trade.

An enduring myth of the westering experience is that Indians ferociously attacked migrant wagons on a regular basis. Although Unruh and other researchers debunked this assumption, Tate revisits this myth to try to understand why the idea of "massacre" persisted among the emigrants. Practical jokes, cultural misunderstandings, rumors, and fear of each other often underlay much of the confusion about whether violence did or did not occur. However, Tate states that from 1840 to 1870, only eight events could be called massacres (based on a body count of at least five dead emigrants); he recounts the details of each one and makes plausible cases for the motivations behind each of the attacks.

Tate deserves accolades for his attention to detail across widespread geographical regions and timelines. His work is suitable for undergraduates, graduates, and most certainly for professors who need good stories to illustrate their lectures or presentations on the western trail experience. There are only two minor quibbles worth mentioning. First, the illustrations and maps, though quite nice, seem ornamental, without appropriate text references to them. Second, the topical focus and the diverse examples drawn from all decades and areas of the emigrant experience can be a little disconcerting; this is no broad, sweeping narrative. Rather, the book reads best if taken topic by topic, small story by small story. The sum of the parts, however, more than does justice to the whole and offers, as Tate suggests in his closing statement, a glimpse of "what might have been in American history rather than what was" (p. 234) in terms of the relationships between American Indians and the myriad groups of emigrants who traversed their lands.

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CLAIRE PERRY. *Young America: Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Art and Culture*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Beinecke Library in association with the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Stanford University. 2006. Pp. x, 236. \$50.00.

Claire Perry's thorough and informative book brings us back to the childhood of America. Reminding us that

a young country sees itself in its young people, Perry shows us how nineteenth-century America pictured a wide range of children: male and female, white, black, Indian, truant, and studious.

The strength of the book is its abundant imagery: 168 illustrations, most of them in color and many full page, provide historians with an extremely useful set of pictures, one that it must have taken the author a great deal of knowledge and perseverance to assemble. These pictures are all the more welcome because they include children who did not ordinarily dominate American imagery of childhood, at least not in any positive sense. Careful to redress the inequities of the nineteenth century, Perry has organized her book into six chapters that extend her readers' awareness well beyond what her period would have acknowledged as worthy of respectful attention. "Children of Bondage" is devoted to African American children and "The Papoose" to Native American children. Nor is Perry loath to criticize the ways in which children who were not white tended to be represented. Some of the most energetic passages in her book are those in which she lays bare hypocrisies and inconsistencies in the history of images. She points, for example, to the contradictions between a phase of imagery in which Indian family relationships were ignored, in keeping with a U.S. government policy of eradicating entire Indian peoples, with a phase of imagery in which the papoose was a popular theme, in keeping with a new U.S. policy of removing young Indians from their families in order to reeducate them in the ways of subservience to white cultural standards.

The weakness of the book is reflected in its subtitle. Perry never delves into the relationship between art and culture. Despite some very compelling readings of individual images, such as Winslow Homer's 1872 *Snap the Whip*, and some minimal references to formal problems or issues internal to the history of the visual, this account of images remains basically illustrative. Pictures of children seem to be entirely the product of an anterior, putatively true, history, the social history of nineteenth-century America. This is a history that has been researched and written by others, by historians on whose original scholarship Perry's book, ultimately, depends. Historians may find this gratifying, but art historians will find it frustrating. Take the case of paintings by Seymour Guy, for instance. Perry includes one, *Dressing for the Rehearsal* (ca. 1890). The painting is highly problematic, raising all kinds of issues about the difficulties inherent in nineteenth-century definitions of childhood, but Perry glides right over it. Her blithe positivism is all the more dismaying, in this case, because an art historian, David Lubin, has examined a similar Guy painting with a much more probing and productive gaze. The screw of Perry's whole book needs one more twist. Perry summons an argument in her very last sentence. "Through pictures of children and the lessons of the ABC, new generations of Americans learned to parse the words of unity that had been passed down from the Founding Fathers: *E Pluribus Unum*" (p. 205). If that sentence had been the book's first instead

of last, had it been challenged, remade, and proved or disproved, Perry's book would have been a different endeavor.

Perry's book was designed to accompany a museum exhibition on the subject of nineteenth-century American childhood, and Perry's choice of pictures was driven largely by the contents of the exhibition. The book remains a version of an exhibition catalogue, and it does that job very well. Perry's book was not intended to be of the sort that is driven primarily by an argument, or by original and critical research. Museums are in the business of attracting visitors, not of producing academic scholarship (with teaching museums, like the Stanford University Cantor Center for the Visual Arts, which held Perry's exhibition, occupying an uneasy middle ground).

Yale University Press should be in the business of producing academic scholarship. It seems to have forgotten that. Once famous for the rigor and influence of its art history list, the press seems now to care more for standards like sales volume or "relevance." We have trade presses to maintain those standards. University presses should be dedicated to publishing books that by their very nature are at best unpopular, and at worst irrelevant: books about what we do not know, do not believe, or do not want to hear about. Slowly, unevenly, those are the books that will shape what we do know, what we believe, and what we care about. Those are the books at the heart of a university's purpose, and that every university should support, through its presses as well as through its teaching.

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ALISSE PORTNOY. *Their Right to Speak: Women's Activism in the Indian and Slave Debates*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 288. \$49.95.

Alisse Portnoy's excellent book developed as an attempt to resolve a contradiction. In 1830, Catharine Beecher quietly organized women to petition the federal government, protesting the removal of Native Americans in Georgia and Alabama. In 1837, she very prominently denounced women's involvement in antislavery petitioning. This apparent contradiction in Beecher's understanding of woman's appropriate role turns out to be a rich vein for scholarly analysis. Portnoy argues that only by studying the rhetoric of Indian removal, African colonization, and the immediate antislavery movement together can we fully understand the politics of the movements themselves. In addition, she argues that studies of women's political activism structured by gender are insufficient, since they exclude analysis of the rhetorical constructions available to women.

Portnoy uses the techniques of rhetorical analysis to dissect constructions of the Indian removal and slavery issues. She focuses on the work of Jeremiah Evarts, who moved the Indian removal debate from the political and

legal ground on which Democrat Andrew Jackson laid it out to the moral, religious, and domestic ground that helped to mobilize male and female Whigs. Evarts framed the problem as one touching on families, homes, and missionary work to an oppressed people. Using these arguments, Evarts and then Beecher could call on women to exercise their right to speak on an issue of national political importance *without* appearing to call for women's involvement in politics.

Women's petitioning may have been novel, but Portnoy stresses that it was not radical. These were not proto-feminists. Portnoy highlights the differences between petitions against Indian removal and those written in 1836 and 1837 by female antislavery activists. Portnoy notes that antislavery petitions began with language similar to those on Indian removal but, in response to the Gag Rule and male complaints about women's activities, soon used more radical language, including claims of citizenship. Portnoy's comparisons are a useful addition to the work done by Susan Zaeske in *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity* (2003).

In explaining the differences in the two groups of petitions, Portnoy makes two important contributions to studies of activism. First she examines how activists understood the objects of their benevolence. By analyzing bestselling novels and the *National Intelligencer*, Portnoy argues that Native Americans were presented by critics and supporters alike in ways that made anti-Indian removal protests appear benevolent and good for the nation. Indians were portrayed as noble, as citizens, and as potential Christians. African Americans were portrayed as isolated individuals, without nation or history, and often as dehumanized property. Thus efforts to free them appeared radical and dangerous rather than benevolent.

Portnoy also examines the Colonization Society as the most popular, politically acceptable, and widespread antislavery option in the early republic. Reintegrating colonization into the antislavery spectrum makes clear that Beecher did not object to women's petitioning as much as to what she saw as the un-Christian methods and dangerous rhetoric of immediate antislavery activism. Thus Portnoy reads the debates between Beecher and Angelina Grimké as debates about antislavery method and images of African Americans more than debates about women's appropriate interventions in politics. Image, method, and rhetorical construction are key here, not gender.

Portnoy's calls for further research on the American Colonization Society may well have been met by Eric Burin's *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (2005). Her calls for expanding the boundaries of antislavery studies and her insistence on understanding women's options within the extant political context remain for historians to take up. Her book is a model for making clear how debates about women's role fit into and were shaped by broader political and rhetorical debates.

Generally this is a very well-written book with clear

argument and carefully chosen examples. Arguments do repeat across chapters, which struck this reader as repetitive but may strike others as helpful. Portnoy's background in rhetoric is apparent in her word choice, with terms such as *erotema* (p. 33), *autonomasia* (p. 35), and constitutive rhetorics (p. 78) scattered in the text. Those that matter to Portnoy's argument are well defined. The focus on rhetoric also means that all the "images" analyzed in the text are verbal, with no study of visual images except the masthead of the *Liberator*. There seems to have been a printer's error at least in the review copy since the index ends in the middle of the Rs. There is no bibliography.

Portnoy is particularly interested in how activists used different rhetorical constructions to serve different goals and justify different activities. However, her provocative arguments about reconnecting the study of Indian removal, colonization, and the immediate anti-slavery movement, and her recentering of debates about women's role in the broader political context of the era, make this an important book for historians as well.

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ERIC BURIN. *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*. (Southern Dissent.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xiv, 223. \$59.95.

Historians of race, slavery, and gender have recently revived interest in the colonization reform movement in an effort to understand the broad swath of ideas that antebellum Americans embraced to address the moral dilemmas and political conundrums of slavery in the republic. Eric Burin's compact study of the consequences of colonization society manumissions among slaves and southern slaveholders adds immensely to this growing literature. Burin did not intend to write a comprehensive history of African colonization. Hence, readers will find few new insights about the reformers who established or financed colonization societies, or about the relationship of colonization to national antislavery politics. For those questions, historians must still rely on a forty-five-year-old monograph by P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865* (1961).

After a concise overview of African colonization efforts in the United States from the American Revolution to the Civil War, Burin devotes his attention primarily to the manumissions generated by colonization supporters. He focuses on the local, tracing the relationship of manumitters to their communities, to the development of southern state law, and to the familial demands of freed slaves. Burin contends that the consequence of manumissions by American Colonization Society (ACS) supporters, despite their limited number, was to destabilize slavery on the local level in southern states. Since southern colonizationists "were not militant dissenters from the slave system but rather ambivalent participants in it" (p. 40), they devised pro-

grams of manumission that "promised to stabilize slavery" and "shore up the system" (p. 45). They embraced manumission as a means "to put one's finances in order, one's slaves in their place, and one's conscience at ease" (p. 40). However, slaves did not submit passively to their colonizationist masters' and mistresses' emancipation schemes. Slaves tenaciously gathered news about conditions in Liberia, pressured slaveholders to free their kin, discouraged their fellow slaves, and refused to emigrate to Africa when their familial circumstances were not satisfied. Rural colonizationists' emancipation plans also provoked the fears of white proslavery neighbors, who could see the ripples of disorder potentially emanating from the never-ending appeals by slaves for their kin's emancipation.

This book is full of nuggets of new insights rather than a broad scope or a monumental thesis. Readers will discover, for example, that southern white widows were overrepresented as colonization manumitters and adult male slaves were more commonly manumitted. As Drew Gilpin Faust argued for the Civil War, southern gender conventions made white women uncomfortable as agents of a violent slave system and more likely to pursue indirect means of ending their role as slaveholders. And manumitting slave men proved a better bargain since slaveholders might lose both a slave and her future progeny if they liberated a slave woman.

Some chapters work better than others in furthering Burin's contention that colonizationists' efforts ultimately destabilized slavery. Burin's analysis is strongest when examining the "tenacious negotiations" between slaves and their manumitters, as well as the experiences of African Americans in Liberia. This book joins a handful of recent efforts to portray African colonization as "a transatlantic phenomenon" (p. 142). It reveals African American former slaves as American agents of empire and the civilizing mission, even as they struggled with their own commitment to American communities in Liberia. Race, empire, and colonialism remain ripe topics for analysis among these transnational sojourners.

A chapter devoted to colonizationists in Pennsylvania (actually, Philadelphia), a reprint of a previously published article, seems out of place since Burin does not connect the actions of Pennsylvania colonizationists to the emancipators in the southern rural locales. And the story of a heated battle between abolitionists and colonizationists for the loyalties of black and white residents in the southernmost northern city with a burgeoning free black population receives only the most cursory analysis. Burin also devotes a chapter to the influence of ACS manumissions on southern statutory and case law on slavery that reveals the extent of proslavery white southerners' anxieties about the precedent of colonization manumissions. He concludes that by the 1850s southern legislators and jurists had effectively enacted tougher manumission laws that demonstrated that "the law was no longer on the colonizationists' side" (p. 140). One wonders how slavery could be destabilized in the South if laws now prevented

greater latitude and freedom for colonization manumissions and even more strongly shored up the legal standing of the slave system.

Every historian working on colonization will want to read and engage this provocative history of the experience of African colonization for the manumitted, the manumitters, and their proslavery critics.

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MARK A. LAUSE. *Young America: Land, Labor, and the Republican Community*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 240. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$20.00.

Workers' movements in the nineteenth-century United States were urban. Agrarianism describes a movement of farmers to maintain rural institutions and traditional land uses. Utopian experiments interested very few people and had no influence over government. Mark A. Lause scratches these misconceptions and finds an untold story: one that links working men to utopians, Republicans to socialists, and western land with eastern labor in a manner that illuminates the political diversity of antebellum society.

This is the story of the National Reform Association (NRA), founded in 1844 in New York City. By the 1850s, two hundred newspapers endorsed the organization; it helped to elect a number of sympathetic candidates to Congress; and its most central measures enjoyed widespread popular support. Those measures had to do with the access of working people to land. The NRA advocated three measures to be taken up by government: land exemption, or the policy of reserving homesteads as inviolable against penalty of debt; a federal homestead act to make land available to anyone who wanted to settle on the public domain; and a limit on the amount of land any individual could own.

These measures amounted to a vision of American equality that historians would do well to understand. American liberalism assumed that a fund of land would exist to ensure a measure of material equality, but the laws governing the disposal of land, as they took shape in the 1780s, privileged those with capital and did not encourage actual settlers. The NRA responded to the tension between the democratizing power of the North American land and the power of capital to monopolize it—both of which existed within the model of American liberalism. As Lause puts it, the story “demonstrates how a relatively small number of obscure working citizens acting at the right time in the right circumstances can contribute substantially to turning the course of a nation's destiny” (p. 126).

Part of the book likens the NRA to other philosophies and schemes for the reorganization of society, including the Fourierists and Owenites. Readers familiar with the work of geographer David Harvey might recall his thinking about “spatial utopianism.” Harvey argues that utopians who sought to redesign society in some isolated setting—a colony or settlement—represented

an essentially escapist form of socialism. This “spatial fix” for social problems is the same one Harvey identifies with capitalism itself: that it seeks territory to offset the social costs of expansion elsewhere. In other words, by seeking to establish idealist communities in the West, reformers used the lands of North America to diffuse their frustration with factory owners and corrupt members of Congress.

But that is not the way Lause's story plays out. In fact, many utopians sought direct engagement with the United States, slavery politics, and political economy. They exerted real influence over elected officials, none more significant than Abraham Lincoln, who read the major NRA thinkers, expressed sympathy with labor unions, and signed the Homestead Act. Lause presents a materialist component to abolition and unionism, in the sense that reformers linked the end of slavery with a general improvement of society, tied to the availability of land in the West. When Congress acted in 1862 to create the Homestead Act, it was not simply because they wanted to entice Confederate soldiers to give up the fight but because the idea had been advocated by people in and around the Whig and Republican parties for eighteen years.

The book looks briefly beyond the antebellum period to the later career of National Reform ideas, but the reader will immediately understand its implications for a variety of other subjects. National Reform predicted much of the Farmers Alliance, so much so that they might be interpreted as different parts of the same movement. In fact, the book makes it possible to think about social justice as it relates to material sufficiency in new ways, so that the community of agrarians surrounding the *Whole Earth Catalog* during the 1960s made similar claims about independence and freedom as the reformers of 1844. The *Catalog* repeatedly urged its readers to secure title to land under the Homestead Act as the key to freedom from industrial capitalism.

At a time of proliferating industrialism and wage labor, land appeared as the foundation of American equality, a tangible means of sustaining a republic by providing all who desired it a way to achieve yeoman freedom from factory bells. Lause's study is too dense with politics and proper nouns to be a very popular book, but for scholars wanting a picture of land and the republic before the Civil War, there is no better source.

STEVEN STOLL
Yale University

HANS L. TREFOUSSE. *“First Among Equals”: Abraham Lincoln's Reputation during His Administration*. New York: Fordham University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 199. \$27.95.

Abraham Lincoln is the most revered president in United States history, but was he as popular during his time in the White House? That is the question that Hans L. Trefousse seeks to answer in this book. Trefousse, one of the most prolific living Civil War historians, argues that Lincoln was indeed well liked during

his administration, even in the dark days that followed news of Union military defeats and controversial executive policies, including the Emancipation Proclamation. Trefousse's claim of Lincoln's wartime popularity is unlikely to surprise lay readers, but it comes as a challenge to the conventional wisdom of historians, who still tend to accept the old argument of James G. Randall, who in a 1943 essay titled "The Unpopular Mr. Lincoln" contended that Lincoln offended more people than he pleased during his administration.

Trefousse's book is an extended reply to Randall. From nomination to assassination, Trefousse argues, Lincoln enjoyed a reputation as a wise and moral leader. In the absence of public opinion polls, which did not exist in the Civil War era, Trefousse rests his case on the written record of diarists, letter writers, and, especially, journalists. He makes such good use of newspapers, in fact, that this slim volume with its analytical bite makes a nice companion to Herbert Mitgang's 1956 broad-ranging collection of newspaper excerpts, *Lincoln as They Saw Him* (reprinted in 1971 as *Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait*).

The book's organization is straightforward—it devotes one chapter to Lincoln's nomination and then one chapter to each year of his administration—but its choice of sources is comparatively haphazard. To be sure, Trefousse has mined a huge amount of materials. Most impressively, he has made thorough use of the vast collection of letters to the president in the Abraham Lincoln papers, and his language skills have enabled him to translate and quote from rarely used European newspapers. But most of the sources that he uses reflect elite opinion. Occasionally we hear from a common soldier or citizen, but most of the people quoted by Trefousse were elite writers. Even the newspaper articles that he cites are less a reflection of truly popular attitudes than they are the opinions of a select few powerful editors such as Henry Raymond (*New York Times*), Horace Greeley (*New York Tribune*), and Joseph Medill (*Chicago Tribune*). Was sentiment toward Lincoln as positive in less elite publications, such as the publications of African American abolitionists or New York City workingmen's parties? Probably, but we never hear much about such groups in this book.

Trefousse concedes that Lincoln's reputation suffered among northern Democrats and most white southerners, but he regards the animosity toward Lincoln among these groups as much less significant than the positive feeling for the man expressed by supporters of the Union and Lincoln's administration. By giving more weight to the words of Lincoln's friends than those of his enemies, Trefousse reveals a pro-Union, pro-Republican bias. Early in the book, he goes so far as to suggest that Democrats as a group were "collaborating" with southerners prior to the outbreak of the war, and at later moments he suggests that the anti-Lincoln utterances of Democratic politicians were purely partisan if not treasonous. But were Republican editors who praised Lincoln necessarily less partisan? As historians have seen throughout history and con-

tinue to witness today, commentators who criticize their president in wartime risk their own reputation; those from the president's party in particular feel obliged to praise their party's leader or else suffer condemnation as traitors to party and country.

Only by giving more credence to history's winners—the Republicans and the Union—does Lincoln's wartime reputation seem positive. Lincoln himself was not always so confident. By mid-August 1864, under a barrage of criticism for his military administration and emancipation policies, he became certain that he would lose the upcoming election and drafted his famous "blind memorandum" requesting his Cabinet members to cooperate with his successor. Had Lincoln been as confident as Trefousse is about the strength of his wartime reputation, his presidency might well have taken a different course.

MICHAEL VORENBERG
Brown University

BRIAN D. MCKNIGHT. *Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. ix, 312. \$40.00.

The Civil War in southern Appalachia has received considerable scholarly analysis over the past few years, but until now there has been surprisingly little attention directed toward central Appalachia, which was fully as significant militarily and suffered just as great a social and economic upheaval as did any part of the mountain South. Brian D. McKnight does much to fill that gap with his comprehensive new study of the war as experienced along the border of southwestern Virginia and eastern Kentucky, a region particularly vulnerable due to its status as what he calls "the quintessential no-man's-land" (p. 2).

The power of place is central to McKnight's analysis of how and why the war was waged with such intensity in this region. The fifteen Kentucky and eight Virginia counties on which he focuses included some of the most rugged and remote mountain areas in Appalachia. Despite demographic differences—the Kentucky counties were far more sparsely settled and had far fewer slaves—the region as a whole became politically and strategically important when what was once merely a state line became an international border, with Virginia's secession from the Union. Because both areas remained marginalized sections of their respective states, national allegiances hardly adhered to such boundaries. Local loyalties remained divided on both sides of that border—strong Unionist sentiment in southwest Virginia and pockets of pro-Confederate sympathy in the Kentucky highlands—which compounded the violence and harassment imposed on and by residents of both.

Households and communities suffered not only the brutal guerrilla warfare instigated by bushwhackers and home guardsmen but also withstood incursion and occupation by both Union and Confederate armies, each of which demanded loyalty from the local populace they sought to control, while dismissing them as primitive

and backward people unworthy of the respect or protection they might have accorded civilians elsewhere. Campaigns led by major figures on both sides—George H. Thomas, John Hunt Morgan, James A. Garfield, Edward O. Guerrant, and John C. Breckinridge among them—suggest the level of this borderland's military priority at various points over the four-year conflict.

Geography also determined where major showdowns between the two armies took place. Cumberland Gap, at the nexus of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee, was a crucial route across the mountains and vital to the defense of all three states. This regional "Gibraltar" was so heavily fortified as to be nearly impregnable, and yet it changed hands four times over the course of the war. Salt emerged as the region's most valuable wartime resource, and the mining operations at Saltville, Virginia, became a prime target of Union forces. A raid on the town in September 1864 failed to wrest it from southern control but proved noteworthy otherwise. The participation of the Fifth U.S. Colored Cavalry in that raid traumatized local highlanders, many of whom had never seen African Americans, and resulted in a controversial massacre of wounded black soldiers who had been abandoned by their Federal cohorts.

McKnight adeptly juggles the military, social, and political complexities of this border war in a meticulously documented and often compelling narrative. He falters only in his analysis of the postwar implications of this upheaval. In an all-too-brief epilogue, he suggests that the legacy of wartime violence ushered in a "period of social strife and citizen-led violence that still remains part of the American concept of Appalachian life" (p. 229); yet he also maintains that "a population so divided by war became so strongly committed to postwar reconciliation" (p. 233). While both are credible claims, McKnight might have done more in explaining how and why these statements are not necessarily as contradictory as they sound.

McKnight notes that no other part of the vast border between the Union and the Confederacy remained as fluid or as contested over the war's duration. Both the lay of the land and the mixed sentiments of those living on it made military or political control of either difficult to achieve. Continued efforts to do so led to a decidedly uncivil war that was hard fought on multiple levels. This careful rendering adds much to our understanding of the dynamics of loyalty, irregular warfare, and military-civilian relationships and how they were shaped by the particularities of geography, culture, and, by no means least, political boundaries.

JOHN C. INSCOE
University of Georgia

HARRY S. STOUT. *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the American Civil War*. New York: Viking. 2006. Pp. xxii, 552. \$29.95.

In this far-reaching study, Harry S. Stout enlists classical just war theory to assess the origins, justifications, outworking, and results of the American Civil War. He

finds the criteria for *jus ad bellum* (reasons for going to war) more difficult to apply than those for *jus in bello* (conduct during conflict), but in both cases he seeks to strip away mythic romance in favor of hard evidence and careful casuistry. Stout himself seems ambiguous about whether southern efforts to secede peaceably or northern efforts to re-provision Fort Sumter constituted provocations that legitimated the responses that ensued. By contrast, he is not at all ambiguous when criticizing the propaganda that both sides published as "the sacred legitimization necessary to mount a mutually 'defensive' war" (p. 37). Nor does he hold back in arguing that the conduct of the war exceeded the bounds of just war proportionality. To sustain this latter judgment, Stout retells the military history of the war battle by battle—and civilian theater by civilian theater—as a demonstration of how far the costs of war exceeded the aim of either preserving the Union or establishing the Confederacy. If the narrative eventually begins to sound repetitious with its multiplied accounts of "carnage," "slaughter," and "moral avoidance," the problem may be more with readers' reluctance to face realistically the war's butcher's bill than with Stout's determination to lay it out in full.

At the heart of the book is an account of how the war was sacralized into "the creation of a full-blown non-denominational civil religion, existing alongside of and equal in power to Christian and Jewish denominations" (p. 72). For showing that "America was incarnating a millennial nationalism as the primal religious faith" (p. 405), Stout makes especially good use of the weekly religious press (North and South) and of judicious selections from letters and diaries composed by ordinary participants. The path-breaking account that results shows clearly how the war revived the Puritan jeremiad, which had earlier been mostly limited to Calvinist New England, making it into a vaguely theistic national exercise; how it transformed southern reluctance to mix religion and politics into ardent conjoining of the two; how it excused continuing white racism; and how it rationalized military excesses that just war principles condemned.

The book's effort to force assessment of the Civil War onto more realistic terrain naturally entails reconsideration of its key leaders. Stout recognizes Robert E. Lee's gentlemanly rectitude but also wonders if Lee's eagerness to attack did not result in pointless bloodshed, and why his silence on the murder of black Union troops has never been allowed to sully his reputation. Stout finds George McClellan more culpable for promoting the Democratic Party's apartheid policies than for his "slows" in maneuvering the Army of the Potomac, a supposed flaw that to Stout looks like humane pursuit of measured proportionality. Stout recognizes that southern demonization of Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman shared in lost cause mythology, but he also points out that piling up battle fatalities (Grant) and marauding against civilians (Sherman) did in fact violate what antebellum West Point had taught cadets about the honorable conduct of war.

Frederick Douglass appears as singularly prescient in understanding, as Stout quotes him, "The slave having ceased to be the abject slave of a single master, his enemies will endeavor to make him the slave of society at large" (p. 184). Stout is most thought provoking about Abraham Lincoln, who, almost alone among his contemporaries, retained a rare sense of the unknowability of divine Providence, and yet also spoke of Providence as crucial for the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation, in Stout's view, for the first time gave the North a compelling moral rationale for the conflict but also unleashed the immoral excesses of modern total war.

Some of Stout's broadest conclusions are not as helpful. In describing the Civil War as a singularly important impetus for pushing modern battle beyond the bounds of just war, he neglects too easily the mayhem of the Thirty Years War, not to speak of the depredations of the Napoleonic era that included the French invasion of Russia and bloody guerrilla conflict in the Iberian Peninsula. Civil War historians will also find occasional mistakes on a few details.

Yet considered as a whole, the book is an unusual success. Big-picture history of the sort Stout attempts must satisfy professionals who know thoroughly the landscape under consideration, but it must also give the general public a new sense of how and why this particular piece of historical territory was important. By balancing these two mandates with unusual skill, Stout's book makes a signal contribution to Civil War history and an even more significant contribution to easily neglected moral debates about what remains the pivotal event in the entire history of the United States.

MARK A. NOLL
University of Notre Dame

PAUL HARVEY. *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 338. \$34.95.

About four decades ago, when serious scholarship on the religious history of the U.S. South began to proliferate, much of the work focused on the antebellum period or that of the middle third of the twentieth century. Relatively little attention was given to the period following the Civil War. What happened to the old proslavery theology? How did relations change between blacks and whites now that the churches were almost totally segregated? What role did white religion play in the hardening of segregation laws? In the midst of Populism and Progressivism, were there glimmers of religious progressivism as well? Were there prominent white theologians in the South who critiqued the regnant system of race relations, who reached out to their black brothers and sisters for a common purpose, who dared to imagine a different, a biracial, community of believers? Did denominational leaders and seminary theologians largely determine the beliefs and practices of the laypeople, or did folk theology and praxis differ

significantly either by being more closed to progressive ideas or ahead of the curve? What was the response of black religious leaders and laypeople, acquiescence or protest or a subtle strategy to effect change? These are among the important questions that Paul Harvey investigates in his fascinating study of religion in the post-Civil War South.

Harvey's first chapter surveys the organization of various black denominations after the Civil War and the persistence of racist assumptions on the part of the white churches. Even though black theologians mounted refutations of white arguments, few whites were receptive to their writings. White theologians even moved toward accepting the precepts of scientific racism, and as Harvey concludes, "the theological racism of the white southern tradition justified separation as practiced in church life and codified in law in the coming decades" (p. 27). Few readers will find this conclusion surprising, although they will appreciate how carefully Harvey develops and documents his points. But in his second chapter Harvey may surprise those not intimately familiar with the situation in the South when he demonstrates that there were white southern theologians, men and women lay leaders, and denominational activists who, especially after the 1890s, began to recognize and attack a number of social ills, including racial exclusion, child labor, and excessive drinking. It took real courage to speak out, and understandably many of those who advocated change did so cautiously. Harvey shows the possibility for progressive change, but as admirable as these reformers were, they had little maneuvering room and scant immediate effect.

Chapter three portrays an array of individuals, organizations, and movements that tentatively but honestly explored interracial experiences, ranging from the often-biracial Pentecostal and Holiness services to interracial borrowings in gospel music and other forms of religious expression. More than many of the participants realized, southern religion to an outside observer displayed biracial characteristics, but it is unclear the extent to which, for example, white worshippers singing a gospel favorite authored by black composer Thomas Dorsey understood that they were eliding a racial boundary. From this richly detailed chapter Harvey moves on in his fourth chapter to analyze the more open, more hopeful later efforts of blacks and whites to attack frontally the evils of segregation. While he shows a number of heroic whites who risked social ostracism and worse to do what was right, the real heroes of this chapter are the black leaders of the civil rights movement. This is, perhaps, the most familiar part of Harvey's story, but he tells it well, with fresh insights aplenty, and it is a story worth constant retelling.

To this reader the most important material appears in the final chapter, entitled "Race, Religion, and the Right." Despite the criticism, increasing over time, by progressive white denominational leaders and seminary theologians, there persisted a racist folk theology, especially in the more rural regions of the South. No matter what religious elites said, ministers and laypersons

across the region employed older folk traditions and religious attitudes below the level of formal theology to defend vigorously segregation of schools, churches, and neighborhoods. Aware that their beliefs would not pass muster in the seminaries or in the national court of public opinion, they used euphemisms about the so-called southern way of life or simple analogies to nature (birds of a feather flocking together) to maintain their devotion to segregation. Eventually, however, even these intellectual subterfuges came into disrespect in the face of changing national opinion. Begrudgingly at first, then with often genuine contrition, southern whites came to accept the moral rightness of full integration.

This book should be read in tandem with David L. Chappell's *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (2004). In his closing pages, Harvey suggests that older southern white evangelical concerns about racial purity have been transmogrified into concerns about matters of gender, sexual orientation, and so-called family values. His insightful, humane book deserves a wide readership.

JOHN B. BOLES
Rice University

EDWARD J. BLUM. *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865–1898*. (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 356. \$54.95.

In 1913 Dudley Miles, a professor of French literature at Columbia University, argued in his essay “The Civil War as Unifier” that “what makes our Civil War unique is this remarkable sequel . . . an unexpected obliteration of sectional animosities.” Explaining this obliteration has occupied a large number of historians, who have focused mainly on politics, economics, and the social construction of memory. Neither religious leaders nor religious ideologies play prominent roles in these narratives; historians quick to count black churches as part of the postwar southern political sphere have failed to appreciate the ways in which the postwar struggle over the politics of freedom was waged in white northern churches and articulated with religious inflections. Edward J. Blum's book proposes to remedy this situation by putting religion—more specifically, the catch-all category of northern Protestantism—at the center of the reunion narrative.

Before the nation debated the merits of postwar redistribution and reconciliation during Reconstruction, the Protestant denominations—all of which were divided by secession—argued about whether and how to reunite. More was at stake than penance and forgiveness: northern Methodists, for example, continued to occupy southern churches taken during the war. (pp. 31–32). But there were spiritual and political differences of opinion as well, and by the end of 1865, Blum notes, ministers were as divided as the politicians of the Thirty-Ninth Congress, which gathered that December.

At the same time as they debated the religious re-

lationship between northern and southern white Protestants, northern ministers discussed the related question of the political position of African Americans. Against the Christian advocates of forgive and forget, Blum offers a “cadre of Yankee preachers” who fought for the civil rights of the freedpeople and whose religious arguments for racial justice, he asserts, “did a great deal to further radicalize the North” (p. 22). Importantly for Blum's argument, a number of northern ministers challenged common theological and scientific notions of racial difference and inferiority, affirmed belief in universal creation and the unity of humankind, and linked this theological position to the political stance championing black civil rights (pp. 43–44). These theological arguments informed the thinking of Radical Republicans such as Thaddeus Stevens, enabled black activists to cast civil rights as a sacred cause, and inspired the interdenominational work of the American Missionary Association in the South (pp. 47, 86, 54).

Given that “Radical Reconstruction had been built in large part upon religious convictions,” it is to be expected that the Radicals' opponents called on countervailing religious imperatives to undermine Reconstruction. Arguing convincingly that “the repudiation of radicalism required more than the demands of business interests and the loss of individual leaders,” Blum reveals how a group of northern ministers drafted a “counter morality,” one that prized national solidarity among whites at the expense of equal inclusion of people of color. These Protestants believed that God mandated what Blum calls “the reforging of the white republic, while the protection of equal rights and citizenship for African Americans came to be seen as inferior or even antithetical to true Christianity” (p. 89). These “apostles of forgiveness” favored denominational and national reconciliation, and their voices joined those of others who considered continued sectional divisiveness un-Christian, and who considered national unity a spiritual imperative (p. 90).

The remainder of the book describes how those who considered northern religious egalitarians the “hellhounds of Zion” (p. 106) gained the upper hand by 1898. Succeeding chapters examine the interdenominational revivals of Dwight Moody (which, Blum argues, depoliticized the Civil War and “acted as a bridge between the white North and the white South” [p. 145]), northern response to the yellow fever epidemic that struck the South in 1878 (which elicited sympathy from white northerners toward white southerners, and the latter's grudging gratitude), and the rise of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), whose “Do Everything” policy did not extend to championing the rights of African Americans or new immigrants. By the time the United States went to war against Spain in 1898, Blum concludes, “a new, religiously-inspired ethnic nationalism had been forged” (p. 249).

There is much that is compelling in this book, particularly Blum's insistence on the importance of competing notions of Christian belief for post-Reconstruc-

tion race politics. He is surely correct that theological considerations played a role in the construction and popular acceptance of Radical Republican ideals, and that the erosion of those ideals was accomplished by people equally sure of the Christian righteousness of their own position. But because the book's argument is so sweeping, it is often not demonstrated as fully as some might wish. For example, it is never clear how deep the commitment was of many Radical northern Christians to color-blind civic equality, or how many scales had to fall from their eyes to embrace a white supremacist vision of America's imperial destiny. Furthermore, because the book is concerned solely with the scribbling classes, it does not address the question of working-class Protestants (who stayed away from Moody's revivals and whose knowledge of Civil War history was as likely derived from the collector's cards included in a pack of Duke cigarettes as from *Century* magazine), or explore the links between Christian theology and racially egalitarian secular organizations such as the Knights of Labor, which, as opposed to the WCTU, welcomed African American members and fought for their rights. What the book does do brilliantly is reveal the lasting power and appeal of religious arguments for both sides of the race question but especially for African Americans, who remained the most dedicated disciples of Christian egalitarianism and the most penetrating critics of Christian white supremacy. As Frederick Douglass put it acidly, "Of all the forms of negro hate in this world, save me from that one which clothes itself with the name of the loving Jesus" (p. 143).

JANE DAILEY
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TODD M. KERSTETTER. *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 213. \$36.00.

Todd M. Kerstetter has produced an important book of comparative history. He addresses the vital question: "Did religion make a difference in the American West?" (p. 12). Utilizing three compelling case studies from two centuries, Kerstetter demonstrates the federal government's often violent coercion of people seen as religious extremists. He builds his analysis on key themes from the well-established, and thus no longer "New," western history. Most clearly he knows the works of Richard White, Donald Worster, and Patricia Nelson Limerick. Their insights about the role of the U.S. government in shaping the American West of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries informs his interpretation. Yet, he also knows his scholars of American religious history and demonstrates the ongoing influence of Sydney Ahlstrom, Ferenc Szasz, and Jon Butler.

Kerstetter has selected a trio of events that not only invite comparison but also stimulate critical questioning. The subjugation of the Mormons in part through the Utah War of the late 1850s, the massacre of numerous Lakota Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee in

1890, and the conflagration of the Branch Davidians in their compound near Waco, Texas, in 1993 are episodes within the United States that challenge the perception of the West as a region of personal freedom and confront the national ideals of religious liberty and toleration. None of the three, especially in terms of their violence, have been ignored by scholars or filmmakers. Indeed, in recent years at least two books and one video documentary have examined the Mountain Meadows Massacre, where on September 11, 1857, local Mormon militia in southern Utah executed approximately 120 men, women, and children in an emigrant party traveling overland from Arkansas. The FBI's ferocious assault of the Branch Davidians' compound on April 19, 1993, resulted in a fiery disaster where seventy-four people perished, "including twenty-one children age thirteen or younger" (p. 125). A provocative documentary film, *Waco: The Rules of Engagement* (1997), received an Academy Award nomination. As for Wounded Knee, at least 146 Lakotas of all ages died on December 29, 1890, from the actions of the U.S. Army. The pictures of their frozen bodies have been displayed in numerous publications and cinematic productions.

Readers may think they know something about one or two of these case studies. Such presumed familiarity allows Kerstetter to stress specific comparative themes such as the failure of intermediaries, the role of media coverage, or the religious underpinnings of government decisions. The latter two, he convincingly argues, demonstrate the overwhelming presumption of mainstream Protestant Christian values. Nonetheless, Kerstetter recognizes that the comparative cases do not always match up. For example, the subjugation of the Mormons by the federal government stretched from the 1850s into the 1890s, when the church finally gave up the formal practice of plural marriage. This extended campaign against the Mormons exhibited less overt violence than what happened at Wounded Knee and Waco. In fact, federal laws followed by arrests and financial confiscations carried out the national government's purposes more readily than the military occupation of Utah in the late 1850s. Indeed, the episode of greatest violence at Mountain Meadows occurred not from direct use of force by federal troops but from Mormon militia attacking a non-Mormon party of travelers passing through to California.

Beyond Kerstetter's insights, other comparative possibilities exist. More can be said about the racial attitudes of white neighbors and government officials toward the Lakota Ghost Dancers, which seem absent in regard to the Mormons and Branch Davidians. Kerstetter also might have expanded his consideration of Wounded Knee and its aftermath to include the 1973 event known as Wounded Knee II. Here the confrontation did not involve religion as overtly, but it does show the willingness of the FBI to use siege tactics similar to those used twenty years later near Waco.

In fact, Kerstetter recognizes a major difference between his nineteenth and twentieth-century cases. In the earlier century, the federal government engaged in

a long-standing effort to force Mormons and Indians to join the mainstream of American society. Especially after the Civil War, Indian policy and anti-Mormon legislation demonstrated what historians such as Elliott West and Howard Lamar have termed a larger reconstruction effort. This expanded form of reconstruction affected people in the West as well as those in the South. The story of the Branch Davidians resides well outside that era. Kerstetter states the difference very clearly, "The nation had not been wrestling with the Branch Davidian question as it had been during the nineteenth century with the Mormon question and the Indian question" (p. 172). Kerstetter makes no extended statement about the present-day context where the federal government and the American public once more perceive "problems" with religious extremists at home and abroad. Still, his readers will no doubt keep this comparative possibility in mind as they contemplate his well-balanced and exemplary book.

CLYDE A. MILNER II
Arkansas State University

EDITH L. BLUMHOFFER. *Her Heart Can See: The Life and Hymns of Fanny J. Crosby*. (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2005. Pp. xxi, 365. \$20.00.

At long last, historians of religion have a full-length scholarly biography of the most prolific American hymn lyricist, Fanny J. Crosby. Edith L. Blumhofer's contribution to William B. Eerdmans's Library of Religious Biography offers a judicious and insightful assessment of the life, verses, and religious significance of this icon of nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism. Blind almost from birth in 1820, Crosby left a mountain of poetry and verse but little else to give biographers access to her interior life. Nevertheless, from extant materials Blumhofer has succeeded in using Crosby's biography to explore hegemonic evangelical Protestantism in an era marked by sectional strife and civil war, interdenominational competition, theological divisions, and racial, class, and ethnic conflict. The popularity of Crosby's lyrics along with the burgeoning success of the sacred music business and revival campaigns point to a grass-roots understanding of Protestant belief that explains both the dominance of Protestantism and the relative unimportance of serious theological thought to the men and women in the pews.

Descended from a long line of Puritans, Crosby experienced conversion in a Methodist Church in New York City, having left small-town Connecticut to enter the New York Institution for the Blind. As a student, Crosby began writing poetry, and by the time she left the Institution she had published three volumes of verse. Even before her marriage to Alexander van Alstyne in 1858, Crosby had begun writing lyrics for hymns, and she continued doing so for the remainder of her life. Van Alstyne, Crosby's junior by nearly a decade, was also interested in sacred music and sometimes composed melodies for his wife's verse. It is not

clear, however, that the marriage was happy; the couple lived at separate addresses during the 1880s and 1890s. Throughout most of her adult life, including the decades of her marriage, Crosby relied on the composers and publishers with whom she collaborated for a living. Thanks to their effective marketing strategies, Crosby was a household name in evangelical Protestant circles by the end of the century, although she did not attain significant wealth.

One of the most impressive achievements of this biography is the rich explanation for Crosby's emergence as a Protestant celebrity. Blumhofer shows how schools for the blind, in their infancy in Crosby's youth, needed success stories to pry financial support from reluctant philanthropists. Crosby's talent for rhyming made her a "poster child" for the value of educating the blind, and at the same time, the New York Institution for the Blind provided venues for her to show off her gift and to meet influential public figures. Similarly, the rise of the sacred music business, invested in improving congregational singing and in creating and disseminating new music for Sunday schools, revival meetings, choral groups, and Sunday services, stimulated a huge demand for singable verse. Crosby collaborated with the likes of William Bradbury, William Howard Doane, Phoebe Palmer Knapp, and Ira D. Sankey, all of whom were pioneers in this enterprise. The result was a feeling of usefulness to which the blind woman aspired and a veritable font of new material that kept the presses running and the profits flowing into the pockets of the composers. (While almost all of Crosby's collaborators became millionaires thanks to the sacred music business, Crosby left an estate of only \$2,000.) By the end of her long life—Crosby died in 1915, just before her ninety-fifth birthday—she was one of the best known and beloved hymn lyricists in the U.S. and a celebrated advocate of Christian youth groups and reform missions.

Blumhofer's analysis of Crosby's lyrics exposes a fascinating aspect of late nineteenth-century Protestant belief. Theologically limited, her lyrics emphasize a general acceptance of Christ's salvific power, the need for individuals to trust in God, and a plea for reaching out to sinners in evil's snare. But they display few markers of denominational specificity. Crosby standards, "Blessed Assurance," "Safe in the Arms of Jesus," and "Rescue the Perishing" found their way easily into hymnals of denominations supposed to be theologically at odds and into gospel hymnals used by revivalists like Dwight L. Moody. In other words, Crosby's broad appeal suggests that ordinary believers shared a generic Protestant faith that is perhaps more indicative of the religious temper at the turn of the twentieth century than more familiar divisions over Darwinism, higher criticism, social activism, and the historical Jesus.

By its own admission, the Library of Religious Biography is "[m]arked by careful scholarship yet free of footnotes and academic jargon." Blumhofer meets the high standard of the series editor; the text is deeply researched, beautifully written, and displays a broad-gauged analysis. The note on sources directs scholars to

the location of original materials, and one can only hope that this excellent scholarly account of Crosby's life will spark further research into her place in popular American religion.

SUSAN CURTIS
Purdue University

MAUREEN FITZGERALD. *Habits of Compassion: Irish Catholic Nuns and the Origins of New York's Welfare System, 1830–1920*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. x, 298. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

This book looks to further our understanding of the gendered origins of American social welfare practice. Maureen Fitzgerald demonstrates how Roman Catholic religious sisters in New York challenged the ideology and practice of Protestant reformers embarked on a mission to save the children of the poor, and admonishes her readers to rethink their understanding of social welfare reform. New York sisters critiqued a Protestant model of dependent child care that sought to remove needy children from the presumed dangers of city streets and their own families by placing them out in “good” families to learn another kind of life. With a completely different ideology and agenda, sisters built institutions for the children they deemed theirs and received public money to run them. Sisters made real what Fitzgerald emphasizes was a distinctive Catholic conceptualization of family. “Catholic championing of the parental rights of the poor proved the foundation for a child-care system (and a means of combating poverty in its entirety) that was fundamentally at odds with Protestantism” (p. 79).

Fitzgerald supplies hard evidence of sisters' activism. Mid-century women religious incorporated their institutions, put themselves in charge, packed their boards with influential laymen, and galvanized laywomen in volunteer efforts. Then, in 1875, the New York State legislature passed a law that had unanticipated consequences. While facilitating an increased state role in declaring children dependents, it also mandated that the dependent child be committed, with state support, to the care of “officers or persons of the same religious faith of the parents” (p. 124). This “manna from heaven” (p. 134) enabled sisters to expand their institutions in size and numbers: ten years later, nineteen thousand children were cared for in Catholic institutions at the city's expense. A central point in Fitzgerald's analysis is that this was not usually permanent care; she describes a “revolving door” that allowed Catholic parents to leave their children when circumstances were dire and reclaim them in better times. This was a system to save families and was rooted in the model of a family economy dependent on the collective wages and labor of all members, and sisters trained the children in their care in industrial work. “Children sent back to their families and those without families were expected to leave with resources to secure work in a

skilled labor position and thereby contribute to their own support or their families” (p. 135).

The women religious involved in child welfare in New York City were primarily Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy who were overwhelmingly of Irish descent. Fitzgerald locates their choice of the religious life in the institutional Catholicism of the nineteenth-century Irish urban and rural middle class, “a cultural project in which Irish Catholic nationalists attempted to supplant the institutional structures of British colonialism with institutions of their own” (pp. 18–19). Fitzgerald wants her reader to see these women as political actors; her consideration of sisterhood in the nineteenth century is a functional one that minimizes the spirituality that propelled and sustained sisters in their work. However, the central issue of vocation, and the individual and shared religiosity in the life of a sister, merits greater acknowledgement. The strength of this book is in its presentation of the Catholic perspective on child welfare and how sisters brought it to fruition and Fitzgerald illustrates well the critical point that these were powerful women. Yet understanding what sisters did and how they did it also requires a fuller examination of what was spiritual and indeed joyful about the female religious life.

The book concludes with an analysis of the effect of the Progressive reform movement on sisters' work in child welfare that demonstrates how the crusade for professionalization hurt them; at best they were characterized as incompetent, and this was from within as well as outside the church. (The same held true in healthcare.) But Fitzgerald's comment that the sisters' days in this work were numbered anyway makes the story more complicated. She points to a significant change in the population of New York by the early twentieth century; while sisters remained Irish Catholics, New York's poor children were no longer predominantly so. This also suggests a cautionary note for readers who might be quick to see a contemporary analogy: the institutions sisters founded were not faith-based institutions in the current understanding of the term. These were Catholic institutions for sure, but they were for Catholics as much as run by Catholics.

Fitzgerald's book is part of a University of Illinois series on American women, and this attention in women's history to American sisters is long overdue.

BERNADETTE McCAULEY
Hunter College

JEROME P. BIJELOPERA. *City of Clerks: Office and Sales Workers in Philadelphia, 1870–1920*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 208. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.00.

Jerome P. Bijelopera seeks in this book to examine lower-middle-class clerks and salespeople in the same manner that labor historians have so productively studied blue-collar workers. He aims to construct an analysis that explores not only their work lives but also their

educational backgrounds, residential patterns, leisure pursuits, and shared values, providing a sort of "history from the middle out" (p. 7) rather than from the bottom up. Bjelopera largely accomplishes his goal in this well-researched, concise entry in the University of Illinois Press's series on "The Working Class in American History."

Focusing on Philadelphia from 1870 to 1920, the book begins by documenting the demographics of the "city of clerks." It was a fast-growing segment of the population, mostly native born, almost entirely white, and becoming increasingly feminized during this time period. The book demonstrates that a significant portion of its members consisted of the sons and daughters of immigrants, and that its overall membership was drawn from a variety of social backgrounds. At one school where clerks were trained for their expanding role in the industrial economy, about forty-five percent of the students had fathers in varying white-collar occupations and thirty percent had fathers in different sectors of the working class (the rest had fathers who were dead or whose occupations were unknown). The book lays out a clear contrast between the status of turn-of-the-century clerks and those who occupied similar positions in the preindustrial era.

Bjelopera then describes the clerical group at work, at play, and at home. Many of his observations have been foreshadowed in previous work on similar topics, but even when the book's conclusions are not surprising, it provides a rich and often fascinating range of detail. For example, Bjelopera presents nicely elaborated discussions of clerks' experience as students in business college, participants in amateur minstrelsy performances, members of bicycling clubs, and denizens of a newly established Furnished Room District near the city's core. Among other things, he offers strong and consistent evidence that such activities encoded specific gender stereotypes and racial identities that were also at work in the office and on the sales floor.

Bjelopera resourcefully mines some rich archival lodes for this book, particularly the records of the Pierce Business School and the Strawbridge and Clothier department store. He effectively combines this with data from census records and other primary sources. The book is grounded on a solid appreciation and acknowledgement of the relevant secondary works.

Bjelopera's study contains no discussion of the political attitudes or actions of the clerks and salespeople. This omission is particularly noticeable given the long-running debate among historians about the role of the middle class in Progressive-era reform movements. Also, Bjelopera claims that the clerical group constitutes a particularly significant object of investigation because it comprised an embryonic class of information workers "well before the advent of the 'information age'" (p. 32), but the book does not really follow up on the implications of this suggestive assertion.

Bjelopera, it should be said, wishes to go beyond mere description and make a case that clerks, book-

keepers, stenographers, and salespeople constituted a separate social class with an "authentic culture" of its own (p. 5), equally distinct from other white-collar workers in the middle class and from the skilled workers of the working class. He stresses that this group "must be studied as a discrete segment of the workforce" (p. 16). Although the book offers many logical and persuasive claims in this regard, it is unlikely to settle the many differences of opinion about the best way to conceptualize class relations in era. Bjelopera offers no theoretical discussion of social structure and glides rather quickly past the historiographical disputes about whether salespeople and clerks are more usefully considered as part of a larger middle class, as part of a broader proletariat, as occupying some liminal or ambiguous space between classes, or as constituting specific strata within a larger class (for instance, in a middle class composed of clerks, managers, and owner-executives). Indeed, the managerial level of the workforce is surprisingly absent from this book, which relies almost exclusively on "old middle class" categories of proprietor, professional, and clerk to describe the white-collar world.

Overall, however, Bjelopera's effort to focus intently on one particular element of the white-collar world is carefully executed and highly productive. He has produced a fine-grained, engaging study that supplements our knowledge of this period with many insights.

ROB SCHORMAN
Miami University

LORI KENSCHT. *Reinventing Marriage: The Love and Work of Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. 279. \$35.00.

This book explores the personal and professional relationship of two nineteenth century intellectuals, Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer. Using a rich trove of primary sources, Lori Kenschaft reads letters, diaries, poems and other documents against a broad secondary literature to place the Palmers' private and public lives in broader social context. One of the first women to graduate from the University of Michigan, Alice Freeman taught history at Wellesley College beginning in 1877, and became its first official female president in 1881. She was already a minor celebrity when she met George Palmer in 1886. George, while less nationally famous, was a popular professor in Harvard's philosophy department, and a colleague of William James and George Santayana. Recognizing her potentially fatal tuberculosis at their first meeting, George encouraged Alice to leave Wellesley and seek alternative avenues for productive work. Throughout their courtship and marriage (in 1887), they debated the meaning of love and higher education, and in the process attempted to meet the challenges of a dual-career marriage.

George and Alice were highly educated professionals

committed to intellectual life for men and for women, which makes their attempt to reconcile competing professional responsibilities particularly interesting. George, often overlooked in the history of education, emerges here as a significant contributor to the philosophy department at Harvard. Alice was better known as president of Wellesley, and later as a founding dean at the University of Chicago, as well as for professional and civic activities after leaving Chicago. Together, they defended women's higher education from conservative critics such as Dr. Edward Clarke, whose famous *Sex in Education* (1873) argued that intellectual work depleted a woman's capacity to reproduce. Even men like George who supported higher education for women did not welcome them at male bastions like Harvard; Kenschaft suggests that George was very protective of his homosocial environment, favoring coordinate colleges, like the Annex at Harvard (later Radcliffe College), where women had access to lectures and libraries but occupied separate spaces and rarely comingled with male students. Alice, by contrast, imagined real coeducation for women and men, and attempted to institute such a system at the University of Chicago. Resistance from that college's president forced her to abandon this goal; it is ironic that by fostering a distinctive women's enclave in Chicago as an alternative, she probably contributed to the social separation of women in universities. The couple's efforts to put ideals into practice reveal that traditional expectations influenced even supporters of higher education for women.

It is their marriage, however, that Kenschaft highlights, because unlike most contemporaries, their dual-career union forced them to accommodate one another's ambitions. A childless couple, they had unusual latitude to intertwine domestic life and intellectual work into something they called "comradeship." However, Kenschaft reveals that Alice deferred to George's prerogatives as a nineteenth-century husband more than the reverse: as she puts it, "both George and Alice assumed that women's obedience is intrinsic to marriage" (p. 120). This seems particularly evident in Alice's decision to go alone to the University of Chicago: George's unwillingness to join the faculty and partake in Alice's dream of a "vision of shared home and work" (p. 130) possibly doomed her efforts at educational innovation there. Whether Alice subsumed her own desires to George's, or actually identified with his, her adherence to conventional gender roles within this unusually progressive marriage clarifies some contradictions facing the New Woman in the 1890s.

The book works best as a dual biography of the Palmers as an extraordinary couple in changing times. Beyond this focus on the Palmers' microcosm, however, the author at times makes claims that seem to go beyond what the evidence can support. The narrative alternates between minute analysis of the couple and lengthy descriptions of the broader context, which forces the reader to shift repeatedly between general observations and intimate details—details possibly id-

iosyncratic to the Palmers themselves. In explaining George's unwillingness to leave Harvard, for example, Kenschaft speculates that he "probably shared his peers' fears that women would disrupt a professional community" (p. 147), but George never committed his views on this subject to paper. Despite the richness of the sources, as the author herself points out, George and Alice were silent on divisive questions; their papers do not reveal, and wider trends cannot prove, exactly where they stood on issues that were apparently too personal, or too contentious, to discuss in writing. The danger here is that using larger trends to interpret the pair obscures their uniqueness, because it conflates their relationship with the very social norms their own marriage (to some extent) challenged. This tendency to blur distinctions between the particular case and its context recurs in places throughout the book, and detracts from the significance of an intriguing analysis of gender, intimacy, higher education, and social roles within the confines of one late nineteenth-century marriage.

AMANDA FRISKEN
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MARTHA H. PATTERSON. *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895–1915*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 230. \$35.00.

Martha H. Patterson undertakes an engaging and thought-provoking analysis of the Gibson Girl, a ubiquitous figure in early twentieth-century U.S. popular culture. The Gibson Girl, Patterson argues, was both a visual icon and a literary trope through which women authors could explore, critique, and reinforce surprisingly varied ideas about "New Womanhood." Through her careful scholarship and deft synthesis, Patterson shows how "New Woman" authors, as well as the characters they created, exposed, and exploited the possibilities and anxieties raised by changing cultural attitudes about gender, race, ethnicity, science, and economics. These shifts, at whose implications the emblematic and overdetermined image of the Gibson Girl could only gesture, emerge in Patterson's cultural and textual analysis as major forces that marked the turn into the twentieth century and continue to reverberate today.

A discussion of the Gibson Girl's cultural influence frames Patterson's study of fiction by eight "New Woman" writers. Patterson constructs a somewhat slippery relationship between the Gibson Girl and the New Woman that reflects the complexity of both figures. Like the New Woman, the Gibson Girl was created, deployed, and consumed by a variety of artists, publishers, and readers, and Patterson makes a compelling case that many of the cultural anxieties of the period surrounding gender, consumerism, race, ethnicity, class, politics, and sexuality marked the production and reception of the Gibson Girl image and the diverse New

Woman texts that emerged in this moment. After a chapter on the visual iconography of the Gibson Girl, Patterson explores the ways in which seven female authors engaged with the ideas the Gibson Girl embodied and disseminated. Each chapter analyzes the Gibson Girl/New Woman as she was refracted through the lenses of race (Margaret Murray Washington and Pauline Hopkins), economics (Edith Wharton), Asian ethnicity (Sui Sin Far), region (Mary Johnston and Ellen Glasgow), and sexuality (Willa Cather).

By attending carefully to the specificities of production and consumption, as well as the authors' often vexed public identities, Patterson reveals that, just as there was no one Gibson Girl (many artists, with various political and cultural ends, drew women who shared the Gibson Girl's physical characteristics), the term New Woman covers and oversimplifies a diverse and rich history of literary production. Each chapter clearly and ambitiously synthesizes a significant lode of historical materials, gleaned primarily from the periodical press and the authors' papers, dexterously weaving this material together with literary critics' assessments of the texts. Patterson's first literary chapter, on Hopkins and Washington's treatments of the complicated relationships among African American "New Women," morality, motherhood, and domesticity, for example, gains its impact from the surprising resonances Patterson teases out between texts by Hopkins and Washington, authors whose notions of domesticity and womanhood are generally seen as diametrically opposed. By setting the primary texts in the context of views toward gender and domesticity promulgated in the African American periodical press, Patterson adds complexity to both authors' texts and larger projects.

Indeed, each chapter, whether treating Sui Sin Far's presentation of the New Woman and New China or Cather's engagement with the New Woman's sexuality, synthesizes a wide variety of material that always helps to open the literary texts to suggestive new readings. In this way, Patterson's book usefully shifts and deepens Elizabeth Ammons's work on early twentieth-century American women writers in *Conflicting Stories: American Women Writers at the Turn into the Twentieth Century* (1992). Along with her skillful contextualizing of the literary texts, Patterson's attention to lesser-read work by canonical authors helps to recast current critical debates. This contribution is clearest in Patterson's chapter on Cather, which uses several short stories, as well as her little-read and much maligned first novel, *Alexander's Bridge* (1912), to engage with and complicate debates about representations of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and whiteness in Cather's oeuvre.

Patterson's attention both to the particularity of each author's work as well as the resonances among their concerns constitutes her book's major contribution. If her work on the visual imagery of the Gibson Girl does not seem as groundbreaking as her literary analysis, it is unsurprising considering the excellent work on this topic in Martha Banta's *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (1987), Lois Banner's

American Beauty (1982), and Carolyn Kitch's *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (2001). Even so, it would have been useful to understand more clearly how the visual and the literary differed in their proliferation and reception. While it shows how each author's literary texts work with and complicate the idea of the New Woman, the book stops short of exploring what different work cultural literature and mass-produced images did in their moment—and might do today.

This study explores a wealth of contextual material that will be useful to literary scholars and historians of the period, especially those with interests in gender and visual culture. Patterson's clarity of purpose and style will appeal across disciplinary boundaries. As cultural history and as literary analysis, the book succeeds in deepening our understanding of a potent American icon.

BETSY KLIMASMITH
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ANKE ORTLEPP. *"Auf denn, Ihr Schwestern!" Deutsch-amerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844–1914.* (Transatlantische Historische Studien.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2004. Pp. 309. €37.00.

The publication of this book has gone a long way toward filling in an important blank spot in the record of nineteenth-century German-speaking immigrants in the United States. Through her careful and thorough study of German women's clubs in Milwaukee during the decades of peak immigration, Anke Ortlepp has provided new insights into the nature and dynamics of immigrant life at that time and of women's roles in this immigrant society. What she learned no doubt has general application to most German-speaking communities in nineteenth-century America, particularly to those in urban areas.

After summarizing her research methods and foci of her study, Ortlepp provides the historical framework of her subject matter with an overview of the settlement of Milwaukee and its development into the "German Athens" on Lake Michigan. Then she turns to the meat of her subject by approaching thematically the amazingly large and varied range of female associations. She identifies eight divisions among the German American women's groups that she discusses: those with primarily domestic/moral purposes, those with philanthropic aims, those associated with *Turnvereine*, those seeking to improve educational opportunities for the immigrants, the women's branch of the *Freie Gemeinde* of Milwaukee, the socialist women's groups, the unions of shop seamstresses, and the women's lodges of the Order of the Sons of Hermann. The amount of detail that Ortlepp was able to collect about these groups is admirable, especially when one considers the extent to which she had to rely on indirect sources such as club histories (often written by men in groups affiliated with the women's organizations), newspaper pieces and ads,

census information, and city directories. Only some of these groups left meeting minutes, and there is almost no personal testimony about women's experiences within the groups. In other words, Ortlepp encountered the usual challenges in researching the lives of nineteenth-century immigrant women and so had to make use of a wide range of sources and to infer a good deal from indirect evidence.

But she has done this very well indeed. Some of these groups, with their often quaint names (such as the "court" of the Women's Catholic Order of Foresters), were branches of German American clubs found in other U.S. cities. A few were unique to Milwaukee, like the *Blumenmission*, a collaborative philanthropic effort of German and Anglo-American women that arose in 1877 and continued until World War I. Some of the women's activities may surprise us, such as the initiative shown by the shop seamstresses in the context of general labor protests in Milwaukee in 1886, while many were the activities undertaken by women of many backgrounds all over the nineteenth-century United States.

Ortlepp takes this broad palette of information and attempts to come to general conclusions about the extent to which the existence of these groups and their activities indicate anything about gender roles in nineteenth-century German Americans' ethnicity and acculturation. She concludes that in general German-speaking women did not use club life as a springboard to step outside of the gender expectations of their traditional culture. Unlike American women in nineteenth-century clubs, there was no development of philanthropic or community building activities on the part of women into movements to change society for the benefit of women, families, or downtrodden minorities. Indeed, Ortlepp concludes that German American women seem usually to have shown a reluctance to develop relationships with parallel Anglo-American groups. The influence of social welfare groups or movements in the Old World was often more evident. These conclusions are not surprising to those with some knowledge of nineteenth-century German speakers in the United States. This study supports those conclusions with a great deal of convincing evidence from one of the most important German American communities of this era, and that is a significant accomplishment.

Some may find that Ortlepp's study contains too many small details and that it therefore makes for tedious reading. It may be that it serves better as a resource book for other scholars interested in related topics or in integrating some of its profuse information into other studies than it serves as a text suitable for many in the general reading public. But I found it fascinating. I am grateful that Ortlepp took on this enormous task and completed it so well.

LINDA SCHELBITZKI PICKLE
Western Kentucky University

ERIKA LEE. *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943*. Chapel Hill: Uni-

versity of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 331. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Chinese immigrants hold a unique place in American history. They were the first non-European group, in large numbers, to migrate freely to the United States or its colonial antecedents, and they were the first ethnic or nationality-based group specifically to be excluded by U.S. statute. Hence, they both have embodied and symbolized American "gatekeeping," the often controversial efforts to keep out unwanted, and allegedly pernicious, aliens.

Erika Lee's book analyzes three aspects of the short and long-term consequences of Chinese exclusion, from its inception through sixty-one years of enforcement. First, she examines how the Page Act of 1875 and the Exclusion Act of 1882 established the first legal limits on free migration (as opposed to the 1807 prohibition against the importation of slaves) into the United States. These exclusions then led to the imposition of policies and procedures for admitting properly qualified aliens and for interdicting those deemed to be unfit for entrance. Finally, Lee discusses how the specter of exclusion redounded negatively on those who did manage, by what ever means, to get into the United States.

Instead of fostering assimilation, Lee demonstrates how Chinese exclusion tended to ostracize the Asian Americans. Laws exempted certain classes or types of immigrants, such as merchants and U.S. citizens, but even these faced daunting hurdles, essentially having to prove that they qualified for admission. Those who did gain entrance saw themselves and their kinspeople as the targets of ethnic persecution, and they also faced an ongoing threat of deportation, based on the popularly held belief that most Chinese residents had entered the country through fraud or evasion. Many Chinese did in fact resort to extralegal means of entry, such as becoming the "paper son" of a Chinese American merchant, which thereafter forced them to live fictional lives.

Chinese exclusion, as the first of its kind, necessitated the implementation of enforcement policies and procedures, along with the creation of an attendant bureaucracy. Lee's best work provides detailed descriptions and superb analysis of these "gatekeepers," as they examined immigrants at ports of entry, particularly San Francisco, and hunted for "illegals" along the Canadian and Mexican borders. The nation's underlying xenophobia comes across clearly in the officials' words and actions. Further, descriptions of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century efforts to seal American borders have an eerie resemblance to those of the early twenty-first century, complete with dire warnings of invading hordes, determined authorities on guard to stop them, and zealous vigilantes mobilizing to do their part.

Yet, despite these similarities, Lee's efforts to explain the influence of Chinese exclusion on "the restriction and exclusion of other immigrant groups" (p. 24), although carefully considered and thought provoking, are nonetheless problematic. Certainly, acts to limit Chinese migrants were the first such statutes, and they

did set a precedent for keeping out unwanted aliens. Also, rhetoric used to justify the later limitations on other immigrants had similarities to that used to vilify Chinese. Yet, the maturation of American gatekeeping in the 1910s and 1920s, which in one form or another has been continued to this day, may best be described as polygenetic in origin.

The campaign to limit European immigration, for example, focused on restriction, not exclusion. Unabashed nativist Henry Cabot Lodge, for example, might privately write of his wishes to keep out all aliens, but few shared his extreme stance. Most argued that their preferred method, the literacy test, would be a selective test of immigrant fitness for assimilation, and would serve to winnow the good from the bad migrants. "Desirable" foreigners still would be able to come to the United States.

It also is difficult to see a linear progression from Asian exclusion to that which focused on migrants from other regions. The immigration restriction movement, while disparaging southern and eastern Europeans, did not seek to target specific groups until after winning approval for the generally restrictive literacy test. Even the enactment of the quota system, which did establish restrictions on Europeans based on their ethnicity, had an ironic twist; each of the system's principal originators, William W. Husband and Sidney Gulick, saw the quota system as an objective, as opposed to discriminatory, means of restriction and advocated the inclusion of equally calculated quotas for Asians, including the Chinese.

Still, these are as much differences of interpretation as criticism and should not detract from the fact that Lee has authored a masterful book, well written and based on extensive research in both English and Chinese sources. Readers will find it pertinent for both the study of ethnic history and contemplation of present-day ethnic polemics. Scholars, even if they disagree with some of Lee's conclusions, will find themselves citing her.

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Stout

DAVID R. ROEDIGER. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White; The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. New York: Basic Books. 2005. Pp. vii, 339. \$26.95.

The Oscar-feted filmic representation of racial fault lines in Los Angeles, Paul Haggis's *Crash* (2004), is a gripping narrative of this city's modern mosaic of diversity. Yet despite the presence of Korean Americans, Latinos, African Americans, and Iranian Americans, at the core of the film is whiteness: the characters, white and nonwhite, live in worlds structured by the legacies and preferences of white Americans. That historians and social scientists now have such a deep understanding of this enduring white-nonwhite cleavage in the U.S. racial order owes much to the flowering of studies stim-

ulated in large part by David R. Roediger's agenda-setting book, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (1991). Advanced in important works by such scholars as Ian Haney Lopez, Karen Brodtkin, Matthew Frye Jacobson, Noel Ignatiev, Grace Elizabeth Hale, Gary Gerstle, and Thomas A. Guglielmo, among others, a whiteness framework has incalculably enriched understanding of U.S. racial orders historically and at present.

Roediger's new book is a fitting successor to his earlier work. In this superb and beautifully written study, Roediger absorbs and employs the scholarly literatures on whiteness, immigration, ethnicity, and work to write a masterful account of how the white-nonwhite cleavage expressed itself in the complex coagulation of immigrant identity, race, and, later, ethnicity. Roediger formulates the idea of "inbetween-ness" to describe the position of European immigrants whose identity and race were deemed neither white nor black in early twentieth-century America and shows how the confusions resulting from this status entrenched existing racial codes and practices.

Like the best scholarship in this area, Roediger decisively fuses and interlocks the history of immigration with that of race: it is remarkable that histories of U.S. immigration that separate the two still get published. He resolutely demonstrates that immigrants were not white on arrival but in practice absorbed the local prejudices, finding grounds for advancement through them. But the analysis is more nuanced than this may suggest, since the new immigrants were hardly embraced by white Americans. Roediger instances lynchings of Italians, such as that which occurred in Louisiana in 1891, and was justified by this group's "biology and habits" (p. 52). Being "inbetween" drove the acquisition of prevailing supremacist views: "in between at work, in looking for work, in unions, in the popular mind and in the eyes of the state, new immigrants were racially scrutinized in ways as painful as they were numerous" (p. 92).

One particular virtue of this book is Roediger's detailed attention to the role of the American or U.S. state in shaping immigration laws and therefore the parameters within which definitions of whiteness and group categories more generally unfolded. Thus the linking of biological and essentialist conceptions of race to official measurement policy, as in the census, and of eugenic presumptions to restrictive immigration policy were fundamentally expressions of state policy favoring white Americans' preferences and categories. Roediger observes that "what was so striking about restrictionist and racist thought at the beginning (and, indeed, at the end) of the twentieth century was its very entanglement of the biological and the cultural" (p. 66). These tendencies were most decisively institutionalized in the 1924 legislation establishing national quota-based restrictions on immigration, about which Mae M. Ngai has written decisively (see *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* [2003], upon which Roediger draws). Naturalization law also ex-

tended state policy into whiteness, symbolized in the *Thind* and *Ozawa* decisions.

Materially Roediger finds that the “inbetween” immigrants stood midway between native-born workers and African Americans. But after 1924, the great migration enabled employers to further exploit nonwhite workers and to consolidate whiteness as a currency in the labor market: “with the main source of immigrant labor suddenly shut off, capital turned to the recruitment of workers racialized as nonwhite, not as ‘inbetween’” (p. 150). This outcome helped sustain the segregationist Jim Crow order as a nationwide system, not as one simply expressed in the South. Crucially the legacies of Progressivist thought and the practices of the New Deal years transformed new immigrants from a race into ethnic Americans, thereby securing the tradition of “exclusion-based white nationalism” over that of “inclusive efforts at reform” (p. 234). These configurations—expressed for instance in the segregated housing patterns of suburban and urban America—became the background through which Mexican immigrants and other groups encountered the United States. “Inbetween-ness” has endured as a key element in this process.

This is an important work by a leading American historian. By fleshing out the category of “inbetween-ness” Roediger deepens understanding not just of the immigrant experience and new immigrants’ road to whiteness but of how these various categories acquired institutional and political force and endurance. His compelling argument shows why movies like *Crash* continue to be made and why without putting white-nonwhite divisions at the center of analysis, U.S. racial orders will remain inscrutable.

DESMOND KING
University of Oxford

GLENN FELDMAN. *The Disfranchisement Myth: Poor Whites and Suffrage Restriction in Alabama*. Athens: University of Georgia. 2004. Pp. xiv, 311. \$39.95.

According to Glenn Feldman, the “disfranchisement myth” assumes that early twentieth-century poor whites in Alabama opposed suffrage restrictions for African Americans because they feared the curtailment of their own voting rights. Feldman focuses his study on the debates over the 1901 Alabama “disfranchisement constitution.” His book argues, first, that previous historians have perpetuated a romantic myth that poor whites (or, as he calls them, “plain whites”) opposed disfranchisement and, second, that this opposition was primarily class-based. Feldman argues, on the contrary, that plain whites were far from “innocent” in the process of disfranchisement. Many of them supported the 1901 constitution in spite of provisions that would disadvantage them economically and politically. In making their Faustian bargain with white supremacy they lost their own right to vote.

In this admirably researched work, Feldman contextualizes the process of disfranchisement in the call for

a constitutional convention in Alabama in 1901, the battle over ratification, and the debates over an all-white Democratic primary in 1902. The purpose of the new state constitution would be, at least in part, to remove voting rights from black people as well as to restrict economic reform initiatives that would leave power firmly in the hands of white elites. Feldman uses that story—which includes a careful study of the convention deliberations, newspaper editorials about the ratification of the new constitution, and finally, Democratic party convention proceedings that debated an all-white Democratic primary—to show how plain whites, by cooperating with elites, essentially destroyed their own voting rights.

The 1901 constitution operated in two ways; first, by temporarily instituting property and literacy requirements in grandfather clauses and, second, through the permanent institutionalization of disfranchisement in 1903 that acted on plain whites as powerfully as on African Americans. White elites accomplished the ratification of the constitution by perpetrating what Feldman calls a “Great Lie”: the pledge that if plain whites voted for the constitution they would be protected from disfranchisement. However, elites quickly reneged on those promises as soon as they achieved their victory. According to Feldman, plain white acquiescence in permanent disfranchisement and lasting economic disadvantage was achieved through relentless hammering on racist fears and on what he calls “Reconstruction syndrome”: the lost cause, fear of Yankee interference and federal activism, and the threat of racial equality (p. 121). Indeed, in a recurring theme in the book, Feldman hints at the long-term legacy of the disfranchisement process: southern plain whites’ willingness to sacrifice rational self-interest for what he calls “emotional” issues such as race (or, later, hyperpatriotism and “family values”).

This book is in some ways a morality play; Feldman accuses the plain whites of making a bargain with the devil in order to assure white supremacy. While few will be surprised by Feldman’s argument that race played the signal role in this battle, what is particularly interesting here is the means by which elite white supremacists achieved their goal of disfranchising not only black people but also poor whites: by reconceptualizing citizenship and voting rights in the state constitution.

This deeply researched, well-written book is more valuable as a study of the way political culture and local alliances worked in the face of conflicting social and political needs than it is as an elucidation or corrective to an overriding “myth.” Indeed, the word “myth” here may be rather an overstatement. Feldman’s introduction chides the work of other historians—C. Vann Woodward’s *The Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (1951); J. Morgan Kousser’s *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910* (1974); and Michael Perman’s *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888–1908* (2001)—for either ignoring plain white acquiescence in disfranchisement or overdrawing

their opposition. Yet as Feldman points out, Woodward's later book *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955), retreated from the "myth," and other historians have questioned or debated it, or chosen to concentrate on wider aspects of the problem of disfranchisement. In reality, the great value in Feldman's work consists less in dispelling a "disfranchisement myth" than in providing a close study of the relationship between founding documents, such as a state constitution, and voting behaviors. Feldman writes with passion and clarity; much of his evidence persuasively establishes the primacy of racist ideology over rational self-interest. Although he frequently alludes to the "emotional" quality of such arguments, however, one could argue that plain whites expected black equality to have powerful economic and political consequences.

For the elite, however, the "underlying goal" remained "the preservation of the *status quo*," which included disfranchising both populist plain whites and black people (p. 156). While there is probably not a full-fledged myth such as the one Feldman seeks to dispel, the book serves as a useful corrective to the notion that most poor whites opposed disfranchisement.

SILVANA R. SIDALI
Saint Louis University

REBECCA S. MONTGOMERY. *The Politics of Education in the New South: Women and Reform in Georgia, 1890–1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. 263. \$49.95.

Education was one of the Progressive reforms that successfully took root in the South after the turn of the century. To explain this, historians have offered various arguments, including evidence that white southerners sought to match African American efforts at education or to improve the educational level of whites for industrialization in the New South. Rebecca S. Montgomery adds to these explanations by arguing that white women were central to the fight for public education because of their desire to gain personal freedom through education, shift power relations within the household, and expand their economic opportunities.

Following the Civil War, southern white women, predominantly middle-class women, identified public education as a means for political agency and self-determination. They sought public employment for white women as teachers, which would create new economic opportunities for women following the war. In addition, women's organizations formed, such as the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), and the Georgia School Improvement Club (GSIC). As these organizations pushed for improvements in public education, women countered the image of the dependent southern lady shaping a gendered political culture that still preserved southern traditions such as evangelical Protestantism, white supremacy, and states' rights.

Montgomery details white women's organizations and their actions for public education in Georgia at the

turn of the century, persistently maintaining that without their efforts Georgia public education would have floundered. For example, the GSIC, aided by the GFWC, fought localism as its members, under the leadership of Sallie Barker Hill, campaigned relentlessly in counties across the state to improve education for white children. Women reformers nonetheless encountered opposition from traditional notions of individualism and from more conservative women like Mary Ann Lipscomb, a member of the GFWC, who may have consented to public school reforms for African American children by 1910 but only under inferior conditions.

In one of the most fascinating chapters, Montgomery presents the varied meanings of Progressivism by analyzing how the GFWC and the UDC raised funds for schools in the Appalachian Mountains. Seeking to maintain white racial purity that women reformers perceived in mountain residents, club women searched for ways to alleviate poverty and educate white children in the Georgia mountains. Ironically, the reformers ignored the poverty of African Americans in their own counties. They also supported the expanding national eugenics movement during the Progressive era.

Some Progressives' definitions of reform included such appalling practices as sterilization, reeducating mountain children from their parents' values, and preserving white supremacy. Georgia reformers claimed to eliminate ignorance and train mountain children for future skills in a changing economy, ostensibly noble aims. Yet Georgia's mountain schools, including Martha Berry's Boys' Industrial School, attempted to eradicate any trace of mountain attire, speech, and customs. Here Montgomery presents a vital addition to Progressive historiography. Reform could claim different guises, not all of them beneficial to the recipients. As some Progressives across the nation pushed to "improve" society, that included institutionalizing those believed to be genetically inferior and rewarding those who exhibited superior intellectual and physical characteristics.

Montgomery offers readers some valuable insights to white middle-class women's contributions to educational reform in Georgia, and her book should be read by anyone interested in Progressive reform in the United States, not just the South. Still, African American women's efforts are less evident, which detracts from Montgomery's argument that women were at the core of educational reform. Moreover, even Montgomery's example of Walter and Sallie Barker Hill demonstrates that white men played a significant role in educational reform in Georgia, not least because they could vote and pass legislation. Montgomery's narrative also presents the intriguing tensions between white women reformers, some of whom were moderate like Hill, and others like Lipscomb and Mildred Rutherford who demonstrated the persistent undercurrent of conservative thought in the South.

Moreover, reliance on cotton as a cash crop and relentless poverty limited the scope of white women's success in creating a successful gendered political culture.

In the 1930s, Georgia's public school system remained class and race-based, denying most children a high school education. Only half of white children over age fifteen attended high school, while less than thirty percent of African American children did. Few schools were open more than 120 days a year. African American teachers lacked state-funded normal schools. Still, without the early work of Georgia club women from 1890 to 1930, this picture would no doubt have been far worse. Montgomery's research demonstrates club women's vital efforts to build Georgia's public education system.

ANN SHORT CHIRHART
Indiana State University

ANN SHORT CHIRHART. *Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 334. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

The last decade has seen an exponential growth in the amount of sound scholarship on the history of education. Not merely focused on the three R's, this new breed of educational history addresses the role of education, education reform, and teachers as active agents of change, not to mention the many studies of integration and politics. Ann Short Chirhart's book is both a study about the modernizing force that education became in the South, and an exploration of gender, race, and reform in a southern state. The book is notable in that it addresses gender, race, education policy, and state reform in one volume—no small task.

Chirhart has written an outstanding study of education, race, and reform in Georgia. Her work illustrates the difficulty women faced not only in receiving certification to teach but in creating a professional culture while struggling against forces aligned against such modernity in the South. Chirhart writes that African American teachers held different goals for their roles as teachers than did white teachers. For African American teachers, education was a means to achieving equality; "Rarely simple providers of knowledge or facts, female teachers—both black and white—served as cultural mediators who carried moral and spiritual values into their classrooms while working as agents of social and cultural change" (p. 2). To that end, many white female teachers in Georgia, such as Leona Clark Williams, supported the New Deal programs that brought improvements to her native state, while African American teachers saw education as a means to achieve racial equality. Both black and white teachers were agents of change and forces for modernization Georgia. But all was not easy in an agricultural state that for the longest time saw little value in a well-developed public education system.

Being an agent of modernization was a difficult task in Georgia in the early twentieth century. Education challenged the status quo and the existing power structure; it not only threatened to insert women into powerful public roles but challenged Jim Crow segregation.

But teachers did not fight side by side for reform, as the rules of race in the South often placed them at odds, while at very least diluting the power of their collective voice. Race may have slowed the reform impetus, but it did not stop it. Chirhart finds that teacher activism in Georgia forced the creation of a minimum foundation program for funding public schools—no small victory for education reformers. Georgia's public education system had been linked (like most everything else in the state) to cotton production. As cotton prices decreased throughout the 1920s, so, too, did funding for public education, as state officials chose to pave roads first, and fund schools later. Teacher activism also resulted in the slow, but eventually successful, shift of educational authority from recalcitrant and intransigent local politicians to state educational officials, which aided the modernization process.

Chirhart's is a solid study of the plight of a state's public school teachers, the culture they created, the reform they supported, and the long-term results of their individual and collective activism. It proves that the transformative power of education extended beyond the classroom and into southern society itself.

GORDON E. HARVEY
University of Louisiana,
Monroe

KAREN SOTIROPOULOS. *Staging Race: Black Performers in Turn of the Century America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 288. \$39.95.

African American arts and culture have long been of interest to scholars, and Karen Sotiropoulos's book contributes to this discussion on several levels. Its hallmark is the focus on black agency, that African American performers were not merely serving at the whim of whites but rather actively seeking to establish their own paths. Many black composers and performers were searching for an "authentic" voice in turn-of-the-century urban America in an ongoing effort to define black identity as well as to reach out to both black and white audiences. The book's discussion of the careers of major figures in the musical and dramatic arts renders such characters three-dimensional. We read of the successes and failures of vaudevillians Bert Williams and George Walker, of composer Will Marion Cook, and (to a lesser extent) of singer Aida Overton Walker and dancer Dora Dean. Sotiropoulos concludes that these urban artists would scarcely have had the same urgency if their ultimate purpose had been merely to entertain. By bringing her subjects alive, Sotiropoulos presents the real struggles that they faced in attempting to negotiate the black and white theatrical worlds and their respective audiences.

The book illuminates the country's racist past by showing how whites dealt with black performers: with a mixture of admiration and dismay. Admiration arose out of the sense of enjoying the fruits of a burgeoning African American culture of leisure and entertainment, while dismay resulted from the sight of blacks becoming

both commercially successful and sexually alluring. Black artists thus represented a real threat to middle and lower-class whites who desired to maintain racial boundaries and sexual mores. While black composers and performers did provide the tunes and dance steps that white performers later adopted, most were unable to achieve the household-name status of Irving Berlin, Al Jolson, or Vernon and Irene Castle, all of whom borrowed liberally from black songwriters and performers.

It is regrettable, however, that a book with such considerable strengths contains several weaknesses that undermine some of its power. There is little effort to place the author's argument in the context of previous scholarly work in this field by Lawrence Levine, Eileen Southern, W. T. Lhamon, Eric Lott, and Lewis Erenberg, whose works are duly cited in the footnotes but scarcely integrated in the analysis. While the author richly draws on the writings of such figures as W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Laurence Dunbar in emphasizing black agency, a clear, interpretive framework with which to place the cultural figures on whom she focuses would give the book greater strength and a more evident connection to other, relevant scholarship.

The title of the volume is also somewhat of a misnomer, because while the book begins with the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, the focus is on New York. Despite the enormous importance that New York had in the development of black culture and the arts, I would like to see more comparison with other urban centers that had far greater black populations during this era, such as New Orleans, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. Some recognition of parallel developments in western cities such as Denver, San Francisco, or Los Angeles, all of which are scarcely mentioned, would also be welcome. The inclusion of other urban centers would give the book the national perspective that the title indicates. After all, as the author notes (p. 58), Williams and Walker first met not in New York but in San Francisco.

In part this regional focus is a result of the source material. Aside from drawing on issues of the *Indianapolis Freeman* and the Keith/Albee Collection in Iowa City, the author relies almost exclusively on the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and the Billy Rose Theatre Collection, both located at the New York Public Library. While she makes excellent use of these sources, archival material from other urban centers would help situate her analysis in turn-of-the-century African American urban culture.

These criticisms aside, Sotiropoulos has negotiated well the difficult terrain of discussing musical and dramatic performance in urban settings, and she vividly describes several key personalities actively engaged in that process. This admirable effort calls for other scholars to heed the call for a focus on black agency in the analysis of theatrical performance, and to place that agency within the larger context of American arts and culture.

KENNETH H. MARCUS
University of La Verne

ANDREW M. KAYE. *The Pussycat of Prizefighting: Tiger Flowers and the Politics of Black Celebrity*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 208. \$26.95.

The lack of historical context regarding American popular culture in mainstream publications motivates many of us (cultural historians) to choose the career path that we do. Andrew M. Kaye's book is a model of how successfully to use historical context in writing about a subject. While the protagonist of Kaye's work is Tiger Flowers, an African American middleweight champion of the 1920s, this volume is about much more. Using Flowers as a potent symbol, Kaye explores the racialized nature of boxing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, race relations and turn-of-the-century segregation, the "politics of black celebrity," and the ideologies of racial uplift. As if peeling an onion, Kaye removes layer after layer of the life of this forgotten yet influential prizefighter, recovering him from obscurity. The interrelatedness of all of the principal characters, from Jack Johnson, to Muhammad Ali, to Joe Louis, to the Battling Siki, to Flowers himself demonstrates the line that connects these celebrity boxers of the past 150 years. One truly can not comprehend the significance of Muhammad Ali without understanding the historical context in which he emerged, following the exploits of Louis, Flowers, and Johnson.

In 1926 Theodore "Tiger" Flowers became the first African American boxer to win the world middleweight title. As Georgia native growing up in a working-class family, Flowers traversed the system of racism and segregation in the Deep South and experienced the precarious economic and social existence of the majority of southern African American men. He fought 157 bouts between 1918 and 1927; the bulk of his matches, due to the racial and legal dictates of the period, were with other black men. Flowers had to deal with the notorious reputation and success of Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight champion of the world. Johnson's victory over several white opponents, coupled with his liaisons with white women, fast living, and fearlessness, earned him the opprobrium of early twentieth-century white America. Kaye spends a great deal of time illustrating the popular press's contention that Flowers was in many ways the "anti-Johnson," yet he also demonstrates how this may have been more of an example of wish fulfillment upon the part of both the black and the white press. Kaye's analysis of Flower's celebrity, reputation, and symbolism transcends a mere analysis of his career. In a sense, it was Flower's plasticity—his ability to mean many different things to many different types of people—that made him the ideal candidate for Kaye's analysis. To white southerners he was the "ideal Negro" because he did not contest the racial dictates of the era. To much of the black public he was the "Georgia Deacon," an ideal "everynegro" who could be admired for his prowess in the ring and for his upright living.

As Kay argues, however, "race was the essential point of departure in white evaluations of the boxer" (p. 107). No matter how admired Flowers may have been, his

blackness defined his manhood. The author's description of the contours of black boxing, prizefighting, and melees (battles royal) illustrates the complicated role that African American fighters played in American culture. Kaye places Flowers within the context of early twentieth-century racial uplift ideology, illustrating that his "career was the quintessential fable of personal uplift" (p. 108). The boxer, who died young, was never mythologized; instead, he appears to have been an individual who symbolized a specific time and place within American and African American culture, only to become an obscure footnote until resurrected by the author.

Kaye's book demonstrates an enormous historical sensitivity and intellect that transcends most literature on prizefighting. The scholar also successfully accomplishes the difficult task of meeting the rigorous requirements of his fellow historians and appealing to a mass audience. Crossing numerous historical subfields, his work will appeal to historians of sports, race, popular culture, and gender.

GERALD R. BUTTERS, JR.
Aurora University

ALISON ISENBERG. *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 441. \$32.50.

"Main Streets everywhere have been portrayed as living organisms facing the end of eventful lives," or as places whose decline is "the product of market forces" (pp. 1–2), writes Alison Isenberg. Arguing against these simplistic formulations, she looks at retail in downtown America from 1890 to the present. Following the editors of *Architectural Forum*, whose editors asserted in 1939 that "Main Street in a big town is simply a small-town Main Street with added attractions" (p. 11), she traces a national ideal of "Main Street" promoted through local real estate investment decisions. Actors include community activists, designers, planners, investors, consumers, real estate consultants, and government officials.

Women of the municipal housekeeping movement gained political influence by cleaning up industrial towns in the "City Beautiful" era. Describing the "hybrid public-private nature of urban commercial life" (p. 41), Isenberg explains the appeal of clean streets, lamp-posts, benches, and trash cans. To pursue urban design, she looks beyond the work of architects and planners such as Charles Mulford Robinson and John Nolen to commercial artists working for postcard companies. Often hired by the local chamber of commerce, they extended the clean-up campaigns of the municipal housekeepers. Using company archives, Isenberg shows how artists retouched original downtown photographs to remove broken sidewalks, unsightly wires, and traffic and then hand-colored them to add sunny or moonlit skies (pp. 46–47, 68–69). Delving further, she finds clients'

notes to the artists such as "Take out . . . all old cars in 2nd block" (p. 71).

Chamber of Commerce members wanted affluent customers for their Main Streets, where the best locations were "100 percent corners" with peak rents because of pedestrian traffic. Isenberg probes the cultural and racial stereotypes as retail consultants observed "Mrs. Consumer," "Mrs. Brown America," and "Mr. Chain Store Man" (p. 78–79). She explores "Reilly's Law of Retail Gravitation," a 1929 formulation by William Reilly for chain store clients charting consumers' preferences for shopping in big city or small town locations. Then, during the Depression, all Main Streets suffered, and the marketing gurus faded. Nevertheless, some investors took advantage of low property values in the 1930s to modernize older structures or to erect "taxpayers" (low-rise buildings whose rents would cover taxes while the investor was waiting to pursue larger construction projects). Investors hoped for a revival, but the "Main Street" booster formulas lost appeal.

After World War II, merchants on many downtown Main Streets faced closing stores and shifting populations, as white families found increasing incentives to live and shop in new suburban locations. Interstate highways and urban renewal provoked massive demolition after 1956, often near Main Streets and downtown neighborhoods of people of color. By the late 1960s, the president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Winton Blount of Alabama, observed racial unrest strangling local retail: "you can best be known for your riots, or your lack of riots" (p. 203). Main Street—where retail was often decayed, burned out, or looted—became a "hollow prize" when establishments were desegregated. Attempts to recapture the ideal of Main Street through historic preservation or through the creation of malls with historic themes called "festival marketplaces" had mixed success.

Isenberg documents "Main Street" as a cultural and economic construction very effectively. In this admirable book she is most innovative in examining both small and large places, and in considering gender and race in relation to retail. She offers a more extended chronology than Robert Fogelson's *Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880–1950* (2001). Although Fogelson gives more attention to big city transportation and high-rise buildings, Isenberg makes a strong case that national real estate campaigns have been too little examined as part of American history. Probing economics and culture through an emphasis on consumption in space, her work is similar to two other excellent recent books: Catherine Gudis, *Buyways: Billboards, Automobiles, and the American Landscape* (2004), and Marina Moskowitz, *Standard of Living: The Measure of the Middle Class in Modern America* (2004).

The book is less effective outlining the larger metropolitan context, the complex intertwining of urban and suburban economic development typical of the twentieth century. As Isenberg defines it, "Main Street" equals "downtown," but the retail space she studies is

only part of the city, and the city is part of a metropolitan region. Federal subsidies for massive white, suburban, single-family housing developments in fringe areas weakened most downtowns in the late 1940s. In addition, tax code changes in 1954 favored accelerated depreciation for commercial development on raw land, making new suburban malls, big box stores, and office parks so attractive to investors that older "Main Streets" could rarely compete. The spatial scale of retail changed after the mid-1950s to favor national and international corporations developing larger properties in diverse green field locations. Looking at old postcards brings back the earlier ideal of a tidy, busy Main Street that Isenberg so fully explores in this excellent book.

DOLORES HAYDEN
Yale University

KAREN CHRISTEL KRAHULIK. *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort*. (American History and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 274. \$29.95.

Karen Christel Krahulik offers a fascinating and lively account of how Provincetown, Massachusetts, became America's most famous gay resort. The book is both a celebration of the community's embrace of freedom and a reminder that Provincetown—despite its vaunted tolerance for sexual nonconformity—faced problems of racism, sexism, and economic exploitation.

During the nineteenth century, Yankee residents of Provincetown enjoyed the benefits of a lucrative whaling and fishing industry and exercised political and cultural control of the town. Yankee sea captains imported Portuguese sailors—the beginning of the vital community of Portuguese immigrants who would over the course of the century come to dominate the fishing industry. By the end of the century, declining revenues from fish led Provincetown to search for alternative sources of income. Taking a cue from other seashore communities, residents looked to the growing numbers of vacationing Americans seeking places for their summer holidays. Provincetown capitalized on its history as the first landing site of the Mayflower to fashion a "colonial" tourist destination. Krahulik sees these efforts in part as an attempt by the Yankee population to highlight Provincetown's Yankee past and shore up its position in the face of the growth and influence of the Portuguese community. Tensions between Portuguese and Yankee residents persisted as the former took the service jobs that were essential for a successful summer resort. Portuguese fishing boats became excursion vessels, and Portuguese families opened their homes and shops to arriving vacationers. Despite Yankee efforts to cast Portuguese residents as merely exotic tourist attractions, Portuguese immigrants slowly displaced Yankees both politically and culturally.

The early twentieth century saw Provincetown's emergence as an important center for the arts. Well-known painter Charles Webster Hawthorne arrived in

1899 and opened the Cape Cod School of Art, a magnet for artists and for tourists who liked to watch artists at work. If Hawthorne encouraged a more traditional form of artistic expression, modernists and young bohemians also found Provincetown welcoming. Novelists, journalists, playwrights, and poets joined visual artists at Land's End. Here future luminaries like Eugene O'Neill and Marsden Hartley, still unknown and struggling, met and mingled. The considerable number and variety of artists helped market Provincetown as an unusual sort of resort, one that was known not only for its artistic climate but for its "openness." As a result, "bachelors and maiden ladies" who were "sated with the usual" found Land's End an increasingly attractive vacation site (p. 75).

When the Great Depression brought hard times to Provincetown, the Portuguese community did what it could by relying upon the bounty of the sea and upon informal networks of barter and exchange. Later in the decade both Portuguese working-class residents and middle-class artists looked to Works Progress Administration jobs, the former doing beach clean-up and mosquito control and earning three quarters to half of what the latter made writing travel essays and painting murals. Both groups, however, worked to bolster the tourist industry, promoting Provincetown as "gay" or "queer" and concentrating on its "outlandish art colony, sensational events, and increasingly infamous nightlife" (p. 123). As a result, the numbers of "sexually unconventional visitors" continued to grow, especially in the more affluent years following World War II (p. 124). But the intolerance and sexual conformity of the 1950s ultimately reached Provincetown, as a local purity campaign attempted to curtail or control some of the more flamboyant social rituals of the gay community.

The strength of Krahulik's book lies not only in its close and careful discussion of the development of Provincetown as a gay resort, but also in her analysis of the varied relationships among and between the different sectors of the Provincetown community: working-class Portuguese residents, visiting and resident artists, gay men and lesbians, old-time Yankees. The initial success of Provincetown's early twentieth-century artist community had partly rested, for example, on the willingness of Portuguese residents not only to accept but to welcome some rather unconventional characters into their community. And when purity crusaders tried to eliminate the visible gay presence during the 1950s, those for and against did not break down simply along a gay/straight divide. Portuguese and Yankee politicians and clergymen joined the anti-gay crusade, while Portuguese and Yankee businessmen recognized the important economic role that gays played in making Provincetown a successful resort and fought to protect the gay community. Moreover, important personal relationships emerged between working-class Portuguese families and the gay men who boarded in their homes and shopped in their stores. Neither was the gay community always a coherent or unified group. Krahulik un-

covers much "sexism in paradise" as lesbians and straight women found themselves at odds with elite white gay men who increasingly dominated the economic and cultural life of Provincetown.

Krahulik shows how the different and sometimes overlapping constituencies of Provincetown shaped compromises that allowed the community to persist and prosper. But this important book also reveals that being a gay resort did not protect Provincetown from class, racial, ethnic, or gender conflicts.

CINDY S. ARON
University of Virginia

RICHARD A. GREENWALD. *The Triangle Fire, the Protocol of Peace, and Industrial Democracy in Progressive Era New York*. (Labor in Crisis.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 332. \$24.95.

Richard A. Greenwald explores the advancement of industrial democracy in Progressive-era New York by connecting the great strikes of 1909 and 1910, the horrifying Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911, and the fitful actions of an uneasy coalition of workers, reformers, and political leaders. Defining industrial democracy as "an effort to square free market capitalism with democracy to provide a fair and just workplace" (p. 3), Greenwald identifies collective bargaining as essential to industrial democracy and calls for renewed attention to the subject of industrial relations between unions and employers.

The story of the young immigrant women who led the "shirtwaist uprising" of 1909 that startled New York City and attracted the support of middle-class women reformers is largely a familiar one. By paralyzing the industry through a general strike, these women not only saved the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) but boosted morale and hope, especially as the public became more aware of—and sympathetic to—the plight of women workers. Their action set the stage for the "Great Revolt" of the cloakmakers in 1910, a massive strike that convinced Progressive reformers that achieving industrial peace and stability was essential and required their intervention.

The "Protocol of Peace" resulted from their efforts. An industry-wide trade agreement, the Protocol called for industrial regulation through a tripartite arrangement involving labor, business, and the public. Primarily the work of Louis Brandeis, the Protocol provided a "unique and revolutionary institution" (p. 17), according to Greenwald. By guaranteeing workers collective bargaining, it ushered in significant workplace reforms and legitimized a new form of industrial relations that helped remedy the imbalance between labor and management. But for all its advances, Greenwald also argues, the Protocol privileged industrial stability over workplace democracy, and the mandated reliance on arbitration produced more bureaucracy and less worker involvement in workplace matters. Frustration with lengthy decision-making processes exacerbated shop-floor militancy, and workers resorted to wildcat strikes

to redress their grievances, leading to employer disenchantment with the Protocol. Division between workers and leaders in the ILGWU, moreover, combined with bureaucratic wrangling within the administration of the Protocol to ensure its demise, formally acknowledged in 1916.

But even before its official death, the Protocol, according to Greenwald, inadequately protected workers and pointed to the need for state involvement. The Triangle fire, he argues, catalyzed the political engagement needed to foster industrial democracy. The formation of the Factory Investigating Commission (FIC), with the support of reformers and such key Tammany leaders as Alfred Smith and Robert Wagner, made the government "a partner in industrial democracy" (p. 128). The legislation that resulted from the work of the FIC transformed New York into one of the nation's most progressive states. But the politicization of labor reform also melded together the interests of reformers and experts interested in stability and efficiency and helped forge a welfare state that, like the Protocol, reduced workers "from partners in industrial democracy to mere clients" (p. 189). Because the Protocol, the state, and even the union leadership itself favored harmony over instability, "New York got a form of industrial democracy that empowered reformers and experts at the expense of rank-and-file workers" (p. 128).

Greenwald's story of workers' lost opportunities through the complexities of union bureaucracies, employer ambivalence, and government intervention is not unlike that told by Steve Fraser for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. But Greenwald's findings on the Protocol of Peace are new and significant and add sophistication to the historical understanding of reform and reformers. And he documents important connections between the Protocol and the evolving welfare state in the wake of the Triangle fire, complementing the work of David Von Drehle on the political significance of the Triangle tragedy. But Greenwald's promised reexamination of the fire "through the lens of industrial democracy" (p. 18) receives but modest attention and requires elaboration.

Although sensitive to gender, especially its role in eliciting sympathy for women workers and Triangle victims, Greenwald fails to analyze fully the more tolerant treatment male strikers received from local authorities in 1910. He also remains silent on the role of gender in shaping the Protocol itself, merely noting that it was precipitated by the male-led cloakmakers' strike and written by "twenty men" (p. 62). More complexity is also needed in understanding the variety of Progressive reformers as they pursued their distinctive versions of industrial democracy, and the collapse of the "Protocol of Peace" should be situated in the international arena of the Great War and its impact on the ladies' garment industry.

Occasionally marred by awkward constructions and misspellings, Greenwald's study of industrial democracy is still an ambitious effort that offers new insight into industrial relations in the Progressive era and sug-

gests the ambiguous legacy of workplace reform for both the agency of workers and the possibility for genuine industrial democracy.

JO ANN E. ARGERSINGER
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JOSEPH E. SLATER. *Public Workers: Government Employee Unions, the Law, and the State, 1900–1962*. Ithaca, N.Y.: IRL Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 260. \$39.95.

Although the iconic representation of the union worker has continued to be the industrial factory worker, forty-three percent of union members in America today are public sector workers. Their workplaces are school cafeterias, hospitals, state offices, nursing homes, and day care centers. While union density has declined in the U.S. private sector over the last two decades, public sector union density has held steady. Clearly, it is time to rethink what the American labor movement has been. Moreover, since most discussions of public sector unionism start with the 1960s and 1970s, Joseph E. Slater's book offers a welcome and much needed opportunity to think about the union movement in conjunction with the expansion of the modern state over the entire twentieth century. The book reveals a labor movement that long sought to include public workers—even while remaining ambivalent about tactics like striking. It was the opponents of unionization who perpetually argued the public sector was different and thereby long denied its employees rights won by other workers.

Since the 1910s, Slater shows us, public sector workers have organized and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) granted them union charters. Through this story, he offers a refreshing look at the AFL, unburdened by Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) mythology that so often portrayed the CIO as carrying the progressive mantle of history forward and the AFL as short-sighted and ossified. Here we glimpse an AFL that opened its doors, albeit cautiously, to teachers, police, janitors and “janitresses.”

Slater finds the chief obstacle in the law and employers. Slater makes a good case that the central “debilitating fact of life for public sector unions” was the “almost complete lack of legal rights” (p. 71). Until the 1960s, law everywhere prohibited strikes, collective bargaining, and arbitration of disputes. Courts allowed governments to fire workers simply for joining a union. Before and after the New Deal, state and federal judges upheld “yellow-dog contracts,” prohibiting employment for union members. Long after the New Deal, the National Labor Relations Act, Norris-LaGuardia Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, and state labor relations acts excluded government workers.

Government employers' and judges' fear of public sector unionism went beyond workers' control at work. More ominously, they claimed, the political power of labor would be used for class control and class domination of the state. Government officials explicitly stoked the alarming possibility that AFL police unions

would refuse to break strikes. The apparent deep concern over “class government” is a nice note of irony, given the business class control over the state in both the late nineteenth and late twentieth centuries.

Not solely a legal history, this book relies on social history to show how workers developed unique forms of organizing within these constraints. Chapters organized as case studies—on Boston, Seattle, Chicago, New York, and Wisconsin—offer us the struggles of various types of workers across the country at different historical moments. Each case also helps construct a broader narrative. The first, on the 1919 Boston police strike, places it in the larger context of class conflict and the expansion of workers' gains at the end of World War I. Yet as a glaring episode of violent class conflict threatening public order, the police strike cast a dark cloud over public unionism for decades. It became a precedent used to support bans and restrictions for all government workers.

Lacking the legal right to strike, bargain, or organize, unions such as the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Building Service Employees International Union (BSEIU), and Transit Workers Union engaged in political action: law suits and court challenges, electoral politics, and public relations campaigns. As early as the 1920s, the AFT developed the staples of public sector unionism: appealing to notions of the public good and fundamental constitutional rights of free association and speech and getting involved in elections of employing officials. In the final chapter, on the AFL-CIO's political mobilization for a Wisconsin enabling law, Slater argues that union rights were ultimately won in the 1960s by state legislative intervention.

Slater highlights that unions such as AFT and BSEIU were largely female, African American, and Latino. Still, a deeper analysis of the racialized and gendered assumptions about the work and workers could have revealed another level of public workers' struggle for rights and dignity. It might also explain the stunning success of these unions in the 1960s, when they aligned themselves with civil rights struggles.

Slater reveals the contestation between public workers and their opponents over what a union was; public sector workers attempted to create a unionism not essentially defined by strikes or collective bargaining. He does not, however, confront the basic debates over who was a worker and what constituted productive work. The book rarely considers the actual nature of the labor these workers performed and how this might have influenced legal and political interpretations. The author repeatedly emphasizes that the reasons for unionizing in the public sector were exactly the same as in the private sector: low pay, long hours, authoritarian and capricious supervisors, and job insecurity. It is illuminating to see similar issues compelled public sector workers. Yet they were not always the same issues. Service labor does have its particular issues and distinct relationships. Office workers, hospital attendants, and teachers have clients, consumers, patients, and students—not just bosses—who affect working conditions

and wages. They need to be brought into account when conceptualizing unionism in nonindustrial settings.

The breadth of this study makes it worthwhile reading for historians in various subfields. It is labor history that also shows us state building, class formation, transformations in liberal ideas about political economy, and the state's impact on labor markets.

JENNIFER KLEIN
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ARTHUR E. FARNSLEY II, et al. *Sacred Circles, Public Squares: The Multicentering of American Religion*. (The Polis Center Series on Religion and Urban Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 239. \$45.00.

This book is about the changing fortunes of religious institutions in Indianapolis, from the time of its original plan to the present. Arthur E. Farnsley II, N. J. Demerath, Etan Diamond, Mary L. Mapes, and Elfriede Wedam, two historians and three sociologists, do not have a simple secularization story to tell. Rather, they argue that the Protestant establishment and its singular religious voice has been replaced by a "multicentered" religious landscape, where numerous religious actors and congregations continue to play important, if changed, roles in local and regional expressions of civic life, social uplift, and political life.

In this volume, Indianapolis serves as a case study that illuminates what its authors believe are broad social processes realigning American religious and American urban life. The authors begin with nineteenth-century Indianapolis's interlinked social networks of political, cultural, and religious elites and then sketch the various social forces (regional and national) that worked to unravel these institutional and symbolic cultural worlds. The fortunes of Indianapolis's city center and downtown rise and fall, so that at present the "downtown" arts, sports, and commerce centers provide a unified symbol of urban identity that is marked by "multicentered" suburban and urban communities organized largely along lines of race and class. Despite many urban studies that raise the alarm at such shifts, the authors are cautiously optimistic about the changes, noting that "rather than looking at the movement of individuals or institutions outward we can look at the regions they are moving to . . . [these areas] lose some of their individual identity while assuming a new identity as part of a whole that is larger, if more diffuse" (p. 44).

In the chapters that follow the authors trace the changing fortunes of the city's one-time religious core, the "Protestant establishment," within a similarly "multicentered" religious landscape, and consider the consequences for Indianapolis's congregations. Increased diversity (including growing numbers of Catholics and Jews), movement toward the suburbs, the developing importance of congregational life, and the declining importance of ecumenical or denominational councils all contribute to these changes. The restructuring of urban

life into multiple communities, the movement of congregants to the suburbs, and the new demands of congregants who stay in areas of social and urban decay require congregations to rethink their missions and their relations to their neighborhoods. Some congregations move, others turn their backs on their neighborhoods, others strive to build bridges between new and old communities, and new suburban churches redefine community in other ways.

The volume's final two chapters examine the responses with case studies of numerous Protestant and a few Catholic congregations, and develop two typologies with which future researchers might evaluate congregations' missions and responses to neighborhood change. The emphasis and focus on congregations here is well considered. Numerous studies of late have noted the declining influence of ecumenical and denominational authorities and groups, making congregations the default center of religious life in the United States. Nonetheless, the declining numbers of intergroup and interreligious mediating institutions casts a shadow on the volume's cautious optimism that this "multicentered" city is somehow united into an integrated if diffuse whole. There is little evidence in this volume of either institutions or public spaces where such unification occurs, or is experienced by, Indianapolis's residents.

This book is an excellent addition to our understanding of contemporary American congregational religion, and, given its historical and empirical scope, it is an important milestone in arguments about the changing place of religious establishment in urban centers. Yet the authors' claims that Indianapolis presents a generalizable case of broader, even national trends detracts from their treatment of unique aspects of Indianapolis's history. The authors say surprisingly little about whether the Ku Klux Klan's strong presence in the city in the early 1900s had lasting consequences for the city's demographics or (comparatively) limited religious diversity. Likewise I wish that the authors would have explored the broader institutional consequences of the Indianapolis-based Lilly Endowment's ongoing contributions to many of the city's civic and religious organizations. The impact of these institutions on Indianapolis's civic and religious life could hardly be more different, nonetheless the civic fortunes of many U.S. cities have been similarly bolstered by the efforts of local endowments, and most American cities have likewise struggled with the legacies of nativism. More attention to the role of such movements and institutions in Indianapolis would have substantially added to the lessons we might draw from this otherwise excellent volume.

COURTNEY BENDER
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JOHN F. WOOLVERTON. *Robert H. Gardiner and the Reunification of Worldwide Christianity in the Progressive Era*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 270. \$42.50.

The surge of optimism that propelled the Social Gospel, liberal currents in Protestant theology, and the Progressive movement in politics also sparked the modern ecumenical movement. Among Americans, John R. Mott remains the American most frequently linked not just to cooperative ventures among various Christian bodies but also to moves toward organic reunion of the various branches of Christianity. Attorney and Episcopal layman Robert H. Gardiner, although less well-known today, was also a major player in both national and international moves to end divisions among Christians and create one truly universal church. Historian John F. Woolverton does much to remedy the oversight of Gardiner in this carefully crafted study.

Woolverton provides what might be called a public biography. That is, he does not focus much on Gardiner the man or even on what led him to devote probably more time to religious ventures than to his Boston law practice as the ecumenical movement gathered momentum. Rather, drawing extensively on letters and manuscripts, hitherto rarely explored, he portrays the public side of Gardiner as one who attempted to mediate between high church Episcopalians and more evangelically inclined ones to bring them all into a sometimes reluctant endorsement of the idea of a single Christian church that would somehow embrace all people.

Early on, Gardiner evinced a fascination with religion and a concomitant desire for social justice. Those twin interests often took him intellectually and personally into arenas where his fellow Episcopalians were slower to venture. Never as radical as the renowned Vida Scudder, Gardiner nevertheless believed that no religious faith worth its salt was a matter solely of individual piety. Through his involvement with the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, for example, Gardiner sought to effect actual transformation in the social order that would allow what he believed to be authentic principles to shape the very structures of common life. It was a natural step to go from cooperating to bring social justice to efforts that would, Gardiner hoped, result in one church.

Never formally trained in theology, Gardiner nevertheless had a profound theological rationale behind his commitment to a unified Christian movement. In a particularly strong chapter, Woolverton deftly displays how the idea of the incarnation, that the divine took human form in the figure of the Christ, became the central idea in Gardiner's thought. The body of believers was the continuation of that incarnate Christ, capable still of effecting a corporate atonement as it surrendered to the divine through prayer. Hence there was a devotionism that undergirded the public work of Gardiner, as Woolverton capably demonstrates.

What mattered to many others, particularly those in the Episcopal Church of the late Victorian era, mattered less to Gardiner. For example, what became known as the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, with its emphasis on an unbroken historic episcopate as the conduit through which Christian truth had been pre-

served through the ages, was for Gardiner of less import than what he called the "conference spirit" or a willingness to engage in conversation with fellow believers, confident that contention would disappear as commonalities surfaced.

Gardiner became a major player in the Faith and Order movement as it developed following the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910), engaging in a vast correspondence and planning gatherings scheduled just as the Great War erupted. As Woolverton shows, the disarray wrought by war was to Gardiner only a temporary setback; his endeavors continued, as demonstrated in a gathering in that brought together a range of Christian leaders from the western hemisphere, to counter the omission of those from Latin America from the earlier Edinburgh gathering.

The war and the ensuing isolationism that swept through American society halted the ambitious endeavors of Gardiner and his associates on the Joint Commission and on other cross-denominational agencies anticipating church reunion. In Europe, the devastation of the war and the need for massive recovery allowed little time or energy for ecumenical pursuits.

The formation of the World Council of Churches in the 1940s, almost a generation after Gardiner's death, resuscitated the ecumenical movement. Issues that plagued the venture in Gardiner's day are still debated. Theological differences matter. There is no single sense of what Christianity embraces. The "reunification of worldwide Christianity" of Woolverton's subtitle was really Euro-American Christianity, taking no account of the global distinctions that are today readily apparent.

Bart Ehrman has written eloquently of the "lost Christianities" of the first centuries of the Christian movement. His term highlights the stunning diversity that prevailed. Those who sustain Gardiner's vision know that there remain many Christianities in the world: theologically, ethnically, socially, economically, politically. Their unification remains elusive. However, all who wish to understand the interplay of progressive forces with religious currents at the dawn of the twentieth century will benefit from Woolverton's study of a figure too easily overlooked.

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LEE GRIEVESON. *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early-Twentieth-Century America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 348. \$24.95.

Delivering both more and less than its title promises, this fascinating and well-researched study investigates how early regulatory strategies and film industry decisions combined to produce what would become "classical" Hollywood cinema. Lee Grieveson's geographic and chronological frames are relatively narrow—he focuses on New York City and Chicago between 1907 and

1915—but his analytic reach extends to the intersections of gender and class, modernity and masculinity, cinematic practice and social governance. In dialogue with both film studies scholars and historians, he argues that an emerging consensus about the “social function” of film as “harmless entertainment” was as important as narrative structure and film technique to the development of classical cinema.

Grieveson’s conception of “policing” owes a great deal to Michel Foucault, and he situates film censorship within the broader regulatory space created as elites responded to the anxieties of modernity. While he follows earlier scholars who analyze the regulation of movies as a means of controlling working-class and immigrant Americans, he is concerned as much with middle-class self-definition as with top-down social control, and with the role of gender and race in constructing class sensibilities, regulatory mechanisms, and classical cinema itself. These themes are explored through four case studies that permit a nuanced and contextualized elaboration of the many interdependencies between regulatory discourses and filmic representation.

The Unwritten Law: A Thrilling Drama Based on the Thaw-White Tragedy (1907) represented a moment when the regulation of movies shifted from a “literal” policing of the physical space of nickelodeons to the “metaphorical” policing of representations via censorship and self-regulation. Analyzing the *Chicago Tribune* crusade against nickelodeons, which arose partly in response to this film, Grieveson offers an unsurpassed interpretation of the ways that the nickel audience was understood as uniquely “suggestible” and, as a result, films themselves were cast as in need of uplift. As first Chicago and then New York City sought to regulate film exhibition, the industry experimented with self-policing. One strategy for making motion pictures respectable was emphasizing their educational function, an endeavor embraced by the industry-supported National Board of Censorship (NBC). Another, related strategy was producing films that reinforced gendered norms of respectability. Temperance films such as *A Drunkard’s Reformation* (1909) featured stories about the domestication of wayward fathers, seeking to consolidate claims that motion pictures served a useful social function as a saloon-substitute, and reflecting the influence of middle-class women’s cultural authority both in censoring bodies such as the NBC (staffed mostly by female volunteers) and in the production of film narrative itself.

Disciplining the male body was key to efforts to position films as respectable, but federal regulation itself was enabled through a different policing of masculinity. Paralleling the passage of the Sims Act, which first established movies as “commerce” in order to prohibit circulation of films showing Jack Johnson’s string of victories over white boxers, with the Mann Act, under which Johnson was prosecuted for his sexual relationships with white women, Grieveson eloquently illustrates how film regulation was enmeshed with racial governance. Further, both of these acts created the reg-

ulatory context within which the motion picture industry was held subject to anti-trust regulation, prompting several states to pass censorship laws. At this embattled moment a spate of “white slave” pictures entered circulation, creating a crisis for those who hailed film’s educational function. While the social reformers affiliated with the NBC quarreled among themselves over “realism” and its dangers, as a description of the group’s contentious debates in 1913 over *Traffic in Souls* and *The Inside of the White Slave Traffic* nicely reveals, the nascent film industry moved ever more firmly away from “controversial,” non-fictional subjects towards “the self-enclosed space of the fictive” (p. 184). Thus, by the *Mutual Film Corp. v. Industrial Commission of Ohio* (1915) decision denying movies first amendment protection, film had already traced an arc from educational to entertaining; the Supreme Court merely recognized the ways that the social function of cinema had become limited in the preceding decade. One might quibble with some aspects of his interpretation of particular films, or with the occasional overreliance on Foucault, but Grieveson’s analysis of the relationship between regulation and representation in these early years of cinema is cogent and important, destined to shape the field for years to come.

ANDREA FRIEDMAN

Washington University in St. Louis

JEANETTE KEITH. *Rich Man’s War, Poor Man’s Fight: Race, Class, and Power in the Rural South During the First World War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 260. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

“War is the health of the State,” wrote Randolph Bourne in leaning his shoulder against the American war machine of 1917–1918. Today, most historians agree that mobilization for the Great War brought unprecedented growth in what had been a weak American state. For good or for ill, Washington bureaucrats registered, policed, and commanded ordinary citizens as never before. Because the emerging Leviathan possessed a monopoly of legitimate violence and because it had the biggest propaganda megaphone around, it was able to crush most opposition to the war.

Jeanette Keith does not agree. Traveling deep into the piney woods of southern history, she has uncovered a lot more resistance to federal intrusion than is accepted in standard accounts. Focusing on the military draft, she finds evidence in everything from local draft board records to memoranda from the head of Selective Service, General Enoch Crowder, that a significant minority—some ten to thirteen percent of southern men, a majority of whom were black—failed to register, report for induction, or otherwise do their military duty. Following a tradition of opposition to hated tax “revenueurs,” some upcountry poor whites even put up armed resistance. Although their protest was individual rather than collective, it was grounded in the larger realms of class (the rural poor) and culture (hostility to

outsiders). In the skillful hands of this perceptive author, isolated acts of resistance turn into a convincing social pattern.

These findings are significant for several reasons. Like the discovery that slave resistance did not necessarily take the form of collective rebellion, Keith's exposure of a cantankerous lower-class culture will compel historians to pay more attention to class divisions and will increase estimates of the depth of popular opposition to the war. At the very least, her work should instigate a search for similar evidence of latent opposition elsewhere in the country. Understanding wartime opposition lays the foundation for explaining the widespread postwar conviction that the war had been a mistake.

In addition to these implications for national history, backwoods draft resistance illuminates several of the fault lines of southern history: class differences between county seat elites and country folk; political division in the "solid South" between Wilsonians and anti-Wilsonians such as Tom Watson; the hypocrisy of "states rights" Democrats calling on the federal military to apprehend local resisters. Only in dealing with African Americans and their relation to white resisters does the analysis seem a bit thin, especially given the potency of prejudice among these same upcountry whites.

What is most significant is how backwoods resistance bears on the problem of state and society. The most strikingly original aspect of Keith's work is the application of James C. Scott's ideas about state efforts to control rural society since the eighteenth century. In *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998), Scott shows how states tried to render the messy realities of everyday life "legible" to surveillance ("visible" might be more apt), so that once ordinary people were counted, mapped, and otherwise "seen," they could be marshaled in service to the state. Scott's emphasis, however, falls on the failure of rationalizing projects. All the efforts of "high modernism" from Le Corbusier's ideal city to Soviet Five-Year Plans failed to tame the wild realities of complex social formations. Keith's wonderfully lucid account of draft resistance in the rural South offers an exemplary case study of how state efforts to impose rational order were frustrated by ordinary people getting on with their lives.

All this is well and good, but agents of the state were not the only modernizers coming in from outside to control rural society. Let us not forget the agents of capital. As industry came to the New South, owners of textile mills, logging operations, and other labor-intensive industries pushed into the backwoods with their own rational schemes of labor discipline. Did the rural poor resist the discipline of wage labor (factory system, time-and-motion study, morals policing) in the same way they kept military recruiters at bay, and for the same reason? Keith provides substantial evidence of socialists like "Red Tom" Hickey and the Farmers and Laborers Protective Association (which included An-

glo, black, and Mexican members) abetting draft resistance in Oklahoma and Texas, but nothing on how they resisted being ensnared by landlords, bankers, furnishing merchants, and factory owners.

This is not to complain about excellent work already done but to identify a task for future research. Would it not deepen our understanding of class relations in the wartime New South to have a clearer picture of how state power was linked to the power of property? And of how resistance to one may have shaped resistance to the other? Because the American state was not a Leviathan in the same sense as the "statist" politics of Europe and Asia, not even during the "healthy" period of World War I, it is all the more important to widen the frame to take in socioeconomic aspects of power and resistance as they relate to state power. Then we will be in an even better position to understand why many people saw the war as "a rich man's war, poor man's fight."

ALAN DAWLEY
College of New Jersey

BRIAN M. DOWNING. *The Paths of Glory: Social Change in America from the Great War to Vietnam*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Cybereditions. 2003. Pp. 320. \$22.95.

A pretty strong argument can be made that war in the twentieth century was a primary instrument of social change. Proving it, however, is an entirely different matter. That is the problem that Brian M. Downing is up against in his book. Downing begins by taking his readers to 1917, a time when the United States was confident and optimistic, generally disengaged from European entanglements. It was a progressive nation on the move, and its people could look ahead to a bright future. The Great War, Downing argues, brought an end to all that. The impact of the war weakened religious convictions, brought on a new youth culture, changed the role of women, destroyed the small town, and weakened the family structure. "The war, then, changed the country" (p. 56).

Certainly, American society changed rapidly after the war. It is more difficult, however, to show that the war was the direct cause of those changes. Was it the war that caused the breakdown in religious practices and family values; did it somehow bring an end to the *Our Town* type of small-town life, as Downing argues at great length? Or were other forces of change at work, such as the proliferation of the automobile or broad economic changes? Possibly there was no specific catalyst at all. Perhaps American society was simply caught up in a natural process of change that had begun decades before, simply becoming "modern," as it was called at the time. The direct cause of change is not always easy to identify.

Next up is World War II, and here Downing's argument is the most persuasive. In 1938 the nation was stuck in the Great Depression; the New Deal had gone from saving grace to disenchantment and disarray. Unemployment was rising. The economy seemed to be in

a perpetual state of weakness. World War II changed all that. Total victory over an obvious evil brought on a confidence and faith in the nation and its institutions—a good feeling that lasted at least into the early 1960s. But like other writers who have explored this era, Downing finds anxiety among the prosperity and the postwar celebrations. The community, the family, and religious conviction all weakened and waned in the era, while social protest increased and individualism nearly died away. This postwar anxiety is nicely explained and documented, but again we are presented with the problem of cause and effect. Did the war, itself, cause all these problems? Again, perhaps it did. But too often it is difficult for the reader to make the direct connection. Could there be other factors? There is little effort to lay blame on the impact of the Korean War, Cold War anxieties, or even rapid economic growth in the postwar years. Again, the direct cause of change is not always easy to identify.

Downing then turns to Vietnam and the national experience of military defeat. That devastating event, Downing argues, further eroded American society, bringing on a national mood of malaise, a delegitimizing of national authority, and an end to the American ideal as a model for the rest of the world. It is fairly easy to blame the Vietnam experience for the rapid growth of the counterculture, or for scorn of the nation's military. But did Vietnam (as Downing claims) really cause the nation's youth to begin using drugs, or Americans to look longingly to the past; and did the war cause historians to begin viewing history from a multicultural viewpoint? Probably not.

Downing ends the book there, with nothing much to say about the Gulf War and its impact on national society. It might be argued that, as a result of that conflict, the nation regained much of what it lost in Vietnam: everything from its self-esteem to its own national ideal. That analysis would have been a useful addendum.

There is much to admire here. Downing is an engaging writer, and his book presents a good analysis of social change in the nation through the last century—even if the cause of that change is a bit questionable. In addition, Downing pulls from a remarkable amount of secondary material; the bibliography is, in fact, a useful source on twentieth-century social history, and the footnotes are often mini-historiographical essays on various topics.

Unfortunately, Downing wrote this book before the United States' current exploits in the Middle East, so we miss his take on the impact of those events. At the end of the book he wonders if the United States will use its power responsibly in shaping the history of the new century. It is a question to ponder.

GARY DONALDSON
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KATHLEEN FRANZ. *Tinkering: Consumers Reinvent the Early Automobile*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. 224. \$35.00.

Kathleen Franz's book is a well-written, valuable contribution to the state of the art of mobility history, even as it opens up a whole new subfield. It is also a valuable addition to consumption studies within and without the history of technology. Following a constructivist and feminist tradition, her analysis of the "reinvention" of the automobile by American consumers-turned-inventors is both inspiring and firmly grounded in primary and secondary sources.

Initially, automotive technology (most of all the iconic Model T) provided a window of opportunity for tinkerers, especially within the realm of comfort. The emergence of automobile camping shortly before World War I and its massive breakthrough during the prosperous 1920s confronted millions of Americans with the car's unreliability and unsuitability for family holidays in the open air. Using literary fiction as one of her sources, Franz is able to document a growing self-confidence among women about the technicalities of the novel machine. Against this background, Franz's narrative can be read as a gradual marginalization of the user, first of women and then of male tinkerers. Analyzing 100 patents and 200 letters to Henry Ford, she places the tinkering mania in a context of an American, democratic belief in (largely masculine) "ingenuity." This framework is then used to perform a case study of the efforts by Earl Tupper (of later Tupperware fame) to market a "collapsible top for rumble seats," mounted at the back of the car body to accommodate an extra passenger. But Tupper was too late: by the 1930s automobile manufacturers managed to push the users out of their realm of "scientific" expertise, mostly by changing the multipart body into a unitary, "tinker-resistant," and streamlined design. Manufacturers initiated a strategy of "customer education," based on rudimentary consumer research and applied, for everyone to see, during the annual motor shows of the 1930s and especially during the two World Fairs in Chicago and New York. Opposite to and far away from an automobile industry promoting itself as the savior of the American "way of life" out of the economic recession, an increasingly deskilled consumer was created, whose role in the co-construction process became circumscribed to the passive act of buying.

A history of automobile development from the perspective of the user is long overdue, and Franz's narrative fills at least an important part of this gap in a convincing way. And yet, hers can only be regarded as a first approach. To begin with, Franz's analysis limits itself to the "discourse" about car technology and tinkering instead of its "practices." The reader is therefore left behind with the question how important (in quantitative terms) this tinkering movement was. Franz's focus on the big manufacturers (against the single user-inventor) tends to neglect the fact that before 1920 many manufacturers (more than a hundred) were tinkers themselves, using off-the-shelf components to assemble a car with only a little technical knowledge. And the registration statistics of several states contained hundreds of cars with unidentifiable brand names,

clearly the result of home-made tinkering. In this phase, the differences between producers and users were small, indeed. My own research largely confirms that the tinkering movement was certainly not negligible, but at the same time new middle-class users who joined the army of adopters were less inclined to see the car as an object of active adaptation to their personal tastes. From this perspective, the marginalization of the users was not the result of a conspiracy but was co-constructed by a (growing) number of the users as well. Car buyers (even if confined to the middle class, as in this case) are no monolithic group; they come in subcultures and form multilayered cohorts of preferences and user activities. This was also observed by manufacturers during the period, who tried to find solutions for this relatively new market.

This leads to my second point. Although I generally agree with Franz's assessment of the interwar years as a crucial period of struggle between "the engineer" and the "knowledgeable user," her focus on the car's body (and the streamlined body as a *deus ex machina*) prevents her from acknowledging the fundamental uncertainty among car designers about "what the customer wants." Thus, their deep differences of opinion how to approach the users remain largely unquestioned, which is all the more problematic as the 1930s are considered to have been a "buyers' market" as opposed to the "sellers' market" of the 1920s. Other technologies within the car's structure (for example, the transmission) remained contested fields, where dissident, independent engineers kept proposing solutions. In other words, the suggestion that users were locked out of the design process by self-confident engineers is much too simple a scheme to allow for an analysis of a process of incremental technological change, which kept being inspired by users. Limiting the influence of the user to his (or her) willingness to invent not only runs the risk of ridiculing this influence (compare Tupper's pieces of canvas and sticks to the complexities of an automatic transmission); it also fails to recognize that users have more power, both direct (by complaining, or refusing to buy) and indirect (through consumer organizations or other intermediary actors), and that the process of co-construction of the car is not limited to patented suggestions of concrete technologies.

Finally, Franz's largely Americocentric approach fails to recognize that the tinkering movement was international in scope. The same applies to the state of the art in mobility history: non-American studies testify that not only American but also European trade journals in this period were replete with references to what happened at the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Also, many European countries (and especially Great Britain) were paradises of male tinkering until well after World War II. So, if American manufacturers effectively pushed the user out of their technical realm, how can we explain the massive international do-it-yourself movement after the war? And how can this international movement be described by only referring to an American tradition of democratic ingenuity? In other

words: how to explain comparable phenomena in other countries not characterized by such democratic ingenuity? It seems that the user culture of the car is much more multilayered, complex, and international to allow for an analysis from a narrow American perspective.

That does not diminish the accomplishments of Franz's analysis. She contextualizes an American subculture of automobile use, and in order to do so she had to plow much barren ground. As such her book remains a calibration point for subsequent studies, which this reviewer hopes will result from reading and gaining inspiration from Franz's excellent scholarly exercise.

GIJS MOM

*Eindhoven University of Technology,
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JOHN A. JAKLE and KEITH A. SCULLE. *Signs in America's Auto Age: Signatures of Landscape and Place*. (American Land and Life Series.) Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 2004. Pp. xxxiii, 219. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Signs in all their variety have long marked and guided use of space, but the automobile age with increased road speed and unfamiliarity changed the way that Americans experienced these messages. Signs in the form of commercial communications became more ubiquitous as the car culture became part of the consumer culture in the twentieth century. This book explores these changes, using the findings of the historical as well as cultural geographical disciplines. John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, experts on the history of the American roadside, provide a rich, often insightful, but also sometimes disappointingly surface understanding of this topic.

For the historian unversed and open to analysis of the role of signs in imparting cultural meanings of space, this book provides a helpful primer using the insights of cultural sociologists like George Mead and modern semiotics. Jakle and Sculle discuss three broad categories of signs: commercial signs (downtown and Main Street, roadside), public messages guiding traffic and designating community, and signs marking personal space. The book concludes with a wide ranging discussion of sign aesthetics. While secondary sources are used extensively and well, the authors refer frequently to published primary materials, especially trade journals.

Jakle and Sculle offer fascinating details about the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century emergence of storefront and painted wall signs as well as spectacular electric advertising displays in New York's Times Square and the transformation of small-town Main Streets as a result of chain store and standardized "point of purchase" signs advertising beer and soft drinks, for example. They show how the design and placement of outdoor advertising became a science by the 1930s based, for example, on mathematical formulas measuring visual impact. Beginning in the 1920s, billboards began to clutter scenic routes (e.g. the Maine

coastline) and freakish signage, including “ducks,” buildings shaped to suggest an advertised product, appeared.

A fairly straightforward history of traffic signs follows, focusing especially on the development of stop and go signals and the creation of a uniform set of symbols and sign shapes. The Lincoln Highway Association from 1912 played a prominent role in promoting sign uniformity on interstate highways and thus safety. The chapter on “Signs and Community” features a less historical account of posted messages boosting towns and promoting progress and moral values. Even more diffuse is the chapter on “signing personal space,” a potpourri discussion of the social meaning of advertising, semiotic theory, and the diverse signs that mark “territoriality” (including personalized mail boxes and cemetery markers).

The final section includes a summary of studies of how people process sight of signs, especially from cars, and the battle between the advertising industry and advocates of sign regulation. The latter theme is perhaps of greater interest to the historian. Beginning in the 1920s and extending to the present, this conflict has been waged with no clear winner. From the historian’s perspective the discussion is hampered by the authors’ decision to divide it geographically (city, roadside, “horizon” or off-road advertising) and by a fixation on murky details and a failure to clearly delineate trends. The debate frequently turned on the right of free commercial speech and public right to a scenic road. Before the 1930s, courts often restricted signs for safety but not for aesthetics. Regulation was often diffused by self-censorship by the outdoor advertising industry itself (through its trade organizations). Beginning in the 1930s and starting in the northeast, courts and laws increasingly recognized the principle of highway beautification culminating in regulation of interstate highway advertising in 1958 and 1965, albeit with complex and confusing concessions to the sign industry.

There is much information here, insight into the relationship between signs and the broader advent of car and consumer culture, and an effort to combine the methods of the geographer with the historian. But many readers may wish the authors had focused more narrowly on a theme, as they have in earlier books.

GARY CROSS

Pennsylvania State University

DAVID W. DAILY. *Battle for the BIA: G. E. E. Lindquist and the Missionary Crusade against John Collier*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 216. \$39.95.

David W. Dailey’s new monograph is an important addition to the historiography of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Indian New Deal. Daily is especially interested in the troubled relationship between the leader of the Protestant missionaries, G.E.E. Lindquist, and Roosevelt’s chief Indian affairs architect, John Collier. Thus the book’s title, is an apt one. This title, however, does not adequately describe the complex politics of inserting re-

ligion on the reservation and in the halls of the Bureau of Indian affairs. Dailey spotlights the cultural clash between powerful missionaries seeking to retain their influence over Indian policy and equally insistent, secular Indian New Dealers determined to overturn decades of assimilation efforts largely designed, implemented, and supported by Protestant missionaries. This study adds a new dimension to our understanding of federal/tribal relations in the first half of the twentieth century by revealing just how influential missionaries were in forging federal Indian policies right up to the battle over termination in the 1950s.

The author wisely chooses to frame this complex and often complicated story of bureaucratic infighting between religionists and policy makers by comparing and contrasting the backgrounds and positions of the two protagonists, Lindquist and Collier. Lindquist, the son of Swedish immigrants, was a successful product of “melting pot” ideology. Proud of his Swedish heritage (G.E.E. stood for Gustavus Elmer Emanuel), Lindquist represented the “enlightened” side of coerced assimilation in his role as the representative of the Home Missions Council of the Federal Council of Churches. For the most part, Lindquist and his brethren favored a voluntary integrationist/assimilationist approach whereby Indians would come to God and country through education. He sought to bring Indians into the mainstream of American life by Christianizing them, which would then automatically result in civilizing them. In the beginning of his career, Lindquist was a friend of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) because he thought that it would protect “primitive” Indians from rapacious whites who were out to steal lands and resources from the tribes. But Lindquist’s support for the BIA began to evaporate as soon as Collier, no friend of formal religious Christian practice, took over the BIA in 1933. Collier pursued a contrasting ideology of respect for non-Christian cultural practices, including the restoration of many Native American religious rituals (especially those among the tribes of the Southwest where Collier began his career as an organizer in the 1920s for the American Indian Defense Association). Not surprisingly, the most critical battle between Collier’s and Lindquist’s forces occurred not in Washington but rather on the Navajo reservation, over the government’s efforts to control grazing on tribal lands. In this and other efforts, Collier either deliberately ignored, or more typically undercut and rejected the missionaries’ longstanding influence over reservation life and federal policy. By focusing on these two powerful men, using Lindquist’s heretofore unexamined archives, Dailey brings drama and a sympathetic portrayal of Collier’s major nongovernmental adversary to light, perhaps for the first time.

ALISON BERNSTEIN
Ford Foundation

DANIEL BÉLAND. *Social Security: History and Politics from the New Deal to the Privatization Debate*. (Studies

in Government and Public Policy.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xii, 252. \$29.95.

In recent years, there has been an explosion of interest in the history of the American welfare state. Much of the best of that work has probed the Social Security program, which was founded in 1935 and expanded and modified repeatedly in subsequent years. The debates surrounding the history of Social Security are complex, and the theoretical approaches taken by the scholars who have analyzed that history are diverse. Economists, theorists of American political development, state-centered sociologists, labor and social historians, feminists, and others have probed its origins and development. Many of these students of the program have also been drawn into the political debate over the future of Social Security that has been waged in recent years.

Given the state of the literature, it is not easy for a scholar to contribute something fresh to the study of Social Security. Not surprisingly, what Daniel Béland offers in this volume is less a startlingly new intervention in the complex debates about this program, than a useful summary of both its history and the state of literature about that history.

Béland's most important contribution may be to provide a readable and succinct narrative of Social Security's development that introduces nonspecialists to the subject. In laying out that history, he draws from an eclectic theoretical palette. Although he is primarily a historical institutionalist, Béland believes that historical institutionalism must take greater cognizance of other analytical approaches if it is to provide the best account of the development of the American welfare state. The result of his balanced approach is a book that is accessible and informative, if not always convincing in its analysis.

Among the factors shaping Social Security's development to which historical institutionalists should pay greater heed, according to Béland, are race and gender. Béland generally accepts the views of feminist scholars who have argued that the Social Security program was shaped by gender politics and assumptions. But he is less convinced that racial considerations shaped the program's development in a comparable way. Indeed, while he believes that "ideas about traditional gender roles have in part shaped the program," he argues that "race has not significantly influenced Social Security's political history and benefit structure" (p. 38).

Béland allows that race politics played a role in shaping some aspects of the program, including state-administered unemployment insurance programs. Yet he believes that scholars have overstated the influence of race on Social Security as a whole. For example, he argues that farm workers were initially excluded from old age insurance (pension) coverage not because African Americans were overrepresented in that category (the majority of farm laborers excluded were white, he points out), but because the farm lobby would have killed the program had it threatened to levy payroll taxes on farmers. Just because blacks were dispropor-

tionately affected by the "temporary exclusion" of farm and domestic workers, he argues, one should not assume "that such a decision was grounded in racial prejudice and segregationist ideas" (p. 191). True enough, perhaps. But many scholars are likely to be skeptical of an analysis that erects such a wall between results and intentions.

One might be more inclined to trust Béland's judgments on controversial issues such as race had he dug into the archives, combing the collections of people who played an important role in shaping the program (or fighting against it). But this book largely eschews archival research. Rather it is based almost entirely on Béland's (admirably broad) reading of secondary literature, published matter from the years under examination, and such sources as the *Congressional Record*. How useful sources like these can be in assessing the intentions of key actors from the era of Social Security's founding, however, is certainly open to question.

One of the more helpful features of this book is its treatment of Social Security politics since 1980. Béland helpfully reviews the struggle that led to the 1983 Social Security retrenchments as well as the call for the privatization of the system that emerged from conservatives in the 1990s. Some readers are likely to think that he overstates the impact of identity politics on recent Social Security debates. But most should find his review of the privatization movement informative.

Indeed, if the analysis in this volume does not always persuade, its narrative usually enlightens nonetheless. In the end Béland has given us a useful summary of the history of Social Security, informed by a flexible theoretical framework, one that is likely to help draw new participants into a discussion of this vital program and its cloudy future.

JOSEPH A. MCCARTIN
Georgetown University

MARY E. GLANTZ. *FDR and the Soviet Union: The President's Battles over Foreign Policy*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. viii, 253. \$34.95.

The thesis of this book is that from the very beginning of his administration, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's conciliatory policy toward the Soviet Union was hampered by conservative Foreign Service members and others in Washington and at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. This opposition became increasingly bothersome after Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June of 1941. Almost alone, Roosevelt thought that the Soviets could hold out against the Nazi onslaught, and he tried to encourage them by extending Lend Lease aid with no strings attached. Similarly, because he believed that Soviet cooperation would be necessary to maintain a lasting peace, he was much more indulgent toward Joseph Stalin during the war than many of his subordinates thought wise. Roosevelt sought to overcome this opposition by shuffling some individuals and by appointing personal representatives who leapfrogged the

professionals. Ironically, some of these individuals also came to believe that the "soft" approach only encouraged the Soviets to step up their demands.

Mary E. Glantz amply demonstrates her thesis about the obstacles Roosevelt faced from his own subordinates. The problem, probably unsolvable, is in determining how important this opposition was in practice. If, for example (and Glantz uses a number of such examples), one diplomat should air his misgivings in a private letter to a friend, what of it? Unless there is evidence that such complaints caused the individual to deviate in any way from his instructions, we are left guessing as to what effect his grouching had in the scheme of things.

The volume is soundly researched and competently written. There are a few errors that should have been caught. Soviets tanks and aircraft, for instance, were not equal or superior to German equipment at the start of the war, although they became so later. Overall, Glantz tells us nothing new about what Roosevelt was trying to accomplish and is uncritical of his approach toward the Soviets. In retrospect, FDR's hope that he could "earn" Stalin's trust by doing good deeds seems fanciful in light of what we know about the dictator's deep suspicion of practically everyone. Still, this book will be of value to anyone interested in Soviet-American relations before and during World War II.

CHRISTINE WHITE,
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DAVID M. BARRETT. *The CIA and Congress: The Untold Story from Truman to Kennedy*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. x, 542. \$39.95.

In this book, political scientist David M. Barrett studies congressional oversight of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) budgets, intelligence gathering, and clandestine operations from the passage of the National Security Act to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. While conceding that such monitoring was far from perfect, Barrett contends that lawmakers subjected the agency and its various directors to considerable scrutiny that grew more intense and critical as the 1950s progressed. Illuminating a range of foreign policy crises and authoritative in its command of the workings on Capitol Hill, this book fills a major gap in Cold War historiography.

Barrett asserts that the history of congressional oversight of the CIA has remained "untold" because of the classification, destruction, and scattering of key documents. He notes also that lawmakers and agency personnel left many of their interactions unrecorded. In piecing together this hard-to-get-at history, Barrett draws on sources at the National Archives; the Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson presidential libraries; and the private papers of more than a dozen senators and representatives.

Barrett admits that congressional oversight "was not comprehensive." Legislators "deferred to presidents

and leaders of the CIA." On some matters Congress apparently remained completely in the dark; for example, Barrett states he could find no evidence that any member of Capitol Hill received a briefing on domestic spying or CIA drug tests on human subjects (p. 458).

Nevertheless, Directors of Central Intelligence (DCIs) learned the hazards of failing to convince Congress of the competence of their organization. The Truman White House replaced the agency's first chief, Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, when lawmakers lost confidence in him after the twin surprises of the Soviet detonation of an atomic device and the onset of the Korean War. Subsequent DCIs, Walter "Beetle" Smith and Allen Dulles, devoted much time to congressional liaison work and the cultivation of influential lawmakers on the Appropriations and Armed Services committees in both houses of Congress.

Barrett debunks any notion that the Eisenhower years constituted a golden age for the agency in its relations with Capitol Hill. Hearings on the Hungarian rising, the Suez crisis, Sputnik, the 1958 coup in Iraq, and the missile gap put the DCI on the defensive. Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri even accused Dulles of playing politics with CIA estimates of Soviet missile production in order to placate the Eisenhower administration. As his second term advanced, President Eisenhower feared that congressional oversight of intelligence had gone so far as to jeopardize his constitutional prerogatives as commander-in-chief.

Finally, enthusiastic congressional support for covert action shaped the priorities and decision making of the CIA, and encouraged the agency to engage in more robust clandestine interventions. Barrett argues that the mild congressional response following the Bay of Pigs operation reflected a tacit recognition by legislators that they held some share of blame for the disaster, after having repeatedly pressured Dulles to "do something" about Fidel Castro.

Barrett charts Montana Senator Mike Mansfield's repeated efforts in the 1950s to establish a joint congressional committee to oversee the agency. The Eisenhower Administration, the CIA, and powerful legislators such as Senator Richard Russell of Georgia defeated these efforts. In a qualified fashion, the book posits that had Mansfield succeeded, Congress might well have more effectively monitored the CIA.

Even though he praises many of the key intelligence barons for their intelligence and diligence, Barrett shows how the highly uneven quality of House and Senate members jeopardized effective oversight. He points out that some watchdogs were reckless, unwise, senescent, or just plain dumb. He writes: "Joseph McCarthy aggressively monitored CIA activities, but few think that he did so responsibly. The legitimacy of Stuart Symington's assertiveness on the missile gap is also widely questioned by historians" (p. 461). During hearings on the construction of a new building for the CIA, Senator Kenneth McKellar (Chair of the Appropriations Committee) dozed off, woke up, blurted out a nonsensical comment, and then drifted back to sleep (p.

122). Senator William Knowland's intrusions into national security matters exasperated Eisenhower: at one point Ike quipped that Knowland provided proof "that there was no final answer to the question of, 'How stupid can you get?'" (p. 403).

At the start of his work, Barrett holds that congressional monitoring offers the only way to assure citizens "if agencies are performing with competence, incompetence, or even mendacity" (p. 3). This observation rings true following the CIA's miscalculations regarding Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and the unscrupulous massaging of intelligence by the Bush administration. Sadly, the apparent torpor of today's House and Senate intelligence committees suggests that contemporary lawmakers have neither fulfilled their oversight responsibilities nor even matched the spotty record of their Cold War counterparts.

Crisp prose, apt quotations, telling anecdotes, and deft character portraits make Barrett's nearly 500 page book a deeply satisfying and memorable narrative.

FRANCIS MACDONNELL
Southern Virginia University

JACOB DARWIN HAMBLIN. *Oceanographers and the Cold War: Disciples of Marine Science*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2005. Pp. xxix, 346. \$50.00.

Jacob Darwin Hamblin's book explores the apparent paradox of American oceanography in the early Cold War: its entanglement with the U.S. military and its engagement in internationally cooperative ventures, some of which included America's Cold War enemy, the Soviet Union. Hamblin determines that international cooperation was promoted by American oceanographers for two reasons. First, engaging in scientific exchange with oceanographers of other nations had "redemptive value" (p. xxvi) for oceanographers in the United States. International cooperation meant that the Navy, their chief patron, could not impose blanket security restrictions on their work; the ability to exchange information freely in turn allowed the oceanographers to believe that their scientific research was uncompromised by the military patronage that they avidly welcomed after World War II. Second, the promotion of international cooperation gave oceanographers opportunities to solicit patronage from a broad array of sources. Patrons of oceanography, such as the U.S. Navy, were receptive to the idea of international cooperation, reasoning that more data about oceans would help them fulfill their missions, and that the United States was better equipped than the USSR to take advantage of any new information for the development of military technology. In other words, international cooperation and the mission of the military were not necessarily at odds.

Oceanographers' pleas for international cooperation were initially couched in terms of easing Cold War tensions. The Soviet launching of the space satellite Sputnik in 1957, during the internationally organized cooperative venture known as the International Geophysical

Year, put an end to the effectiveness of that rhetoric. Some oceanographers soured on the notion of international cooperation, arguing instead for devoting resources to achieving a "first" for American oceanographers as a rejoinder to Sputnik. One such attempt was the enormously expensive, badly managed, and eventually aborted effort known as Project Mohole, to drill a hole through the floor of the ocean to investigate the earth's mantle. As Project Mohole got underway, the Americans at the same time attempted to interfere with a Soviet-dominated, international exploration of the earth's mantle, evidence of the divisiveness that was coming to dominate oceanographic efforts despite the continued rhetoric of cooperation.

Others in the American oceanographic community merely shifted their rhetoric after Sputnik, now arguing for funds for internationally cooperative oceanographic efforts to aid economic development rather than ease cold war tensions. They devoted energy to creating international organizations, such as the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC), to support and promote this agenda. In adopting this approach, Hamblin suggests, oceanographers crossed a boundary; by choosing to emphasize the utility of their research for solving problems of development, scientists could less easily argue for support for a basic research agenda. By the early 1970s, when Hamblin ends his study, the oceanographers had successfully established a "massive support infrastructure" (p. 258) of international dimensions. But meetings of groups such as the IOC routinely become bogged down in disputes over issues rising out of international Cold War tensions, such as Romania's objection to the lack of representatives from North Vietnam and North Korea.

Hamblin makes an effort to place this study of disciplinary institutions in a larger context by addressing, at the beginning and end of his book, the debate among historians of post-World War II science as to whether the military patrons of science dominated the American scientists who accepted their research support and thereby imperiled their autonomy as scientists, or whether the scientists in fact used military support successfully for their own purposes. According to Hamblin, "the Navy's priorities reigned supreme" during cooperative oceanographic ventures, and America's oceanographers "were typically pleased to keep it that way" (p. 31). These scientists were not bullied into doing work they preferred not to do; they saw the relationship with the Navy as one of "mutual advantage" (p. 33) that the oceanographers learned to use to their own benefit. While entirely plausible, these assertions are never really explored here. To do so, Hamblin would have needed to go beyond this study of the organizations established by oceanographers to foster cooperation and explore in some depth the interactions between oceanographers and Navy patrons as well as the relationship between patronage and oceanographic research.

The story Hamblin does tell is solidly researched and most interesting when he shows how, despite scientists' initial goal of cooperation, Cold War politics perme-

ated and interfered with international planning efforts. It is least satisfying when he attempts to deal with the American oceanographers' motives in seeking international cooperation by saying that they wished to create disciples of marine science. What this means, exactly, and why it was of such importance to these oceanographers, remain unexplained.

REBECCA S. LOWEN
Metropolitan State University

MICHAEL L. KRENN. *Fall-out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 300. \$39.95.

The Cold War was many things: a series of armed confrontations, a controlled arms race, an ideological struggle, a geopolitical contest. This book by Michael L. Krenn tells the story, in far greater depth than any effort thus far, of the troubled relationship between art and U.S. foreign policy during the peak years of the Cold War.

The story begins with a disastrous episode, an exhibition of modern paintings entitled "Advancing American Art," that fell victim to public criticism and congressional reaction. To its critics, the exhibition was decadent art which was all the more noxious because some of the artists were suspected of promoting radical ideas. As a result, the fledgling art program of the State Department never got off the ground.

As Krenn points out, however, this was the beginning rather than the end of the story, for both artists and government bureaucrats, each for reasons of their own that for a time proved complementary, were determined to find an appropriate role for art. In what was seen as a struggle for the soul of modern civilization, the government was eager to reach influential audiences in the West and behind the Iron Curtain, hoping to spread the message that the United States was a cultured nation. But the art world had rather different ideas. Artists wanted to use painting as a way of promoting a form of universal communication among human beings that transcended politics and hoped that government would provide the necessary financial support. Although opposites do not normally attract in politics, in the early Cold War years the time was right for the marriage of this odd couple.

The going was tough, but for a period of fifteen years it appeared as if a *modus vivendi* had been worked out in which each side got what it wanted. Despite a few disasters, most notably the "Sport in Art" exhibit of 1955–1956, continuing cooperation between the arts community and government resulted in a number of triumphs. Reports from embassies continually emphasized the positive reception evoked by American presentations. The exhibit in Moscow in 1959, better known as the occasion for the Nixon-Khrushchev "kitchen debate," appeared to accomplish everything that the government wanted and more. And in 1962, at the Venice Biennale, American artists for the first time

received the top-ranking prizes awarded at this prestigious competition. Yet despite these successes, the United States Information Agency (USIA) chose, by the mid-1960s, to abandon its art programs, calculating that the political debts at home outweighed the foreign policy credits that art exhibits earned for the United States abroad. The broader and politically more important informational programs were on far too shaky ground with Congress to risk having their existence jeopardized by programs that seemed marginal to the chief aims of propagandists. As it happened, the rejection turned out to be mutual. After the separation, the programs were pawned off to the Smithsonian Institution in the hope that domestic controversy could be neutralized even as some measure of foreign policy effectiveness was retained. That turned out to be a misguided hope, however, as American artists critical of the Vietnam War increasingly refused to cooperate by associating themselves with American foreign policy. If one were to follow the story to the present, neither side fared very well. By the 1990s, the USIA was a seriously wounded political animal, while the arts programs were on life support.

This is an interesting story in its own right, but historians of U.S. foreign relations in particular will want to know if it has a larger meaning, especially as it relates to the larger concerns of foreign policy. Or is this simply a small sidebar in the larger Cold War narrative? By my reading, there are a number of reasons to suggest that it is not. For one thing, this book speaks to the important issue of the solidity of the Cold War consensus. As Krenn makes clear, the consensus was quite shaky from the beginning and was effectuated only by determination on the part of both sides to find common ground. By the mid-1960s, however, it had fallen apart, thus providing a specific example of how the once close public-private relationship had been sundered by the Vietnam War. In the case of the arts, the relationship would never be restored.

It is not clear exactly whether or how art contributed to America's success in the Cold War. Its instrumentality was never established, either by the government or by art internationalists. Moreover, its effectiveness in relation to other modalities of cultural transmission—radio, TV, academic exchanges, publications—is unclear. While artists and government bureaucrats wished to show the United States as a cultured nation, and while they may have succeeded in making that point to target audiences, it may also be that the material side of American civilization exercised the greater power of attraction in the end. This issue cannot be resolved until we have more studies of foreign reception and studies that connect culture and politics in a more encompassing conceptual fashion, and even then the Cold War's cultural dimension will likely remain elusive. But none of this is meant to denigrate a fine achievement. Krenn's research far surpasses anything thus far done on this topic, and his analytical framework provides compelling insights into the cultural contradictions of the Cold War. This, in combination with a fluid and

easily readable style, mark this book as a major contribution to the growing literature on the cultural dimensions of the Cold War.

FRANK NINKOVICH
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AMY MARIA KENYON. *Dreaming Suburbia: Detroit and the Production of Postwar Space and Culture*. (African American Life Series.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2004. Pp. 214. \$24.95.

Amy Maria Kenyon uses geographical theory and cultural analysis to tease out the multiple meanings of postwar America's urban crisis and suburban ideal. Despite her book's subtitle, it does not teach us more about the devastating 1967 Detroit riot or the processes that created the postwar suburb outside of this quintessential deindustrialized city. Rather, Kenyon illuminates the narratives that made sense of this larger history. The "dreaming" of Kenyon's title refers to the "postwar imaginary" that mystified a "process of disinvestment" in Detroit and other American cities (p. 2). In this conceptualization Kenyon relies heavily on the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre who has argued that understanding the production of space is key to understanding the persistence of capitalism after World War II. At times Kenyon's use of Lefebvre, and other cultural theorists is helpful: for example, in her discussion of how suburban conformity was itself "an imaginary" (p. 95). At other times it obfuscates Kenyon's argument, as when she defines a suburb as "a cultural geographical manifestation of the reconsolidation of capital" (p. 7). Readers familiar with Lefebvre's work, however, will likely find Kenyon's application of his theories insightful.

Kenyon's most valuable contribution is the insertion of cultural history into what has been primarily a structural analysis of urban decline. Thus, disinvestment for Kenyon is not only a process of economic and demographic shifts away from the central city but also a cultural process of identity formation and storytelling. Kenyon makes use of more traditional urban histories to situate her cultural texts in their historical context. For this reason she begins and ends her book with an analysis of the police killings of three African American men at the Algiers Motel during the 1967 riot. The stories told about this incident—within the black community, by the all-white jury that acquitted the officers, and by white suburbanites—provide a useful mapping of the meaning urban and suburban Detroiters made of racial violence. Indeed, Kenyon views the Algiers Motel killings as a "narrative crisis" that requires historical context and cultural analysis to unpack.

Kenyon provides several framing chapters on Detroit history to better interpret the Algiers Motel incident. Her framing relies on a handful of secondary sources familiar to urban historians, primarily the work of Thomas J. Sugrue, B. J. Widick, and Heather Ann Thompson. A more extensive reading of the secondary sources would have provided a more original synthesis of De-

troit history. As it is there is little new about the local stories Kenyon relates. Instead, the central chapters on the cultural history of the suburban imaginary are most original. Kenyon looks at films and novels that created a "collective longing for suburbia" as a "safe, mystified" space "emptied of historical reference" (p. 40). In her discussions of this mainstream conception of suburbia, Kenyon emphasizes the recurring theme of detachment: from the city, from any sign of capitalist production, and from other homes and businesses. Within their detached homes suburban Americans experienced an illusion of unity and connectedness premised primarily on race.

But Kenyon does not limit her cultural analysis only to those works that promoted suburbia as an escape from the increasingly dangerous urban center. Rather she juxtaposes these works with African American counternarratives by James Baldwin, Richard Wright, and others who put forth their own stories of urban migration and white flight. Kenyon views these counternarratives as equally important in unpacking the centrality of suburbia in mass culture. From Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) to films such as *The Invasion of the Bodysnatchers* (1956), critics within high and mass culture often viewed suburbia as a dangerous space that sheltered madness and subversion. Nevertheless, concludes Kenyon, the power of suburban space was reinforced rather than undermined by these critics of conformity.

After taking us through the literary and mass cultural world of the "suburban imaginary," the return to Detroit in the last chapters of Kenyon's book feels abrupt. The links between national understandings of suburban and urban life in cultural texts and the local histories of Henry Ford's Greenfield Village or the Algiers Motel are tenuous. In the end this book is not a study of suburban flight from postwar Detroit but rather an exploration of the cultural manifestations of suburbia with Detroit standing in for an apocalyptic urban center. Its strength lies in Kenyon's careful reading of films, novels, and television shows that produced and reflected multiple narratives of postwar suburbanization. Urban historians interested in writing a fuller history of postwar America would do well to be more attentive to these cultural manifestations of suburban life.

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ALAN NADEL. *Television in Black and White America: Race and National Identity*. (Culture America.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. ix, 224. \$29.95.

American television, like Hollywood, has often been the site of politicized fantasy. Its portrayal of generic American fables as well as Americans themselves frequently reflects a common denominator of middle-class norms and widely held prejudices. Just as often it avoids controversy by generally hewing a line close to the desires of sponsors and the tenets of conservative political

correctness. This was particularly true in the early days of few channels and, by and large, oligopoly control of the medium.

Alan Nadel explores the implications of conservative bias in television and its effects on the portrayal of race and racialized narratives of American history during this early period of TV broadcasting. In the context of Cold War America (that is, the 1950s), he finds not so much the vast wasteland that Newton Minow described in 1961 as an active purveyor of racial stereotypes, distorted history, and Cold War ideology. The foreign policy of containment abroad, he suggests, was reflected and promoted in the imaginative projections of values at home in situation comedies and particularly in the omnipresent adult westerns that inundated the flickering tube of the late 1950s. The ideology of this programming, he suggests, was one of vigilant citizenship in a suburban nation connected by the new interstate highway system, and wrapped up in the collective dreams of past and future invented by Walt Disney for his imagined community in Anaheim: a citizenry of latter-day Davy Crocketts and white western adventurers. In spreading this vision, television erased the black presence in America generally, and from the West specifically, substituting a morality play in which individualism was portrayed as white—and never black. Television drama seemed to say that black Americans did not exist.

Much of this book builds on the scholarship of others, for example, John Findlay's *Magic Lands: Western Culture and American Culture after 1940* (1992). Nadel seeks to link the building of the interstate highway system to the Utopia invented by Disney, to the various Cold War narratives that Disney embedded in his park—particularly in the Frontierland section. At the same time that Disney was reconstructing an entirely white version of American history inside a park that declined to hire black employees, Nadel notes that the Supreme Court was attempting to dismantle segregated education in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). There is much to be said for the author's depiction of Disney and his films and theme parks, and the ironies they exhibited, although I believe that Findlay's account remains more subtle and persuasive.

In fact, Nadel's book must rise or fall on the basis of the original material in his chapters on the adult westerns that galloped onto the small screen in the mid-1950s with such shows as *Gunsmoke* and *Wyatt Earp*. The author explores these series for the ideas that seemed to emerge in their plots and characterizations. He concludes that they consistently reflected the values the United States was currently attempting to project in its foreign policy: values that asserted the superiority of America's economic and political system. Again and again in these dramas of settling the West, the author detects distortions of history, the misrepresentation of characters and events, and the predictable assertion of individualism, hostility to Native Americans, and so forth. Given the historical time period associated with the western, it was also probably inevitable that many

episodes and characterizations dealt with the Civil War and sectional reconciliation. Nonetheless, Nadel has uncovered a surprising preoccupation with this issue and, in general, the privileging of a bleak story of Reconstruction and the lionization of southern heroes. This is perhaps not unexpected given even the historical profession's slow rejection of the "tragic" story of Civil War and Reconstruction. What is impressive about this survey is the sheer quantity of westerns, their apparent popularity, and the repetitiveness of their plots.

But do they mean what Nadel suggests? Is there a direct correlation between the adult western and contemporary American policies and beliefs? Are these really Cold War tracts? Do they reflect or instruct? In one sense, these are unanswerable questions. But beyond the obvious—that television dramas, films, and other mass media usually position themselves within what is deemed the mainstream—there is no effort to determine how audiences reacted. This would have been difficult, but to be persuasive the author needs to demonstrate that his reading of plots and characters is what viewers understood and engaged. Along these lines is a fascinating problem that the author brings up and then drops. Adult westerns had a remarkably short life; they burned brightly on television and then, rather abruptly around 1961 or 1962, began a quick fade. During the Kennedy administration, which Nadel contends aggressively put Cold War values into play, the western declined abruptly—and this despite the "New Frontier" language of the president. Then, only a few years later, the generation raised on this culture mounted a serious rebellion against many of its values. Marshall Matt Dillon was supplanted by Bob Dylan. Why this happened—given the strident assertion of conservative ideas on television—is a fascinating but unanswered question.

In summary, Nadel's book raises some interesting questions about the early days of American television. It is not intended to present a complete picture of this medium; nonetheless, I think it argues for too close an equation between contemporary events and fictionalized plots. The book nonetheless presents an interesting as well as a very disturbing picture of the dramas that flickered in American living rooms in the 1950s and what and whom they excluded.

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STEVE ESTES. *I Am a Man! Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 239. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

African American history resounds with inspiring declarations of personhood. As was the case in 1851 when antislavery activist Sojourner Truth delivered her legendary "Ar'n't I a Woman?" speech, some aim to overturn prevailing gender-based stereotypes. Others, like Pan-African nationalist Marcus Garvey's "Up you mighty Race! You can accomplish what you will," encourage the marginalized masses to view themselves as

creators rather than victims or servants. Still others, such as Justice Clarence Thomas's 1998 address to the National Bar Association—"I Am a Man, a Black Man, an American"—serve as individualized responses to intraracial disputes. The title of Steve Estes's study of "gender relations and gender identity" (p. 4) within the modern black freedom struggle is taken from a slogan adopted by striking Memphis sanitation workers in 1968. "I Am a Man!" encapsulated the spirit of this working-class protest against low wages and the "plantation mentality" (p. 132) of city leaders. But, according to Estes, it also "raised questions about the position of women in Memphis society and in the movement" (p. 132). Like other self-affirming, activist-oriented proclamations of the black past, it represented "a demand for recognition of the dignity and humanity of all African Americans" (p. 131).

The author explores the nature of this multifaceted masculinist rhetoric in seven compact but well-researched and thoroughly engaging chapters. The first examines black men's participation in World War II and the development of a confidence-building camaraderie that was forged in battle. The second focuses on how the Citizens' Council movement of the 1950s "galvanized southern white men with ideals of whiteness, honor, and manhood" even as it "demonized black men's sexuality" (p. 40). Rather than being cowed by "masculinist demagoguery" (p. 59) or the vigilante violence it spawned, civil rights activists stood firm. Eventually, they developed an array of nonviolent direct action techniques which "brilliantly caricatured the macho posturing" (p. 59) that had bolstered assumptions of white male supremacy. Chapter three carries this story through the Freedom Summer of 1964, highlighting the tensions that developed between the southern organizing tradition's inclusive egalitarian ideals and the reality of strained gender relations within the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The following chapter shifts the focus northward. In "God's Angry Men," Estes employs episodes in the life of Malcolm X to reveal how the Nation of Islam's model of militant manhood—including the paternalistic protection of female family members—was used to attract young black males to the cause. Chapter five, "The Moynihan Report," recounts the "white challenge to black manhood" (p. 106) posed by this controversial 1965 government study of inner-city unemployment and family-based dysfunction. This section segues gracefully into an account of the Memphis sanitation workers' quest for a living wage—one that would be sufficient to relieve wives and daughters from the burden of working "in the white lady's kitchen" (p. 139). In chapter seven, Estes describes how the violent machismo of Black Panther Party leaders complicated gender relations, encouraged homophobia, and obscured the "progressive promise of the Panthers' political rhetoric" (p. 177). The book concludes with a brief, impressionistic look at three contemporary manifestations of African American manhood: the 1995

Million Man March, the Promise Keepers' ministry, and the rise of gangsta rap within hip-hop culture.

While not every chapter is thesis-driven, it is clear that Estes hopes for a future in which black activists learn from past mistakes. As revealed in the individual case studies, the mid-to-late 1960s "quixotic quest for manhood" (p. 187) generated a much-needed sense of dignity and racial pride. But, it also fostered violence and distracted the nation's attention from "some of the deeper problems that the civil rights movement had attempted to address" (p. 187). Complex and frequently contradictory, the masculinist uplift strategies favored by militant groups such as the Black Panther Party were said to have impeded the progress of more inclusive struggles for social justice.

Some readers may feel that Estes too often privileges "masculinism" (p. 7) as a causal factor in the ordering of human events. Others are likely to fault the manner in which he applies the concept to various groupings of both black and white men and wish that he had been more expansive in explaining the book's theoretical infrastructure. But one need not be in complete agreement with the author's characterization of specific individuals or organizations to appreciate the contribution his work makes to our understanding of the black freedom movement and its evolution from nonviolent direct action to nationalist-oriented black power. His book draws upon an intelligently selected mix of source materials, including archived correspondence and oral history interviews as well as song lyrics and blaxploitation films. Moreover, it is nicely illustrated and written in a jargon-free style that should spur classroom adoption. Estes's study provides a user-friendly model for exploring changes in the nature and conceptualization of black personhood.

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MANFRED BERG. *"The Ticket to Freedom": The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration*. Foreword by JOHN DAVID SMITH. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xx, 352. \$29.95.

Manfred Berg has skillfully charted African Americans' hard-fought struggle in the twentieth century for full integration into the political life of the United States. Yet, similar to the quest for the Golden Fleece, the saga that unfolds in this book is epic and bloody, and, the reward, comparably elusive.

Berg focuses on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), whose size, perseverance, nearly 100-year history, centrist political bent, and nationwide scope made it the natural hub of efforts for the vote. The association that Berg outlines, therefore, is not the doddering, rabidly anticommunist, plodding behemoth so often depicted in a spate of recent histories. It is no glossed-over hero, either. Rather what emerges from the pages of this well-researched,

balanced monograph is a pragmatic, politically astute, and public-relations savvy organization. The NAACP had to be.

From the very beginning, the association was up against virtually insurmountable odds. The reality of early twentieth-century America precluded the customary use of the ballot box to "punish our friends and reward our enemies." The bulk of potential black voters were ensnared in the disfranchised South. The political parties, thus, had no need to calculate payoff or consequences and could, therefore, easily ignore those issues most salient to black Americans. The NAACP, with very few weapons in its arsenal, set out to change this.

Berg takes us from the shoestring founding of the NAACP in 1909 onward to an organization that developed the structure to simultaneously fight off all civil rights contenders for the throne as well as wage the struggle for political liberation. He provides an astute assessment of a series of NAACP-led voting rights cases. We see how the association heralded each one of those judicial decisions, including any that even remotely looked like a step forward, as a significant achievement. The strength of this Wizard of Oz public relations strategy was that it made the NAACP and the needs of the African American community seem a force to be reckoned with. The weakness was that if anyone really looked behind the curtain, he/she would see a minuscule number of African Americans who could even vote; an organization that for years had limited political influence, particularly in the areas that had the power to break open Jim Crow; and an organization with not enough financial resources to cover the range of legal challenges, lobbying efforts, and voter registration drives that this assault on disfranchisement required. Nonetheless, for years, the association pulled it off. Skillful leadership and enough victories to stoke the fires of hope, kept the NAACP growing, added to the mystique, and slowly but surely opened up the vote.

Yet, it took more than what the NAACP alone could deliver. And the book, although focused on the association, has to lose some of that focus when the civil rights movement pushes onto the scene. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) provided the direct action techniques and the beaten, battered, bruised, and dead bodies that compelled the United States government to eliminate a range of methods designed to disfranchise. To be sure, the NAACP remained a powerful player, particularly in providing the bail money, legal staff, and local branches that direct action proponents needed to sustain movement. It just no longer appeared, at this time, to be *the* player. Moreover, the NAACP had become so closely allied with the Democratic Party that the leverage that a minority population needed to keep both parties attentive had vanished. The decades-long strategy of using the black vote as the "balance of power" in closely contested elections devolved into something the Republican Party most

certainly did not want, as it rolled out the "southern strategy," and something the Democrats could simply take for granted. This powerlessness, ironically enough, became strikingly apparent just at the moment when the number of registered African American voters skyrocketed. The timing could not have been worse. With SNCC spent, post-King SCLC floundering, and CORE gutted, the NAACP was the only major group in the political realm still standing. Yet, at this point, unimaginative leadership and then a desperate grab to catch up to the black community and its needs left the association with no effective, full-fledged strategy to deal with the issues that continued to result in black inequality and disfranchisement in post-Jim Crow America.

Berg's book is an outstanding analysis of both the NAACP and the ongoing struggle for the right to vote. And, equally important, it strongly suggests the limits of the ballot as the sole "ticket to freedom."

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GEORGE LEWIS. *The White South and the Red Menace: Segregationists, Anticommunism, and Massive Resistance, 1945–1965*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. x, 228. \$59.95.

In this book, George Lewis upends the notion of a "Solid South" in the era of massive resistance. He does this not by conducting a conventional search for the oft-missing white southern liberal but rather by diversifying our understanding of pro-segregationists. As such, Lewis's work is a significant contribution to the new political history of the modern South and the nation in the era of the Cold War.

In essence, Lewis examines the thought and actions of those white southerners who encouraged, directed, and sustained massive resistance to integration in the *Brown* (1954) and civil rights eras. More specifically, he dives into the stream of anticommunist rhetoric (including red baiting as its most virulent form) that coursed throughout segregationists' efforts to turn back integration. In their employment of anticommunism to forestall integration, southern segregationists proved to be "intelligent, resourceful, pragmatic, and rational" actors, Lewis argues, and not always predictable. Granted, these skills were harnessed to serve far from noble ends. Yet, Lewis's account indicates that the proponents of massive resistance can no longer be easily pigeonholed as "homogenous, inflexible [and] ignorant reactionaries" (p. 175).

Indeed, segregationists' use of anticommunism was "far from uniform" (p. 166). Significant diversity existed in why individuals chose to enlist anticommunism, how they employed it, and for what ends. Contrary to the usual portrayals of a conservative southern mind united in opposition to integration by any means necessary, Lewis finds that "considerable room for individual agency existed" within the pro-segregationist camp (p. 166).

Perhaps even more important, Lewis identifies a dual

role, a sort of “call-and-response” interaction, for white elites and grassroots rank-and-file conservatives in perpetuating an anticommunist approach to massive resistance. Political leaders such as Senators James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Herman Talmadge of Georgia led the way in smearing civil rights organizations and protesters with the taint of communism. Yet, small town citizens throughout the South organized grassroots resistance groups and actively “sought to pressure their political leaders to take up red-baiting campaigns” in defense of segregation (p. 167).

Lewis also explains the allure of anticommunism as a means of resistance. Contrary to earlier conservative movements in the South (such as the Agrarians of the 1920s), anticommunism existed within the national political mainstream rather than counter to it. Connecting southern resistance to integration to the global war on communism offered a “sanitized means of arguing for the maintenance of white supremacy” (p. 168). In other words, anti-communism offered a more respectable means of attack against the civil rights movement than the highly publicized and regionally embarrassing antics of the “Bull Connor and George Wallace” ilk (p. 168). With the whole country seemingly energized by the Cold War, attacking *Brown* and civil rights organizations as evidence of communist subversion within the United States promised to legitimize massive resistance in a way that racial rants by rabid reactionaries could not. Such rhetoric put the South in congruence with national political and intellectual trends as New Deal liberalism gave way to Cold War conservatism.

If many conservative white southerners wanted to see a Bolshevik under every civil rights rock, not all southern politicians did. Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for example, simply refused to apply to the domestic realm the fervent anticommunism he pursued internationally. Red baiting was so personally distasteful to moderate politicians such as Fulbright that they refused to enlist it as a tactic. Others reacted to unsavory encounters with Senator Joseph McCarthy. And even local politicians did not always accept the red-baiting tactics practiced by the leading opponents of integration. Moreover, civil rights advocates also enlisted anticommunism against prosegregationists, accusing them of practicing politically repressive tactics more suited to the Soviet bloc than to the United States. Anticommunism could prove a double-edged sword for those who decided to wield it. Thus, Lewis identifies such significant “anomalies, dissent, and deviation” within southern white political thought that notions of a “Solid South” in the era of massive resistance must necessarily be qualified (p. 89).

Although Lewis claims to offer an assessment of southern anticommunism that spans the two decades after World War II, he actually slights the immediate postwar period. The postwar 1940s surely played a significant role in developing southern conservatives’ anticommunist strategies. The Dixiecrat revolt of 1948,

for example, barely appears in this account, nor does Lewis do much with the anticommunism employed by conservatives against organized labor or other progressive insurgencies in the postwar era. Nonetheless, Lewis deepens our understanding of southern racial conservatism, finding in massive resistance a level of complexity, rationality, and individual agency now routinely identified in the black freedom struggle. As such, it is a work well worth the attention of anyone interested in the Cold War, civil rights, or post-World War II eras in southern and national politics.

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GREGG L. MICHEL. *Struggle for a Better South: The Southern Student Organizing Committee, 1964–1969*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. x, 324. \$39.95.

In spite of a long tradition of white progressive activism in the South, the heroism of black civil rights activists and northern white students in projects like Mississippi Freedom Summer has contributed to a well-worn stereotype: that white southern student activists in the 1960s were few and far between. Gregg L. Michel’s excellent study of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) lays bare that myth.

That Michel was able to recover the history of the SSOC at all is no mean feat. In 1970, fearing a new wave of McCarthyism, a group of SSOC’s former members burned the organization’s records in a bonfire, seemingly consigning the organization to a literal ash heap of history. Michel rescues the SSOC’s brief but important history by an industrious mining of other sources, including SSOC documents held in a variety of other 1960s activist archives, a number of previously untapped personal collections, and sixty-five oral history interviews. The result is largely an organizational history focused primarily on the SSOC’s Nashville leadership’s engagement with dozens of local affiliates across the South. Michel’s decision on the scope of his analysis—to examine white student activism south-wide—results in important rewards but also leads to missed opportunities.

The SSOC grew out of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee’s call to attract more white activists, and its leadership was made up of young white southerners of mostly middle-class backgrounds. Michel portrays a core of activists who came to their activism motivated by both religious faith and, often, some kind of “conversion experience” (p. 55)—witnessing a racist act or, perhaps, a civil rights movement event. The SSOC’s founding in 1964, just as Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, guaranteed in some ways, however, that the scope of its activism would soon expand beyond racial equality to other issues confronting young Americans.

From 1965 through 1968, working through connections established by SSOC traveling liaisons, the organization supported campus affiliates and community

activists in a range of projects. On campuses across the South, for example, a call for university reform sprang from disillusionment over *in loco parentis* rules, compulsory ROTC, and free speech. In most cases, the students succeeded in rolling back curfews for female students, visitation rules, and other parietals, as well as in making ROTC optional. Battles over forms of free speech, outside speakers (often regarded as dangerous radicals by university administrators), and space for picketing and distributing information raged on for many years after the climactic battles at Berkeley.

Taken together, the variety and persistence of such protest on so many southern campuses proves Michel's point that SSOC succeeded best at making dissent "respectable" and in "bringing progressive concerns into the mainstream of student life" at colleges previously regarded as "bastions of Greek conformity" (p. 5). That alone makes SSOC's history worth recovering. Yet this is where the choice to examine white student protest across the South reveals the study's main shortcoming: instead of getting detailed descriptions of local battles, full of the day-to-day drama of students confronting the authority of their respective administrations, Michel describes similar protests on this, that, and the other campus in the space of a paragraph. Examining local struggles would have amounted to a different book, of course, but it might have revealed more about the SSOC's influence and success.

In the meantime, as the SSOC called for university reform, it likewise organized off campus, in support of working-class southerners, most prominently by backing striking textile workers. These efforts proved less successful and difficult to balance with antiwar organizing in both the communities and on campuses where, by 1967, draft counseling, draft board protests, and various peace marches dominated SSOC activities.

If all of this makes it seem like the SSOC had difficulty finding a clear mission, it did. The organization's primary weakness, according to Michel, was a failure to conjure an overriding "analysis," a theoretical grounding for the group's activism. In Michel's view, this led directly to the group's dissolution in 1969. When the warring factions in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Progressive Labor Party (PL), and the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) attacked the SSOC as a bunch of "bourgeois liberals" posing as a distinctively southern organization (that, in fact, organized on national issues of university reform and antiwar protest), the SSOC failed to mount a persuasive defense. For five years, a defining vision had largely escaped the organization, and despite their own backgrounds as southerners, many of the SSOC's leaders and staff knew the organization had run its course. To this day, some former members disagree, but it is to Michel's credit that he does not take those activists at their word that the PL and RYM—like the Weathermen, perennial villains in these histories of 1960s dreams unfulfilled—destroyed SSOC from without.

This book fills an important gap in New Left histo-

riography. Let us hope that it prompts more studies of students—black and white—in the 1960s South.

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CHRISTINA GREENE. *Our Separate Ways: Women and the Black Freedom Movement in Durham, North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 366. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

This book is a valuable treatment of women's participation in the black freedom movement. Christina Greene presents a sweeping examination of activism in the city that sociologist E. Franklin Frazier named "the capital of the black middle-class." She integrates the complex issues of gender, race, and class into the legacy of African American women's community work in the modern freedom movement. Greene analyzes the activism of several generations of low-income and middle-class black and white women demonstrating how it shaped the struggle for black freedom. The author argues that local, low-income community activists were the primary agents of change. Her gendered perspective adds another dimension to the history of black Americans and demands that we rethink the post-World War II struggle for economic and social justice.

Prior to World War II, working-class women joined the Parent Teachers Association (PTA), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), literary clubs, and churches. By the 1950s African American women were insisting on membership in mainstream organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (p. 4). The new solidarity of black and white women in a city about to embark on a black direct action movement was an accomplishment (p. 61).

Arguing that race was not always a unifying force, the author provides new insights on the impact of gender and race in Durham's black community. Greene weaves together the stories of an impressive array of local community activists to demonstrate that collective resistance was not only the province of the middle class or more educated but of poor folks as well. Low-income African American women used their marginality to challenge the middle-class exclusionary leadership. Denied middle-class respectability, the ideal of the Durham black elite, because of poverty, lack of formal education, and a confrontational style, these women operated outside the limits of traditional class-based womanhood by "speaking out any way they could" (p. 181).

Greene's scholarship supports the conclusion that "black women's history is full of heroic struggles to protect herself" (Anna Julia Cooper). Greene demonstrates that women brought new strategies to protest, leadership, and racial politics in Durham. Refusing to separate community work from racial justice work, Af-

rican American activist women utilized semipublic yet protected spaces such as black-owned grocery stores and beauty shops (p. 27). By the 1960s black protest was becoming increasingly low-income and female (p. 109). Greene suggests that women community organizers drew on both informal and formal networks of support and communication: namely, family, church, neighbors, and the NAACP. They utilized traditional and unconventional modes of resistance, including legal challenges, pickets, strikes, sit-ins, duplicity, and acting "crazy" (p. 116). Greene insists that women were frequently more organized, more militant, and more numerous than male activists in the Durham freedom movement.

Greene's study underscores the point that new leadership roles for women did not eradicate sexism in the movement (p. 97). Although African American women were the majority of participants in the protest and civil rights activities, they did not hold many official titles except in their own organizations. Men spoke more often at mass meetings, but women assumed the lead in organizing work (p. 91). With a male-centered vision, the gendered dimensions of community life were mainly disregarded and women's networks were underutilized (p. 146).

Greene's writing is clear and often compelling as she chronicles the efforts of local community women who worked across the color line to achieve the goals of cooperation and human dignity. Low-income activists found common ground in shared experiences as women, as mothers, as impoverished citizens facing oppression and economic exploitation. Successful experiments such as the Edgemont Community Health Clinic motivated other efforts at interracial cooperation. The author's account of the ability of low-income women to engage in interracial cooperation suggests that the idea of a "beloved community" is more than a faded dream of naïve activists (p. 141).

Greene's exploration of women's activism reminds us that strategies such as black separatism and biracial coalition building were not mutually exclusive. Low-income African American women supported advocates of black power ideology (p. 221). While they endorsed the Malcolm X Liberation University and other projects, the largely female United Organizations distinguished between militancy—supporting confrontational politics demanding racial and economic justice—and violence.

This book is a critical contribution to the historiography of the black freedom movement. Greene's focus on the leadership of poor black women challenges notions of racial solidarity while emphasizing the significance of gender and class within African American protest movements. Her examination of the strategies and tactics utilized by less affluent women sheds new light on how African American communities effectively challenged segregation and racial injustice.

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Stony Brook

ANNELISE ORLECK. *Storming Caesars Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 2005. Pp. 368. \$29.95.

This wonderful book is about the real war on poverty. Using a rich collection of oral interviews, as well as many other sources, Annelise Orleck tells the story of black single mothers who left farms in Louisiana and Mississippi for Las Vegas, Nevada, during and shortly after World War II. They ended up influencing state politics, garnering national support, and, for two decades, running a major community-based social service organization.

These women worked in low-income service jobs and lived in terrible poverty, experiencing the consequences of the city's racial segregation and the state's reluctance to accept federal welfare, job training, or health care funds. Galvanized by the state's cutback in welfare payments, they formed a local branch of the National Welfare Rights Organization. National celebrities, clergy, and other supporters joined them on March 6, 1971, as they occupied the opulent Caesars Palace in protest. On March 19, federal judge Roger Foley ruled Nevada's welfare cuts illegal. Energized by success, the women studied law, entered politics, and built Operation Life, a grass-roots organization that mobilized federal, state, local, and foundation funds to deliver social services, health care, job training, housing, and economic development to the city's impoverished Westside neighborhood. All along the way, they were advised and assisted by a talented and dedicated cadre of poverty lawyers and supported unstintingly by activist and oil heiress Maya Miller. For about twenty years, Operation Life ran its services with exemplary skill and efficiency and at low cost made possible by volunteer and minimally paid workers. Despite the success and national praise it earned, the organization struggled against unremitting opposition, which, finally, in the anti-welfare climate of the 1990s, succeeded in shutting it down for reasons having to do almost entirely with ideology and politics.

This beautifully told story has a genuine heroine—the powerful, brilliant, indomitable mother of seven, Ruby Duncan—and a real villain, the late George Miller, Nevada welfare director, later appointed by President Ronald Reagan regional director of U.S. Health and Human Services—who tried to block virtually every one of Operation Life's initiatives throughout its history. It also has humor, pathos, high drama and glorious moments, as when Duncan sat in the Oval Office chair of her friend, President Jimmy Carter.

Virtually alone among historians, Orleck tells the story from the vantage point of poor women, not government officials or reformers. She pays close and respectful attention to their ideas as well as actions, giving readers unparalleled insight into grass-roots intellectual history. Her story is different, too, because it shifts the focus away from Washington by showing how a state legislature, city government, and grass-roots organiza-

tion fought over, implemented, and recast federally designed and mandated programs.

While telling her story, Orleck punctures one stereotype after another. Without mentioning his name, she decimates Nicholas Lemann's portrayal of black women and families in the rural South in *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America* (1991). The energy and competence of the women who created and ran Operation Life defy every common misconception about black mothers and welfare recipients. Orleck also effectively challenges negative assessments of President Carter's domestic anti-poverty policies, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), the community action component of the War on Poverty, and the War on Poverty's accomplishments. Her book makes reconsideration of all these topics imperative. It also clearly and honestly raises vexing issues for policy and social action. For example, when is direct protest effective and when counterproductive? Does participation in mainstream politics advance causes initiated at the grass-roots level or fatally compromise them? How can an organization founded by a social movement sustain the passion of its founding generation?

This book is inspirational in its portrayal of how a group of low-income single mothers managed to influence politics and public policy and to design, build, and run an organization that, among other achievements, reduced children's hunger and improved their health. The book is heartbreaking in its account of how Operation Life's work was destroyed for reasons that had almost nothing to do with its integrity, efficiency, or effectiveness. It is not romantic, however, for Orleck carefully points out the limits of its achievements and gives voice to its critics.

By itself, local grass-roots activity, Orleck shows, cannot tackle social ills. As the women themselves knew well, it takes a lot more than talent, energy, self-sacrifice, and mobilization to alleviate poverty and its consequences. At every step along the way, the women of Occupation Life depended on government for enabling legislation and regulations and for funding. Their experience underlines the point, which the original poverty warriors knew, that an effective War on Poverty requires collaboration between an energetic, committed government and vibrant grass-roots mobilization. Neither can succeed without the other. For reinforcing this message—and for much else—we are in the debt of Orleck.

MICHAEL B. KATZ
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JENNIFER MITTELSTADT. *From Welfare to Workforce: The Unintended Consequences of Liberal Reform, 1945–1965*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 267. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Jennifer Mittelstadt's thoroughly researched and thoughtful study examines the evolution of the 1935 So-

cial Security Act's Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program from the end of World War II to the launch of the War on Poverty. In these years, according to Mittelstadt, "self-designated liberals . . . dominated the field of national welfare policy [and] created distinct perspectives and proposed policy solutions that would provide models for what subsequent policy makers of the 1960s and beyond would—or would not—do" (p. 5). Centering her research on the legacy of liberal bureaucrats such as Wilbur Cohen, Elizabeth Wickenden, and Loula Dunn, Mittelstadt shows how their embrace and advocacy of "rehabilitation" as an essential strategy in American welfare policy for poor families had unintended consequences over the long term.

Mittelstadt argues that liberal policy makers defined welfare as an entitlement for the nation's poorest families, mainly poor single mothers. At the same time, they accepted the notion that the nation's postwar economic prosperity made it unnecessary for anyone to live permanently in poverty. Liberals like Cohen argued that poor families could be helped through a broad-based program of rehabilitation. The unintended consequence was a situation where "postwar liberal welfare reform . . . created a model for a contemporary welfare policy that places the burden on escaping poverty on welfare recipients themselves" (p. 156). In 1967 this liberal strategy was hijacked by conservatives. "Above all," Mittelstadt concludes, by the late 1960s, American welfare policy "was a decidedly hostile rather than a merely paternalistic assault on poor women's entitlements to government aid" (pp. 169–170). The author has sympathy for the liberal strategy, but she sees problems with the approach that left poor single mothers in an especially vulnerable position. "In the end," Mittelstadt argues, "Cohen's inquiries into poverty in the affluent society generated a simple analysis: the thorniest of America's problems was single mothers and the solution was to change welfare" (p. 4).

The book identifies three years—1956, 1961, and 1962—as the most important in the twenty years following World War II. Amendments to the 1935 ADC program expanded welfare to include a broader pool of recipients but also raised the ire of critics. Renaming the program Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in 1962 was the pinnacle of welfare's liberal expansion. But, at the same time, AFDC became a flashpoint for controversial debates centering on race, ethnicity, class, gender, and poverty. After 1965, the liberal coalition wavered and new, more conservative actors took control.

This book includes detailed references to archival sources and generally solid historiographical analysis. Mittelstadt skillfully builds on the work of scholars such as Edward Berkowitz, Michael B. Katz, Theda Skocpol, and James T. Patterson. Her book is part of the University of North Carolina Press's series on Gender and American Culture and complements studies by Linda Gordon, Joanne Goodwin, and Robyn Muncy that trace earlier periods of welfare policy for poor mothers.

This strength, however, is also a weakness. Mittels-

tadt's reliance on scholars examining early twentieth-century women's history leaves out critical analysis concerning shifts in women's status after 1945. For example, as Mittelstadt notes, the women's liberation movement had little interest in welfare reform. Did the movement's call for greater opportunities for women in education and employment play into the hands of conservatives criticizing welfare mothers who did not work as lazy and irresponsible? The book would also benefit from a closer reading of recent studies done by scholars placing children at the center of social welfare history. It is significant that Mittelstadt's liberals seemed to have little understanding of the original intent behind the ADC proposal. For the women of the U.S. Children's Bureau who crafted this important legislation, ADC was the right of children, not their mothers. As Sonya Michel has written, the interests of women and children are linked, but not always the same. In her excellent book, *The Failed Century of the Child: Governing America's Young in the Twentieth Century* (2003), Judith Sealander shows those conflicts and concludes that the United States has failed to meet its promise of opportunity and security for children.

Despite such criticisms, this book is an important contribution to the growing historiography of American social welfare history. It deserves the attention of scholars, students, and policy makers. Mittelstadt's book serves as a strong reminder that the years from 1945 to 1965 were a significant period in the history of social welfare policy. While it is too soon to predict the long-term consequences of the 1996 welfare reforms, it is important to understand that both liberal and conservative agendas since 1945 have shaped today's reality.

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JUDITH A. HOUCK. *Hot and Bothered: Women, Medicine, and Menopause in Modern America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 328. \$39.95.

This history of menopause in modern America augments a rich body of interdisciplinary scholarship on women, gender, and medicine. Together with studies of breast cancer, childbirth, birth control, sexuality, and other related topics, it contributes an additional lens through which to examine women's embodiment, medical practice, and culture. Judith A. Houck explores the meaning and experience of menopause to women and its connection to their shifting social roles, how doctors have viewed and responded to menopausal patients, the affiliation between medical theory and practice, and the transformative effects of culture and technology. Threading through her study is the assumption that women's bodies are at once a point of departure for constructing cultural roles, an experimental site for medical treatment, and a powerful marker anchoring public discussions of female nature. Like menarche and motherhood, menopause is a physiological event inevitably infused with shifting cultural verities.

In the twentieth century, women's experience of their bodies was gradually altered by the diminution of the notion that menopause marked the beginning of old age. Both cultural change and medical technology catalyzed this transition. Houck loosely organizes her study into three periods. The first, 1897 to 1937, witnessed the decline of nineteenth-century understandings of menopause as a threatening transition fraught with illness and instability. Most doctors emphasized healthy living, engaging activity, and a stiff upper lip. Women physicians were among the first to discard the disease model of menopause, and they often viewed constraints on women's life choices as a significant source of change-of-life difficulties. In this period, shifts in marriage, education, and work for women generated some positive public discussion of the possibilities for female self-development offered by an end to childbearing. Still, a minority of anxious commentators persisted in emphasizing climacteric pathology, refashioning familiar nineteenth-century stereotypes into the mannish spinster, the neurotic wife, the selfish mother, and the sexually abnormal seductress.

At the beginning of the second period, 1938–1962, hormone therapy gained some legitimacy. Yet the general reluctance of physicians to prescribe estrogen suggests a disconnect between medical theory and the use of non-emergency therapy in general practice. While physicians viewed menopause as a natural transition, their approach could be characterized as a form of benign neglect. Doctors treated symptoms, offering medical and psychological approaches. More women began to seek medical care, however, and an emphasis on the importance of doing so became common in popular culture. By 1950, hormone therapy proliferated. Two surveys taken in 1950 and 1957 show that roughly thirty percent of respondents took estrogen. Backed by the drug companies, who actively promoted hormones to doctors and the public, the popular literature touted this as a "great scientific advance." Women's demand rose accordingly. Still, surveys in the 1950s reveal a wide variety of women's responses to menopause. Common themes were a resistance to the disease model, the conviction that troubles should be kept private, and a more active ownership of changes in their bodies. In this period, ambivalence toward hormones persisted among doctors and patients.

The resistance to hormone therapy declined in the 1960s, along with the injunction to keep quiet about discomforting physiological changes. Replacement therapy increased, galvanized in part by Dr. Robert Wilson's book, *Feminine Forever* (1966). Wilson revived the disease model of menopause, while at the same time promoting hormone replacement therapy (HRT) as a form of female emancipation. Other physicians believed hormones could contribute to women's liberation as well. Although they legitimized women's needs in medical and public discourse, they also re-medicalized women's bodies and reinforced the notion of women as sex objects by emphasizing the importance of femininity and attractiveness. In this third period, 1963

to the present, Houck charts a general reassessment of women's roles and the emergence of pluralism regarding the management of menopause.

There are many ironies here. Houck's excellent chapter on feminism emphasizes the numerous and contradictory ways in which different feminists interpreted the notion of controlling their own bodies. Did it mean embracing modern medicine, rejecting it, or promoting various forms of "self-help"? Whatever the therapeutic approach, discussions about menopause among doctors, patients, and cultural arbiters created a forum for rethinking the meaning of womanhood. This period best illustrates Houck's point that cultural norms are always contested, and their power to persuade is mediated by individual perception and social experience, in this case doctors, as well as lay promoters and consumers of medical care.

Recently, renewed concerns about links between HRT and cancer have given many women pause regarding the safety of hormones. But the legacy of the last decades is that many women have informed themselves; their decisions about how to manage menopause are usually their own. Regrettably, Houck's subjects are all white, mostly married, and middle class, making her story incomplete. For many of the women she writes about, however, public discussions of menopause have, along with other conversations about various aspects of women's health, contributed to a more flexible understanding of women's roles. In addition, Houck's work reminds us that medicalization cannot be clearly understood without examining the nature of patient agency.

REGINA MORANTZ-SANCHEZ
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TIMOTHY J. MINCHIN. *"Don't Sleep with Stevens!" The J.P. Stevens Campaign and the Struggle to Organize the South, 1963–80*. Foreword by JOHN DAVID SMITH. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xvi, 239.

Timothy J. Minchin's study examines the protracted, only partially successful effort to organize the southern textile mills of the J. P. Stevens corporation, and the innovative approaches each side employed. The campaign, initiated by the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) in 1963 against a notoriously intransigent employer and conducted in the region most inhospitable to unionism, confronted formidable obstacles. These included organizing a racially divided labor force and solid opposition from local and regional business and political elites. Employees were aware the corporation might easily shut mills and shift production abroad, where even cheaper labor was available.

J. P. Stevens undermined union momentum by discharging pro-TWUA activists and holding mandatory meetings where it bombarded employees with pro-company propaganda, both common management practices. Textile workers, especially, feared discharge because mills were usually located in small, isolated towns

without alternative employment. Lack of skills and education rendered prospects for survival even more dismal. Those discharged found challenging their dismissals in court prohibitively expensive.

Both the TWUA and organized labor in general had much at stake in the campaign because their decades-long inability to make inroads into the South greatly weakened their influence nationally. The easy availability of cheap, non-union labor in the South had precipitated plant relocation on a massive scale, nearly obliterating a once extensive northern textile industry.

The study's principal strength is the well-focused narrative account of the TWUA's progress and setbacks during the seventeen-year campaign, the attention to particular localities, and the assessment of new union and corporate tactics. The often vigorous campaign demonstrated that organized labor was not yet entirely moribund, as was widely assumed. It provided the basis for *Norma Rae* (1979), the most thoroughly (and about the only) pro-union Hollywood film.

Stymied by J. P. Stevens's repeated violations of labor laws, the union initiated a national consumer boycott never previously attempted against a corporation as immense and diversified. To increase its clout, the TWUA merged in 1976 with the larger Amalgamated Clothing Workers union, which had staged a boycott against Farah Manufacturing Company in the early 1970s. The new union combined the boycott with a "corporate campaign" designed to persuade financial institutions with which it wielded influence to pressure J. P. Stevens to bargain. Minchin could have considered that such campaigns, spearheaded by attorneys, tended to marginalize rank-and-file workers. This approach damaged the corporation's reputation and generated publicity for the union. But J. P. Stevens aggressively counter-attacked, mobilizing many "loyal" textile workers, who feared plant shutdowns, to run a well-coordinated campaign that associated unionization with job losses.

The author argues that the large influx of African Americans into the textile labor force during the J. P. Stevens campaign both helped and impeded the union. Influenced by early 1960s civil rights activism, black workers disproportionately backed the union, as a vehicle to combat not only job insecurity and poverty but also discriminatory barriers that consigned them to less desirable jobs. At the same time, the corporation exploited white anxieties over the growing black presence to encourage a white backlash against the union. While noting strong union support from national civil rights leaders, the study fails to analyze how black leaders in southern localities, including ministers and those publishing and editing newspapers, perceived the campaign and influenced rank-and-file involvement. The author mentions that some religiously affiliated colleges lined up behind the corporation. Did the black colleges show any concern for black workers, or were they as conservative and indifferent as when described by E. Franklin Frazier in *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957)?

Although the textile industry traditionally employed a sizeable proportion of females, the author gives little

attention to the role of women's and gender issues in the campaign, which were prominent in the Farah strike and boycott. Did the union raise such issues as the need for day care and flextime, access for women to more skilled or supervisory positions, and combating sexual harassment at work? Was there tension between male and female workers over raising such issues? Did men toiling at tasks not regarded as "manly" in a mixed gender environment feel somewhat emasculated and compensate through overly confrontational behavior with management, or toward female coworkers?

Although the southern textile industry had experienced significant labor conflict in the 1920s and 1930s, the study does not examine whether older relatives transmitted any sense of militancy or memories that influenced textile workers in the 1963 to 1980 period. Nor does it adequately profile the union organizers or examine any appeals specifically fashioned to influence women, African Americans, or younger workers. The role of southern fundamentalist religion's individualistic and often apocalyptic orientation also should have been assessed.

This is an informative account of evolving union and management tactics in a very important recent labor organizing campaign. The study suffers, however, from the limitations of traditional labor history.

STEPHEN H. NORWOOD
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JOANNE YATES. *Structuring the Information Age: Life Insurance and Technology in the Twentieth Century*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 351. \$49.95.

This study of how an industry used information-processing technologies in the twentieth century joins a growing list of publications that examine the role of tabulating equipment and computers in businesses and their industries. In this case we have a history of the use of computers, and their predecessors, in the life insurance industry in the United States from about 1900 to the late 1970s. To put its scope in some context, life insurance companies comprised the smallest part of the insurance industry, with property and casualty and medical firms comprising the largest portions of this sector. Nonetheless, life insurance firms were some of the most intense—and early—users of computing in the American economy, particularly between the 1950s through the 1970s, because they had large volumes of data to acquire, change, and update. As JoAnne Yates rightly points out, the creation and management of information was what the insurance industry did, much like making products was what a manufacturing company did.

Yates explores how life insurance companies acquired and used information processing equipment, describing their uses, effects on their organizations, and the role they played in influencing vendors to develop technologies relevant to the industry, including IBM and Univac. The book is equally divided between dis-

cussion of the use of punch card tabulators (roughly 1900-early 1950s) and computers (early 1950s-late 1970s). She demonstrates the complex interaction of business needs, advocates for use of new technologies working inside a firm, or externally, by industry associations, and the dialogue between vendors and users.

Yates is particularly focused on the theme of reciprocal influences between technology artifacts and their users, a longstanding interest of historians of technology that in recent years has become of concern to those looking at the business history of computing. She concludes that industry structures (such as associations), individual advocates within corporations, regulatory practices, and business and market realities influenced how a technology would be used, labeling these various influences as "structuring factors." To illustrate the process at work, Yates includes case studies on the experiences of two firms in their acquisition and use of computing.

This industry generally enjoyed expansion for most of the twentieth century, particularly after World War II. So as the computer came into this industry, improving the productivity of large staffs, employees were not laid off; management needed them to handle ever-increasing volumes of work caused by the growth in sales and processing of insurance policies. This practice mirrored similar patterns of employment in banking but not in manufacturing, where labor populations did decline when work automated and if companies did not expand their business. Yates demonstrates specifically that automation did not always create unemployment.

Yates also describes how tabulators and computers were used to automate specific tasks and processes in ways that allowed firms to continue operating largely as they had before, rather than to choose radical changes made possible by the technology. Management preferred incremental evolution and its resultant organizational and operational changes, a pattern evident in many other industries at the same time.

The world of information technology in twentieth-century America has been highly public, leaving behind a long trail of documentation in the form of industry proceedings, trade publications, and important archival collections of companies and technologies. Yates uses this material effectively to describe the role of computers in the industry, providing an example of how the same kind of study might be done of other industries and in other countries.

There is one disappointment, however. The book's title suggests that it covers the entire twentieth century, but it stops at about 1980. Given the events that occurred in the life insurance industry after 1980, it therefore reads much the way a book on the American Civil War would if it ended in 1864. Additional research will have to be done by others to round out the story. In fairness to Yates, however, the book was long coming, and we are better off for having it earlier than later because we need examples of how this kind of business history should be done and strategies to begin identi-

ifying patterns of adoption of technology and of its evolution useful to other historians.

That said, Yates's study is a welcome addition to a growing body of literature on the history of the use of computers by businesses, and a good model for other scholars to use. It also is a rich reminder that histories of technologies are better and more useful when set within the context of how they were used.

JAMES W. CORTADA
IBM Corporation

ROBERT E. WRIGHT and GEORGE D. SMITH. *Mutually Beneficial: The Guardian and Life Insurance in America*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 503. \$50.00.

Robert E. Wright and George D. Smith's book provides readers with a serious corporate history of the Guardian Life Insurance Company (and its predecessor, Germania Life). They thereby help to alleviate the "paucity of serious literature" on the history of life insurance (p. xvii). Based on extensive research in the firm's records, interviews with employees, and a wide-ranging survey of other primary and secondary sources, the book provides a detailed history of Guardian, a mutual (policyholder-owned) life insurer, from its founding in 1860 to 2002.

Today Guardian is one of the top fifty life and health insurers according to the insurance journal, *National Underwriter*. Its history is worthy of our attention, the authors inform us, as a window into "the larger progress of life insurance in the American economy" (p. xvii). Drawing on the psychological, anthropological, and economic literature, Wright and Smith make several important insights regarding the supply of and demand for life insurance and related policies and Guardian's role helping to create and meet this demand.

As the book makes clear, life insurance is a very complex business. In essence life insurance is a service contracted between the insurance company and the purchaser (individual or group), typically to provide an economic benefit to the policyholder's heirs upon her or his demise. Since individuals do not like to think about their deaths, and as they do not like to spend money in the present to provide against a future event, life insurance is difficult to sell. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that life insurance contracts (with renewals) can run over long periods of time. At the end of the contract's course, the policyholder wants the insurer to pay the promised benefit. To be able to meet these obligations, insurers need to be a well managed concern that has wisely invested the policyholders' premiums.

The consequence of this set of facts, the book points out, is that trust and corporate ethics and reputation play a far larger role in life insurance than in other businesses. The authors chronicle how Guardian used its mutual form of organization to build a corporate culture based on ethical behavior, policyholder service, managerial efficiency, and actuarial and investment

acumen. It is on these bases that Guardian developed from a tiny start-up to become one of the United States' larger and more respected life insurers.

While Wright and Smith tell an interesting story, they do not tell it very well. The book is divided into four main parts, the bulk of which comprise a chronological history of Guardian and subsequent topical sections on aspects of the insurance business such as product development and investment. These sections are poorly integrated and unduly repetitive. The topical chapters are not effectively sequenced and move back and forth in time with a dizzying rapidity that damages the sense of the firm's and the industry's overall historical development. Although the book employs several clearly introduced themes, they are not sufficiently elaborated throughout to draw the various parts into a tightly knit whole. One of the more disappointing thematic aspects is the book's limited attention to Guardian's business strategy which appears as a largely unchanging constant.

The book does a reasonably good job comparing discrete Guardian business practices to those of its competitors. But more discussion of the firm within the overall context of the life insurance industry at various points in time is needed. How did the industry function in the absence of most federal regulation, including antitrust laws? Did the Guardian cooperate with industry trade associations in devising insurance policies and setting rates? When did Guardian become a big business? How did its rate of growth compare with that of its competitors? These are some of the questions the authors either leave unanswered or touch upon only briefly. Readers who have little knowledge of the subject will find particularly daunting the authors' tendency to mention key insurance concepts and products—whole life, term, and reinsurance, for example—in part one and then explain them many pages later in the subsequent topical parts. Because of these problems, this book will be of most interest to specialists in the history of insurance and financial services.

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CHRISTOPHER ARRIS OAKLEY. *Keeping the Circle: American Indian Identity in Eastern North Carolina, 1885–2004*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 191. \$50.00.

North Carolina has the largest Native American population in the South and one of the largest in the country, although only one of its nine Native communities, the Eastern Band of Cherokees, is "recognized" by the federal government. Seven communities are recognized by the State of North Carolina: Coharies, Haliwa-Saponis, Lumbees, Meharrins, Occaneechi-Saponis, Person County Indians, and Waccamaw-Siouans. And one—the Tuscarora—is not recognized as a legitimate tribal entity by either the state or the federal govern-

ment. Roughly ten percent of the Native American population resides on the Qualla Reservation of the Eastern Band of Cherokee in the Great Smoky Mountains. Christopher Arris Oakley centers his book on the less-studied ninety percent, which is clustered in two main regions: the Piedmont near the Virginia border, and the southern coastal plain near South Carolina.

Until the Nat Turner rebellion of 1831, North Carolina Indians were “acculturated but not assimilated,” living on the margins of southern white society; they could testify in court and vote. After 1831 they were branded “free persons of color” and forced to retreat even further from white society to distinguish themselves from African-Americans. This shift furthered Indianness, Oakley contends, helping North Carolina Indians survive new challenges from the Tribe of Jim Crow. In the process, eastern Carolina Indians created a tri-racial social system. To protect their Indian identity, Indian leaders built schools and established “blood committees” to prevent non-Indians, especially African Americans, from enrolling. Schools and churches, also Indian-only, became important sites of community interaction and maintenance. North Carolina Indians also sustained identity through extended kin networks that provided economic as well as social stability.

Oakley traces the formation of contemporary tribal identity to World War II and beyond. Before the war, Native Americans in eastern North Carolina identified themselves as “Indian” or as Cherokee. After the war, North Carolina Indians worked to defend their identity along the lines of today’s tribal entities, emboldened by newly politicized army veterans who pressed for democratic rights they had fought for during the war, and energized by industrial wage labor that drew them into larger communities and pan-tribal networks. Tribal communities chose their names from colonial appellations or from geographical features. For example, the Lumbee Indians, the largest community outside of the Eastern Cherokee, had been known as Robeson [County] Indians or aggregated as Cherokee. Because the Lumbee tribe came from a fusion of colonial-era tribes and thus were a syncretic entity without a center, Lumbee leaders chose their new name based on their proximity to the Lumber River. These new tribal names, Oakley argues, did not represent “inventions, fictions or brand new institutions, but rather reformations and adaptations of older traditions and community practices” (p. 69).

Oakley chronicles the ways in which the retribalization dynamic intersected with and drew strength from national developments, including Red Power activism, while focusing on North Carolina Indians’ efforts to define and defend their identities on the local and state level, especially after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954) and the Civil Rights Act (1964) furthered desegregation in the South. “To many Indians,” Oakley writes, “integration threatened identity” (p. 83). The Lumbees in particular opposed desegregation measures, which resulted, Oakley notes, in a dramatic rise in high school dropout rates due to white racism.

At the same time they fought school desegregation, Native Americans forged alliances with African Americans to seek greater political integration. In 1977 the State of North Carolina established the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs (NCCIA), legitimizing Indian interests and enabling non-federally recognized tribes to secure state recognition and thus state funding to support their cultural renaissance, which found expression in arts and crafts, historical dramas, and especially pow-wows. This renaissance originated in rural North Carolina but also spread to its urban spaces, where, by 1980, 15,000 Indians resided. With help from the NCCIA, North Carolina Indians experienced an economic renaissance as well.

In the end, Oakley finds, Native Americans in the state “adapted to modern life” and “became North Carolinians” even as they “remained Indians” (p. 108). But the heterogeneous social makeup of these tribes led to charges that they were not “Indian” because of limited blood quantum and were thus undeserving of recognition and its special benefits, denying them the quality of Indianness strengthened through kin networks, pan-tribal organizations, and cultural exchanges. Although most of the tribes did secure state recognition, such biases led to the Lumbees failing to secure full federal recognition, a defeat supported by the Eastern Band of Cherokee, which feared competition for federal funds.

Oakley ends each chapter with a “Conclusion” that summarizes rather than advances his observations in ways that might have situated his story in the larger narrative of American history; the use of a “conclusion” section in the final chapter entitled “Conclusion” seemed odd and unproductive. The 147-page text reads thin at times, in need of additional analysis, including the ways in which African Americans and Native Americans interacted and cooperated. On several occasions Oakley veers off on tangents (such as his discussion of Shepard Krech’s work, pp. 100–101) that detract from the narrative.

Yet the book is well written, informative, and important. Part of the University of Nebraska Press’s fine series on “Indians of the Southeast,” it joins a suite of books—including Gerald M. Sider’s *Living Indian Histories: Lumbee and Tuscarora People in North Carolina* (2003) and John R. Finger’s *Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century* (1991)—that document Native Americans’ demographic and cultural presence in the South after the removal era and their continuing efforts to undo the political, economic, and social legacies of that traumatic and transformative experience. Such work has been neglected in larger studies of southern race relations, just as Native Americans have been neglected in narratives of twentieth-century American history.

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PETER NABOKOV and LAWRENCE LOENDORF. *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National*

Park. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 381. \$39.95.

In this meticulous and readable book, Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf compile a "documentary summary of available information on relationships between Indians" and Yellowstone National Park (p. xi). As the authors point out, it is not exactly a scholarly wilderness. In recent years, other historians (most recently Philip Burnham and Chris J. Magoc) have examined indigenous relations with Yellowstone and national parks around the world. Nonetheless, more exploration of the subject is welcome, particularly where Yellowstone is concerned. For most of the park's first hundred years, authorities and park enthusiasts presented Old Faithful and its environs as historically uninhabited. Supposedly, Indians—frightened away by park geysers that represented evil spirits—had no meaningful connection to the place.

Nabokov and Loendorf's book joins the growing ranks of correctives to this myth. Their work began as a U. S. government report. It stands as the most comprehensive account to date of Indian occupancy and use of Yellowstone National Park. Through a brief introduction, five chapters, and a conclusion, the authors explore bonds between America's first national park and seven distinctive peoples: the Crow, Blackfeet; Flathead, or Salish and Pend'Oreille; Bannock; Nez Perce; Eastern Shoshone; and the so-called Sheep Eaters, or Mountain Shoshone. It is the Mountain Shoshone who occupy central place in the book, and rightly so. Of all the peoples examined here, they resided most often in today's park lands, and have long been obscured by the thickest clouds of misinformation, misperception, and outright falsehood. Contrary to various representations by earlier writers, Mountain Shoshones were not marginal outcasts from wealthier tribes or stunted, polyglot renegades but skilled hunters of the region's bighorn sheep, from whose antlers they crafted some of the most powerful and sought-after bows on the Great Plains. They devised novel stone bowls and remarkable spear points. They fished Yellowstone's rivers and streams, and they likely harvested its biscuitroot, sego lily, and camas.

Throughout the book, the authors' synthesis of previous scholarship and detective work in tracking down new sources illuminates centuries of Indian use of park lands for hunting animal flesh and gathering prickly pear, red, yellow, and white clays and pigments, and obsidian for knives and projectile points (some of which traveled via ancient trade routes all the way to the Hopewell mounds of Ohio). Even the spirits who inhabited the geysers had their attractions. "Personal contact with them," write the authors, "was a requirement for personal success" among various peoples of the region (p. 138).

The authors' approach is interdisciplinary, utilizing not only documentary records from official sources but also fur trade correspondence and memoirs as well as archeology, place name analysis, pictographs, oral tra-

ditions, and oral histories. Tribal consultants make numerous contributions, and the authors quote them at length on the many Indian uses of the park over millennia. At the same time, Nabokov and Loendorf energetically corroborate claims by resorting to the range of available sources, pointing out discrepancies and contradictions, and often calling for more research to resolve outstanding questions.

There are limitations to their method. A century plus of forced separation from the Yellowstone landscape has dimmed tribal memories. Many sources and methods yield only patchy results, and the authors often are forced to resort to informed speculation. As the authors conclude, the book is but a "provisional contribution" to the ongoing scholarship on Yellowstone's Indian history (p. 300). Nonetheless, the work is wholly convincing in establishing a wide range of uses of Yellowstone land by many Indian peoples over a large swath of time. "The summary message of our investigations is that the Indian role in the cultural history of the greater Yellowstone ecological system deserves to be restored," they conclude (p. 299). Of this there can be no question.

In this sense, the book finishes with that rarest of historical denouements, a happy ending. The authors report that since they began their research in 1994, Yellowstone officials have taken many of their recommendations to heart, opening collaborative relations with Indian tribes and working toward new interpretive possibilities for the park's Indian history. Partly because of the efforts of these and other authors, future visitors to Yellowstone will likely encounter a more insightful and far more interesting treatment of park history than has previously been available.

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ALICE WONDRAK BIEL. *Do (Not) Feed the Bears: The Fitful History of Wildlife and Tourists in Yellowstone*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2006. Pp. x, 186. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$15.95.

Alice Wondrak Biel has written an excellent account of the bears of Yellowstone National Park and the people who interacted with them. The combination of scholarship, inherently fascinating topic, and accessible style makes this work a good choice for classroom use and an important book for environmental historians. It is driven largely by primary sources from the National Archives in Washington and Yellowstone, and Biel's explanation of the challenges faced by park managers as they tried to create bear policy that would satisfy visitors and fulfill the park's mission fits in with recent literature on the park service and resource management in the West.

Biel demonstrates that the image of the bear has changed far more than actual bears have changed in the last eighty-five years. The bears of the imagination have been shaped by the administrators of Yellowstone, scientific research, and popular culture into various forms,

from the pet that needed human sustenance to the horrible bear (*Ursus horribilis* is, after all, the grizzly's scientific name) that should be feared to the "post-enlightenment bear" that should just be left alone. Sometimes these bears of the imagination coexisted: witness the juxtaposition in official park literature of pictures of people feeding bears with warnings that it was dangerous and illegal to feed bears. Meanwhile, real bears did not change their foraging behavior dramatically; they simply adapted to the new sources of food, be they garbage pits, unguarded picnic baskets, or friendly tourists in station wagons.

In dealing with these bears, the decisions made by Yellowstone's administrators reflected not only political pressures but also changing ecological ideas among both scientists and the public. In the early twentieth century, Horace Albright, the park's superintendent, encouraged tourists to watch black and grizzly bears feeding at the public trough, in this case garbage dumps complete with benches for visitors. Biel argues that Albright believed in an "old-style aesthetic conservation" (p. 36) and accepted that tourists came to the park for entertainment. He reasoned, as park administrators would for most of the park's history, that Yellowstone's fiscal health depended on happy visitors. If visitors wanted to watch bears eat garbage or, later, to feed bears from their cars, then the park service would facilitate that. And when a bear attacked someone, as happened with alarming regularity, a ranger, or maybe even Albright himself, would show up to tell an amusing anecdote and defuse any potential bad publicity.

The problem for Albright and his followers was that some in the park service were growing uneasy with the impact of all of the human-ursine interaction on both the bears and the visitors who did not seem to imagine that a large bear was potentially very dangerous. Beginning in the 1930s, Yellowstone's staff tried to find ways to separate people and bears without angering too many of the former, and they consistently failed. To change bear behavior they tried negative reinforcement and, eventually, killing those deemed too dangerous. They were significantly nicer to the human offenders, relying mainly on oral warnings and a range of printed media. As Biel notes, these efforts epitomized confusion, featuring everything from a terrifying bear in attack pose to Yogi Bear and Boo-boo discussing the dangers of feeding bears. She concludes that the park service worked much harder on the difficult chore of changing bear behavior than it did on changing human behavior. Except for Yogi's occasional threat to commit suicide if he did not get a picnic basket, the bears rarely talked back to the rangers.

The fitful moves in the middle of the century away from a bear-feeding free-for-all finally came to fruition in the 1970s, when the new ecological thinking made it politically possible to close the dumps and crack down on feeding bears marshmallows from car windows. The shift did not come easily, as scientists fought among themselves over the ability of bears to survive without human assistance, whether the park's grizzlies should

be listed under the Endangered Species Act, and even how to count the bears; meanwhile, various interest groups struggled to control bear policy. But even as they disagreed, they accepted the central assumptions that ecology should be at the core of the decision-making process and that the first goal should be to protect a viable population of bears. If humans got to see bears in the wild, that was a bonus, not the goal.

The point about ecology suggests the only flaw worth mentioning: the general reader could use a brief ecology lesson on the two bear species and their place in the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem. Attached to that discussion could be more of an explanation that black bears and grizzlies will play very different roles in the story, with the former more important in the first half and grizzlies dominating the second half.

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ROGER HOROWITZ. *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 170. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$19.00.

A big piece of meat in the center of the table is as American as apple pie. Meandering through the history of American meat production and consumption, Roger Horowitz finds a pervasive preference for meat. The story of meat in America is a "dance between producers, consumers, and nature" (p. 17), with different partners trading the lead. The constant push has been to subdue, standardize, and sanitize nature. Yet the primal attraction of meat, with its origins in irregular, defecating, germ, and smelly animals, persists.

This book follows a roughly chronological order, with chapter essays on beef, pork, hot dogs, chicken, and convenient meat. It draws on Horowitz's extensive research in the mid-twentieth-century meatpacking labor movement and his current familiarity with the history collections of the Hagley Museum and Library, as well as resources from the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian. The result is a wealth of material on popular culture, labor processes, business histories, chemistry and biology, and technology.

The book spans the time from the first European presence in America to the present, with the most detail on the twentieth century. The reader learns how animals were killed, cut up, packaged, and retailed, and how these processes have moved from relatively small and dispersed units of production and distribution to highly concentrated and capital-intensive operations. We see, for example, how innovations in packaging materials from paper to cellophane to plastic shrink-wrap reduced spoilage, which increased the distance that meat could be transported. It also facilitated the standardization characteristic of supermarket self-service counters, which displaced the butcher shops that prevailed in the early years of the century.

Strong on the early twentieth century, the text is marred by factual errors and muddles when it comes to

more recent history. A west-of-the-Beltway reader would have caught some of them, and a feminist reading would not have hurt. One example is where the meatpacking giant IBP and the chicken processor Tyson are named as separate corporations, even though Tyson swallowed up IBP in 2001, five years before the publication of the book. Another error is the claim that Stilbestrol is an antibiotic, when any student of women's health concerns recognizes it as an infamous synthetic hormone. Careful reader's will spot the error in the date of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. There are others.

Although Horowitz cites as impetus his dissatisfaction with existing studies critical of American meateating, he does not delve into the environmental, ethical, and health concerns raised by this body of scholarship. While not exactly denying these problems, he seems to imply that the popular vote in favor of meat trumps them. The passing references to growth hormones and antibiotics in animal feed suggest that Horowitz has vetted the material and concluded that it no longer warrants a prominent place in the debate. Yet it would take only a couple of paragraphs to lay out the arguments for and against them and to provide references guiding readers who wish to explore the subject. The book totally sidesteps the topic of animal confinements and the tradeoffs that arise when pigs and chickens spend their short lives immobilized in small indoor cages that do not permit them to walk or socialize as before.

Two factors complicate the picture Horowitz presents of the post-World War II increase in meat consumption. First is the many Americans who, for widely varying reasons, no longer eat meat. Second, the finding that meat persists as the centerpiece of the American diet rests on aggregate statistics that are not precise or comparable over time, which Horowitz notes. Consumption conclusions based on U.S. production statistics are compromised by the fact that America is now both an importer and exporter of meat. (Curiously, the robust and growing international trade in meat gets no mention.) But assuming that it is true that more meat is reaching American tables and lunch bags than before, it is being eaten, or perhaps wasted, by a smaller percentage of the population. How does the apparent increase in meat consumption compare with American's recent and general increase in overall food consumption? Horowitz points out that eating large quantities of meat has spread down the economic scale and is no longer a sign of being rich. Nor is a big stomach, which has come to suggest poverty rather than wealth. Is this really the result of Americans choosing a favorite and defining food, or an artifact of a shifting political economy?

Horowitz covers a broad swath of food history in a short and accessible book. Readers ready to be caught up in the subject will be moved to learn more. Although the disputes are not over, this book stands as confirmation and support for the popular American taste for a good steak.

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PRISCILLA COIT MURPHY. *What a Book Can Do: The Publication and Reception of Silent Spring*. (Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 254. \$34.95.

Priscilla Coit Murphy's study is a "biography of a book" that is one of the classics of environmental writing in American history. On one level Murphy traces "the genesis and conduct of the public debate around *Silent Spring*" (p. 3), but her goal is also to understand the importance of the book form itself and specifically what difference it made that "*Silent Spring*'s message came in book form" (p. 17).

Rachel Carson hoped that her book could accomplish four major goals: to inform people about the damage caused by pesticides; to expand awareness of the broader problem of humans' use and misuse of the natural world; to change public attitudes about the natural world and specifically that nature required balance; and, finally, to challenge the existing relationships among chemical companies, the government, and university scientists that allowed for the degradation of the environment. In short, Carson sought to issue a "call to action based on a carefully delineated explanation of the threat—current and future—of damage to life by misuse of pesticides" (p. 8) and to reestablish independent regulatory authority by the government of the chemical industry.

Murphy argues that although Carson had also published the substance of her work in a three-part serialization in the *New Yorker*, it was its publication as a book that accounts for the fact that it had such a major impact in helping to jumpstart the modern-day environmental movement. The range, reach, and complexity of the issue required a book's length. No other format was as amenable to Carson's extensive documentation (fifty-four pages of reference material), which bestowed an authority that was clearly a large part of *Silent Spring*'s appeal. Because Carson wrote a book, she was able to gain access to a wide variety of other media outlets, including public meetings, conferences, and, most especially, television. "For the single communicator, no other medium affords the same direct access to the entire media system" (p. 185). In addition, because she chose one of the oldest and most independent publishing houses, Houghton Mifflin, she was able to avoid any outside interference, or censorship, of her controversial views.

Not that there were not efforts to do just that. As Linda Lear documented in her definitive biography, *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature* (1997), the industrial targets of her study had built up a war chest of hundreds of thousands of dollars to counteract the influence of the book once it was published, and they threatened to sue the publisher to prevent its publication in the first place. Although the National Agricultural Chemical Association tried to put Carson on the defensive by using scare tactics and false allegations about what the book said, Murphy points out that the greatest fear that

the industry opponents of the book had was that *Silent Spring* would lead to "increased regulation, oversight and control from outside the industry and its governmental friends" (p. 98). The irony, of course, was that the massive attacks on Carson gave her greater publicity and allowed her message to reach a wider audience. As Murphy points out, "the efforts to both undermine and match the inherent authority of the book form actually underscored that very authority" (p. 117). Moreover, the intensity of the opposition converted an issue that was by its very nature complex and difficult for the media to cover into an issue of debate and disagreement that captured the popular imagination and could be picked up by newspapers and magazines. It is important to understand, however, that this was just the beginning of the chemical industry's attempt to "manage" and have an impact on environmental news and policy; that effort became much more successful and effective as time went on.

Murphy maintains that debate about the book was conducted in a public sphere "located in the nexus of communicators, media and audience" (p. 160). That the book had such a profound influence can be traced, as well, to the unique circumstances of its publication. It came at a time when there was widespread concern about nuclear radiation, shortly after the cranberry scare of 1959, and at a time of growing political activism and social criticism. Indeed, if anything, Murphy does not give sufficient emphasis to the general context of the civil rights and the antinuclear movements and the role of activists in pushing the media to take up Carson's book.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

DORIS GARRAWAY. *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 412. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

In her dense, imaginative book, Doris Garraway mines "little known" texts about *ancien régime* French Caribbean societies for information about evolving social structures by examining their "strategic silences, exclusions, and marginalizations" (p. 11). Colonial desire or libertinage, she asserts, shaped an emerging Creolized, multiracial French Caribbean. Garraway deploys multiple definitions of libertine. She usually means the contemporary sense of "immorality, religious heresy, violence and sexual license." But libertinage for Garraway also designates "a libidinal economy undergirding exploitative power relations among whites, free non-whites, and slaves" (p. 26). To follow her intricate analysis, the reader must keep both definitions in mind.

The first three chapters discuss the evolution of Creole society in the seventeenth-century Lesser Antilles. Colonists first subdued the Caribs and then constructed

a plantation society based on brutal slavery. The French "colonial desire" was to incorporate Caribs into a French, Christian community; the indigenes demurred. Evangelical failures led missionaries to portray Caribs as aggressors in the early decades of war (1620–1660); so the expropriators blamed the expropriated. Only the second, more technical definition of libertinage can be applied to these first four or five decades when struggles for survival forced colonists to form disciplined militia subject to their governors' martial law authority. Little of the *luxe* characterizing eighteenth-century libertine Saint-Domingue existed in the seventeenth-century Lesser Antilles. Such *luxe* is characteristic of a white planter ruling class, which evolved but slowly in the seventeenth century; indeed few planters then resembled the stereotypical sugar magnate.

Garraway examines the writings of Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin, Etienne Dutertre and Jean-Baptiste Labat to explain the dynamics of plantation society's emergence. She contrasts the development of bourgeois modes of production inherent in plantation agriculture with colonists' aspiration to the social pretensions of French nobles. The challenge for these writers "was to represent insurgent or undisciplined elements of colonial society while downplaying the threat posed to the colonial enterprise and social order" (p. 93). So what do Exquemelin's buccaneers have to do with plantation agriculture based on slavery? On the one hand, their savage violence reminds Garraway of the increasingly obsolescent warrior nobility in Louis XIV's France. On the other hand, the buccaneer leaders eventually became royal officials assisting in the settling of these "brothers of the coast," ancestors of Saint-Domingue's sugar elite (p. 96). Garraway believes the settling process occurred with the assumption of direct royal sovereignty in 1674. In fact, the "golden age" of French *flibustiers* occurred after 1678, and the buccaneer-turned-sugar-planter dates to after 1700.

Garraway analyzes the famous (to historians) books of Dutertre and Labat to show how they urged colonists to adopt the "bourgeois values of private enterprise, hard work and investment over false claims of nobility" (p. 120). She cites Dutertre's misogynist tirade against wasteful, pretentious settler wives. Labat was indeed an apostle of the rational sacrifice of short-term gain for long-term profit, and he attacked wasteful colonial practices and display. Garraway could have made more of the fact that Labat reflected the emerging antagonism between his favorite large planter neighbors, the *grands blancs*, and the uppity working-class *petits blancs*. However, for Garraway to speak of a planter class in the late seventeenth century is to exaggerate the number of large sugar makers and their sense of class consciousness.

In chapter three, the author examines late seventeenth-century texts purportedly demonstrating that "religion preceded race as the original discourse of difference marking the other in colonial context" (p. 146). Garraway believes that the failure to convert Caribs explains "the missionary writers' hostile response to na-

tives and their beliefs" (p. 150). Of the writers she examines, most were not hostile to the Caribs at all. Some critics even view Dutertre and Charles de Rochefort as progenitors of the noble savage theory. Garraway then studies the *Code noir* (1685) and Labat's writings to demonstrate how state and church provided African slaves some guarantees of inclusion in the French colonial community—in return for brutal enslavement. The *Code noir* provided Christian slaves with a right to a family life. All slaves were to receive baptism and Christian instruction. To Garraway, such religious instruction destroyed the "African spirit world so valuable to transported persons." However, "Christianity provided no protection against mutilations and beatings" (p. 164). In fact, the clerical authors she studies often interceded with masters to modify punishments for such "crimes" as *petit marronage* (short-term run-aways).

In chapter four, Garraway makes a last stab at persuading the reader that libertinage in the sense of colonial desire for the "other" marked seventeenth-century colonial society. She postulates "French sexual attacks on Carib and English women" and sexual "attacks on the plantation and the luxurious indulgences in colonial cities, where women of color rivaled their white competitors for the richest men" (pp. 196–197). After making such dubious assertions, she proceeds to the actual era and site of libertinage, later eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue. Garraway brilliantly examines the apparent contradiction of a society with increasingly strict racial boundaries that was nevertheless characterized by the growing incidence of interracial sex. Colonial law increasingly restricted the rights of free people of color and, simultaneously, law and custom "functioned to displace responsibility" for interracial sex on to the colored female. The *Code noir* had punished the "debauching" of a slave woman unless the accused agreed to marry her. Also, seventeenth-century island custom freed mulatto children after a certain age. During the eighteenth century, however, law and custom increasingly penalized the victims: women of color and the fruit of interracial unions. Interracial marriage became increasingly *déclassé*, but casual interracial sex became increasingly accepted. Garraway examines the stereotyping of free mulatto women whose "shameless libertinage" excused white colonial desire, by making whites sex slaves of their "colored Venus" (pp. 229–232).

Garraway's analysis will challenge, enlighten, and sometimes stupefy historians. Although I strongly disagree with her designation of the seventeenth-century French Lesser Antilles as a site of libertinage, her book deserves to be read and debated because of her admirable immersion in the primary printed and secondary historical literature, and because this brief review cannot plumb the depth and complexities of her work.

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LAURIE A. WILKIE and PAUL FARNSWORTH. *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 354. \$65.00.

Archaeology has made a significant contribution to understanding the texture of slave lives in the Americas. One of the central problems in writing about slave identities is the lack of evidence from the slaves' perspective, and the material artifacts uncovered through archaeological digs enable us to re-appraise life in diverse slave communities. This book, based on excavations at Clifton Plantation, New Providence, Bahamas, is scrupulously researched and makes a significant contribution to a developing area of archaeological research. Laurie A. Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth meld together historical data, ethnographic studies, and archaeological evidence to illuminate the lives of African and creole slaves from 1812 to 1833. The originality of this study centers on inquiry into how "a sense of memory may have influenced the material world enslaved and apprenticed Africans built for themselves" (p. 309). Archaeological evidence is skillfully used to explore the relationship of memory to materiality and to demonstrate how slaves at Clifton forged a multi-ethnic community with a communal identity while maintaining aspects of particular ethnic traditions.

The study begins with a consideration of the theoretical, methodological, and conceptual underpinnings of the research, addressing the nature of new identities that emerged in the African diaspora. In developing their arguments about the nature of African retentions and the dynamism and cultural creativity of African diaspora cultures, Wilkie and Farnsworth engage with pioneering studies by Melville Herskovits, Richard and Sally Price, Sidney Mintz, and others (pp. 4–6). Chapter two, provides a useful overview of the history of the Bahamas from the destruction of the Lucayan (Taino) peoples by the Spanish in 1513 to the arrival of Loyalists from New York in 1783 who transformed the islands, establishing plantations that expanded slavery and led to the "Africanization" of the Bahamas through the slave trade, the focus of chapter three. Some interesting data about the geographical origins of slaves (between 1788 and 1806 over 900 slaves were brought to the Bahamas) are included here and problems of defining ethnicities of Africans in the Bahamas are considered. In chapter four the focus is on those who lived on Clifton Plantation, the twelve slave families and the "reforming" owner, William Wyly, a "benevolent dictator" (p. 69) who antagonized his fellow planters and finally left for St. Vincent in 1821, "cruelly wrenching his slaves from the place where they had lain down roots" (p. 208).

The archaeological findings are discussed at length in the latter half of the book. The focus now shifts to material culture rather than textual evidence and, for me, these chapters are the most original and illuminating. Analysis of the layout of the plantation, argue the authors, illustrates how space and landscape was con-

trolled by Wyllie and designed to secure his paternalist agenda to "civilize" his slaves but also to ensure surveillance and discipline (pp. 143–144). A linear arrangement of housing minimized the ease of collective gathering. Yet slaves retained some cultural and spatial autonomy. In sifting through the fragmented material evidence, Wilkie and Farnsworth reveal clear links between West African and African diaspora cultures in relation to food, drink, religious practices, and the centrality of the yard as a gendered communal space for collective activities. Such evidence suggests a "profound spiritual continuity with Africa" in the ways that spaces in and around houses were conceived (pp. 206–207). But there was also evidence of cultural transformations: ink wells charting the extent of literacy (promoted by Wyllie) and consumer purchases of tobacco pipes, beads, bottles, and surprisingly expensive ceramics reflecting slaves' profits from trade and peddling. The ways in which such purchases were used and customized, conclude Wilkie and Farnsworth, testify to the enduring creativity and innovation that characterize African material culture (p. 272). Slaves were not lost in memories of an unrecoverable past but open to innovation and change (p. 310).

Focusing on one plantation enables the authors to provide significant detail about individual slaves that would not be possible in a wider study. But can we draw more general conclusions about the dynamics of cultural change in the African diaspora from a micro-study of one plantation that, as the authors concede, was in some ways unique (p. 307)? Additionally, when engaging with cultural and historical, as opposed to archaeological, theories, the authors seem not quite sure about where to position themselves. Archaeological methodology can also be rather daunting for the lay person. As the authors concede, academic conventions oblige archaeologists "to present dry and sanitised accounts of the methodology and results of archaeological excavation," an approach that alienates those outside the field (p. 102). Perhaps the need to render the data obtained "reliable or valid" explains a certain absence of empathy and imagination in reconstructing of the slave community from material artifacts, the omission of rituals of death and the authors' tendency to over-justify their assessments of the meaning of the artifacts uncovered. The evidence provides more open-ended questions than answers and, as the authors admit, they are often working with slim evidence into which "it is possible to read too much" (p. 295).

Despite these reservations, the book remains a scholarly and commendable study that adopts an innovative interdisciplinary framework in contextualizing the archaeological research, points to new ways of thinking about slave lives and experiences, and provides food for thought and stimulus to debate. Based on a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, it is a welcome addition to existing studies, and I would certainly commend it to historians, anthropologists, archaeologists,

and other researchers with a specialist interest in slave societies and African diaspora cultures.

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RAMÓN BOSQUE-PÉREZ and JOSÉ JAVIER COLÓN MORERA, editors. *Puerto Rico under Colonial Rule: Political Persecution and the Quest for Human Rights*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 256. \$70.00.

Most students of international law associate the seventeenth century with the writings of Hugo Grotius, the theorist who laid the foundations of modern public international law. Jurists frequently link the twentieth century with a dramatic expansion of human rights. Although it was a very positive episode in the evolution of universal conventions, a mounting dedication to human rights failed to coincide with a shared vision of precisely what those rights entailed. Overall, North Atlantic countries championed individual over collective human rights; the latter was the preferred standpoint of the Eastern bloc. Still, even in the West there was little consensus on where to locate the perimeter between the rights of an individual and a regime's prerogative to scrutinize individuals or employ violence under the guise of safeguarding state sovereignty.

The contributors to this collection of essays assert that, throughout the twentieth century, government officials in Puerto Rico habitually crossed the frontier demarcating the realm of personal liberties from the dominion of sovereignty privilege. They claim that the island's unique status facilitated that boundary crossing. What fundamentally differentiates this territory from other American jurisdictions is its status as a *de facto* colony. A common theme that runs throughout most of the essays is the persistent persecution of one group by the federal and the Puerto Rican governments: *independentistas* (independence supporters). Ramón Bosque-Pérez and José Javier Colón Morera grouped their tome into three parts: "Political Persecution in Twentieth-Century Puerto Rico," "Contemporary Issues," and "Vieques." Legal scholars will find chapters in all three sections of great interest. With regard to other disciplines, one can expect an attraction toward particular essays. Perhaps this is the inevitable fate of all interdisciplinary anthologies. Some essays will peak the interest of historians, while others are more appealing to political scientists and sociologists.

Bosque-Pérez's essay skillfully pulls together the various facets of human rights abuses detailed throughout this book. The singling out of regime opponents goes back to the Spanish colonial era. Harassing and arresting government opponents continued under U.S. rule, despite an affirmed commitment to individual liberties. Indeed, the public discovered in the waning years of the twentieth century that both the FBI and the Puerto Rican police maintained secret files on tens of thousands of islanders. The overwhelming majority those "subversive" files related the intimate lives of *independ-*

dentistas. As opposed to stressing its exceptional nature, Bosque-Pérez sets this pattern of government behavior in a larger context of intolerance toward dissenters in the United States—especially anarchists, socialists, and labor activists. This is one of the few chapters that will appeal to scholars across disciplinary boundaries.

In addition to Bosque-Pérez's essay, five others will be of interest primarily to historians. María E. Estades-Font focuses on the role played by the U.S. Army's military intelligence division during the late 1930s. On overseas territories the military was awarded wider latitude in dealing with "subversives" than on the U.S. mainland, she contends. These dissenters ranged from moderate autonomists to militant separatists. Ivonne Acosta-Lespier studies the period known as the *Mordaza* ("Gag Order," 1948–1957), which defined sedition in a broad fashion that strangled the spirit and the letter of the First Amendment. By carefully sketching out its origins she dispels the myth that this statute was promulgated in response to the 1950 nationalist insurrection (the Jayuya Uprising). Those interested in twentieth-century media history will find José Paraliticí's contribution illuminating, as he documents the government's maltreatment of Puerto Rican journalists as a result of their opposition to conscription and/or their advocacy for home rule. Jalil Sued-Badillo's essay provides a basic chronology of Vieques's history, as segue for two subsequent ones on land expropriations and antimilitary activism in this community. Cesár Ayala and Viviana Carro-Figueroa's centers on the military's expropriation of vast landholdings on the island-municipality of Vieques on the eve of World War II. These were appropriated with the goal of dramatically expanding the Roosevelt Roads Naval complex in eastern Puerto Rico. The expropriations were facilitated by the concentration of land in the hands of a few families and paved the way for the eviction of over a quarter of Vieques's inhabitants.

Five of the book's chapters will be of greater interest to sociologists and political scientists. One is coauthored by Colón Morera and José E. Rivera Santana. Puerto Rican political participation is still perceived largely in electoral terms. Indeed, electoral turn out rates in Puerto Rico surpass those on the U.S. mainland by a considerable margin. While some party activists participated in the campaign to demilitarize Vieques, especially those associated with the independence movement, the vast majority of peace activists in Puerto Rico and throughout Puerto Rican communities in the United States were affiliated with nonpartisan civil society organizations. Colón Morera and Rivera Santana fittingly theorize that the Vieques campaign of 1999–2000 represents a watershed in Puerto Rican political history, one inaugurating a period of traditional electoral activism alongside rising levels of civic activism. In another essay, Colón Morera stresses that despite the metropolitan state's claim to stand as a bastion of individual liberties government repression and modernization have smothered support for independence.

Rather than merely reflecting the full panoply of electoral voices or serving as a neutral arbiter the federal and insular governments have historically served as proficient vehicles for suppressing self-determination advocates. Alberto L. Márquez stresses much the same point about the role of the government in suppressing independence supporters; however, he does so without the analytical rigor or sophistication of Colón Morera. Jan Susler's essay on the debate over Puerto Rican political prisoners and President William J. Clinton's conditional clemency in 1999 provides a chronology of events rather than an academically rigorous analysis of the issue.

But of all the chapters oriented more toward sociology and political science than history, Jorge Benítez-Nazario's piece on political intolerance is worthy of special attention. The deeper the society's prejudices and bigotry, the less fertile the terrain for human rights. His research findings presented in this chapter represent a major innovation in the study of Puerto Rican public opinion. Whereas two decades ago pro-independence and leftists topped the list of undesirables, that attitude has shifted in recent years. In its stead gays and lesbians have taken on the role of the most undesirable political and social groups in Puerto Rico. This transformation is related in part to international events, such as the end of the Cold War, along with local matters such as the police assassination of two *independentistas* in 1978 (the *Cerro Maravilla* case) and the revelation of thousands of police and FBI files on thousands of "subversives."

Some of the essays were previously published in *Las carpetas: Persecución política y derechos civiles en Puerto Rico* (1997), coedited by the same scholars. Still, this volume should not be considered merely a translation of that earlier work. While different chapters will draw distinct academic constituencies, the book provides a much-needed contribution to the research on an understudied subject that has heretofore been examined primarily in Spanish-language venues.

AMÍLCAR ANTONIO BARRETO
Northeastern University

ADAM HERRING. *Art and Writing in the Maya Cities, A.D. 600–800: A Poetics of Line*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 316. \$85.00.

Adam Herring has written an engaging, informative, and generally readable book that provides an intriguing new perspective on late classic lowland Maya art (A.D. 600–800). The book presents a welcome and long overdue redirection in contemporary studies of classic Maya art, for the last twenty years obsessed with "awesome" insights by a handful of select authors, and vicious criticism of previous research. These are replaced here with a noncritical, postprocessual ("emic"), culture-based view of ancient Maya culture and society.

Herring argues the essence of elite classic Maya world view to be manifest in the single term, *ts'ib'*, roughly glossed as "the brushwork of Maya calligra-

phy,” and that this view is communicated through the multiple physical expressions of Maya art. The book consists of a discursive examination of the many possible meanings and subtle nuances of *ts'ib'*, and the “visual idiom(s) by which the Maya submitted the world's varied aspects to the rationalizing logic of human pattern and cultural meaning” (p. 7).

Herring presents his arguments in four mega-chapters, each beginning with a detailed description of one object or group of objects in which the essence of *ts'ib'* is easily perceived. Each discussion then moves beyond the visual to include the cultural “essence” and social meanings of the piece and the history surrounding it.

Readers should know that the almost impenetrable writing characterizing Herring's dissertation-rooted introduction does not continue through the book, in which beautifully written prose is often transformed into poetry expressing the beauty, sensibility, and civility he perceives in elite classic Maya culture. Most readers should skip immediately to chapter one, “Yuknook's Stare.” To assuage any guilt over skipping the introduction, read Herring's perceptive epilogue twice!

Chapter four's discussion of Piedras Negras as a living city is an evocative and exciting example of the potential new understandings of Maya culture that the “emic” approach enables. Just the depiction of the city as a living, growing, three-dimensional place, rather than a two-dimensional, conventionalized plan showing plazas and their spatial relationships to river and hilly landscape presents this cityscape as a carefully and deliberately designed, almost sensuous living environment built to awe, delight, inform, and intrigue any eighth-century Mayan passing through it. This represents a monumental advance from previous “interpretations” of Maya cities based on twentieth-century aerial maps of conventionalized mounds and platforms.

Herring's own statement of purpose is embedded in his introduction, however, unlike most of that chapter, his intent is stated clearly: to acquaint contemporary readers with some understanding of the perceptions (world view/perspective) and sensibilities of every “correctly educated” (or properly enculturated) member of the classic Maya elite, and to document how these sensibilities and understandings of correct behavior and civility shaped all aspects of Maya culture and history.

Herring's exquisite descriptions of specific objects and interpretations of their emic meanings serve as examples for viewing and understanding other pieces of Maya art. The book is well illustrated with superlative line drawings, photographs, and color plates. Every piece of art, sculpture, architecture, and map cited is illustrated, and the locations of illustrations are noted in parentheses when not immediately adjacent to references. Not once did I find myself fumbling through the book to find an illustration placed elsewhere in the text.

In contrast to most recent studies of Maya art—which while lurching from personal adulations to vicious attacks still do present several competing interpretations—Herring does generally present a single

reasoned iconographic explication of the object under consideration. He only rarely informs readers of alternative, competing “readings” of the same images, and only those with fairly robust knowledge of the literature will be aware of these alternatives.

Herring's use of archaeological data suffers similarly in that his own selection from among several competing interpretations consistently is presented as the “correct” or only one. He appears only superficially acquainted with the vast literature of Maya archaeology and completely unaware of the spotty nature of archaeological data and problems deriving from this and related issues (such as minuscule sample sizes). These flaws weaken Herring's work and make it better suited to more sophisticated readers familiar with the literature and its problems than to neophytes likely to accept his interpretations as representing consensus of most researchers. In the end, however, this is a wonderful new examination of classic Maya art and its appreciation, and one well worth reading by any with an interest in the Maya or art history.

JOSEPH W. BALL

San Diego State University

SABURO SUGIYAMA. *Human Sacrifice, Militarism, and Rulership: Materialization of State Ideology at the Feathered Serpent Pyramid, Teotihuacan*. (New Studies in Archaeology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 280. \$95.00.

Saburo Sugiyama has produced the first truly fresh examination of the great Mesoamerican city-center of Teotihuacán in many years, and it is both intriguing and absorbing. Focusing on one of the city's three most important monuments—the Feathered Serpent Pyramid of the Ciudadela complex—this is without question a study that will remain significant for its innovative approaches, content, and conclusions, whether or not these ultimately yield a sound new understanding of the ancient city and its polity.

Sugiyama's premises are multiple and complex. He first argues that the city is and was intended to be a vast cosmogram representing widespread and generally accepted ancient Mesoamerican astronomical and astrological concepts, and that its original plan and construction were conceived of and envisioned as a unitary monumental cosmological statement and model for all time and peoples so that Teotihuacán truly did represent “the place where the gods were born” of later (Aztec and other fifteenth-century) legends. He further argues that the city was designed, planned, and executed over little more than two to three generations, or within about fifty to seventy-five years, rather than growing more or less serendipitously over several centuries at the start of the Christian era, as has been and continues to be asserted by both Mexican and non-Mexican archaeologists and cultural historians. Sugiyama's arguments are convincing, albeit still wanting archaeologically; in that arena they are both spotty and but weakly supported. His book is still, however, “good” archae-

ology and derivative interpretation; indeed, it is one of the best I have read in the last ten or so years.

Sugiyama goes on to argue that the Feathered Serpent Pyramid of the Ciudadela was meant to be a monumental symbolization of a fundamental Mesoamerican creation myth involving the bringing of "time" from the watery underworld by any of several reptilian deities—the great feathered serpent Quetzalcoatl being just one prototypical example—and the resulting creation and definition of "space" in our own Middle Earth. He further asserts the pyramid to be a physical memorialization of the existence, emergence, and ascendancy of a charismatic ruler whose authority was legitimized through a complex combination of mass human sacrifice and real or symbolic warfare and war leadership.

Sugiyama provides explicit and tortuously meticulous qualitative and quantitative analyses of the site, the Ciudadela complex, and the architecture, iconography, and associated burial/offering deposits and furnishings of the Feathered Serpent Pyramid. He uses analogic local and distant contexts to document and support his case, and these are very largely convincing if not entirely compelling. Least convincing are his largely analogic arguments for the presence of "royal" or elite burials at the Ciudadela, but continuing investigations may alter this.

Sugiyama's book provides an explicit, rigorous methodology for first inductively and eticly documenting these sites and their relevant archaeology, and then "emicly" analyzing these data using specific ethnohistoric, general ethnographic, appropriate archaeological, and other judgmentally "appropriate" analogic resources. Overall, it is an excellent example of how post-processual, "emic" archaeology ought to be done. It is neither an "easy read" nor a readily accessible work, however, and I recommend it as an important reference for the specialist rather than as a readable study for the Mesoamerican generalist. Contra the too-oft-repeated exclamations by reviewers that "this is a book that should be on every scholar's bookshelf," I would argue that Sugiyama has written an important monograph for those specializing in the cultural history of ancient Mesoamerica.

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JONATHAN D. AMITH. *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 661. \$75.00.

Jonathan D. Amith's book is one of the most important works on colonial Mexican history to be published in the last decade. It combines empirical depth with theoretical innovation on multiple fronts; the wealth of detail concerning colonial Guerrero alone establishes this as a standard reference for years to come. Amith's contribution extends well beyond archival immersion in an understudied region, however. Although pitched at a very advanced level that would present formidable ob-

stacles to an undergraduate and general readership, the book will be required reading for any scholar interested in Guerrero, colonial social history, economic history and especially historical geography.

One cannot do justice to a nearly seven-hundred-page work in the space of a brief review. In essence, Amith analyzes the shifting social, economic, and spatial dynamics of colonial Guerrero, an area including the Taxco mining center and the agricultural Iguala Valley extending down to the Pacific port of Acapulco, over the *longue durée* from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Though focused on staples of social history—land, labor, capital, trade, demography, migration, state formation, fiscal policy—the work also engages intellectual and cultural history. As Amith states, "the present study has been organized to highlight the constant tension between spatial structures and spatial practices, and between socioeconomic and discursive aspects of structure and agency in historical geography" (p. 6). How does a place become a place? What economic, social and cultural trends structure daily life over vast expanses of time in a "region," itself a contingent, historically constructed and fluid construct? Amith marshals massive quantities of archival data in order to answer these questions, ultimately providing a "spatial history that reaches out towards the limits of historical structures and processes without perforce accepting, or seeking to define, a single regional field of action" (p. 553).

Among other things, Amith demonstrates how indigenous demographic decline and then recovery over several centuries influenced the production and marketing of agricultural commodities (p. 42) as well as migration and "place-making" (p. 231); the transformation of legal discourse and conceptions of land ownership over time in a complex, fractured, and violent colonial context (pp. 70–115); the emergence of surveying and a "new representational cartography" redefining the meaning of land (p. 156); the historically situated rise and decline of the hacienda and large landowning individuals and families with strong links to the mining sector (pp. 198, 210, 392); the inadequacies of the concept of "closed corporate communities" to describe the migratory patterns and recomposition of indigenous communities over time as well as their real linkages to transregional economic and social practices (pp. 232, 252, 432–434); the political and moral implications of the struggle to control the grain supply as economic liberalism began to influence the reformist policies of the Bourbons, especially Charles III (pp. 459–496); and the increasing salience of class dynamics and conflicts in the late colonial period (p. 496). Indeed, Amith's well-argued assertions that late colonial socioeconomic changes resulted in plebeian challenges to elite power within indigenous communities parallel recent work on the late colonial Andean world (p. 528). All of these issues are connected by what Amith terms "the guiding thread of this book—a political and social history of space over time" (p. 119). Indeed, the dynamism implicit in the use of the term space and the emphasis on

spatial processes challenging static notions of “regional” history is arguably this book’s primary achievement.

Economic historians will find much of interest in Amith’s thorough reconstruction of economic patterns over several centuries in colonial Guerrero. The influence of the Guayaquil cocoa trade is a startling aspect of regional history. This trade, along with trade in other commodities such as salt and sugar, produced significant shifts in local consumption as well as participation in transport activities (pp. 325–330); these in turn transformed migratory patterns, community formation, and social tensions (p. 384). Of course, no single book can do everything. Nevertheless, the discussion of the *tianquis* or weekly market, as well as the trade in cloth and small-scale marketing of agricultural produce (pp. 432–434), raises the question of the gendered dynamics of household production and retail activities. Amith also recovers proof of the sexual abuse of poor women seeking subsidized grain (pp. 538–539). In future work it would be interesting to see a fuller exploration of these gendered and sexualized aspects of every day life and power configurations. Amith also argues against “pan-Indian” and “non-sociological” perspectives (p. 548). These are worthy goals, although more precise citations are necessary here given that few if any historians would disagree with this point. These suggestions in a minor key are not intended to detract from the extraordinary quality of this book, one of the best read by this reviewer in several years.

JAMES KRIPPNER
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BIANCA PREMO. *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 350. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

From its original analytical thrust dealing with the demographic turn and changes within household composition, family history has weaved increasingly sophisticated connections between the domestic sphere and the worlds beyond it. Bianca Premo’s study of children in colonial Lima is a fine and important example of such connections: it looks at childhood as a device for understanding the changing nature and scope of colonial power and the nexus between the local social order and the crown as the ultimate source of legitimacy.

Threading through Premo’s work is the notion that child-rearing was an inherently political process; that is, Lima’s children were participants in social reproduction and the transmission and reconstitution of political and cultural norms. In this regard, Premo joins the company of historians of the Latin American family who are keen on recognizing the political nexus inherent in parenting. As the crown engaged in judicial and social innovations in the eighteenth century that would have a direct impact on children, the presumed obviousness of the traditional idea accepted by most parents—that the main responsibility of rearing their children rested with

them—underwent questioning. The discomfort occasioned by this new political turn of parental construct was especially, but not exclusively, felt by fathers.

Premo uses documentation from across the wide spectrum of institutional venues encompassing both ecclesiastical and secular domains where stewardship of children and child-raising rights and obligations were defined and contested. These institutions included convents, criminal courts, appeals processes involving ecclesiastical, royal, and viceregal venues, and the labyrinthine pathways that connected family, kin, and nonfamilial individuals. Few elements in the matrix of colonial life failed to touch children and their stewards. As children circulated among different familial and extrafamilial individuals and institutions at different stages of life, from wet-nursing to education and work, children experienced not only different modes of care but also observed social ranks and sources of authority that served as developmental tools that, in turn, reconstituted social and caste hierarchies.

In cases of contested care, litigants employed traditional instruments of social standing, caste assignation, regional affiliation, and morality. By the eighteenth century, traditional claims to child-rearing coexisted in a tense balance with the more utilitarian approaches sought by a crown seeking to shape a citizenry in the service of the community’s order and well-being.

The book combines close attention to the discourse employed by the historical actors with a certain amount of quantitative data. Some conclusions could have gained strength from greater attention to numerical evidence. For example, Premo notes that slave owners often expressed love for their slave children the same way as mothers, undermining natural mothers’ claims to affective bonds, and that “elders representing slave children held no exclusive claim to be better custodians based on emotion” (pp. 220–221). However, the reader does not always know how far to take such findings; it would have been better to indicate the relative frequencies of these attitudes as expressed in the documentation.

An underlying point is that child-rearing was seldom the exclusive domain of the patriarchal family. Instead, children were raised at different stages of their lives by familial and extrafamilial agents who sometimes challenged family members over custody of children. The evidence richly supports the multiple and varied interventions in the life of infants and young children, involving the participation of different individuals and corporate interests.

Premo illustrates the varied ways in which the ideal of patriarchal authority was challenged. But she also offers an unusually sophisticated turn of mind when she notes that male agency adapted to changing legal and political environments, especially in the eighteenth century. Males did not appear to insist blindly and ineffectively on their traditional privileges; instead, their discourse clearly reflected a recognition of the changing standards considered necessary to have custody over children, and they appeared to have understood that

the rational and utilitarian criteria required by the crown imposed on them the obligation to demonstrate their claims. At no point, however, were social hierarchies threatened; that is, notions of hierarchy were reproduced behind the challenges and counter-challenges to *patria potestad*. In particular, success in custody battles depended greatly on conforming to laws that upheld an orderly vision of a hierarchically organized society; to the extent that males could offer evidence of parenting that would guarantee order and serve the greater community's well-being, they stood to benefit.

Premo presents the care of children as a lens through which to observe the percolation of belief systems through the social hierarchy and challenges the notion that change in mental constructs dealing with the nature and care of children remained within the relatively narrow confines of colonial society's literate, upper strata. She holds that the discourse involving contested authority over children offers clear indications that changing values permeated among social sectors which have heretofore been considered largely untouched by the new ideas of the eighteenth century. Through their inclusionary and diverse constituents, the legal and political processes served to distribute ideas which made their way to common daily practices. To be sure, new notions associated with legal rights did not eliminate culturally traditional constructs such as honor and legitimacy and the privileges they assumed, but at least they altered the conceptions of child-rearing practices and slowly redefined childhood and authority.

This is a comprehensively researched and successful treatment of an important subject that should be of interest to a wide audience. Whether to classify it as political or social or cultural history is more difficult. And perhaps that is the way it should be.

MARK D. SZUCHMAN
Florida International University

CECILIA MÉNDEZ. *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 343. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Anyone who wishes to understand the dynamics of state formation in the central Andes must pay close attention to a few regions in the *sierra* (highlands) where an overlay of geographical, socioethnic, commercial, and political fissures have repeatedly facilitated rebellions and conflicts that elude easy pacification. For the republican history of Peru, this is especially true for the region of Huanta and Ayacucho, in the south-central Andes, about midway between the ancient capital of Cuzco and the Spanish commercial and administrative hub of Lima. An important entrepôt and production zone on the commercial artery connecting Lima with the silver-producing zone around Potosí during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the department of Ayacucho by the republican era was dangling between growing regional commercial circuits dominated by Lima in cen-

tral Peru and Arequipa in the south; by the twentieth century it had become the nation's poorest highland region. Moreover, Huanta also lies at the center of one of the important transversal arteries, allowing access to both the Amazon lowlands and the coast.

This is the setting for the avowedly monarchist rebellion of the *Iquichanos* between 1825 and 1828 and its republican aftermath. In her book, Cecilia Méndez provides a thorough analysis of these events that turns them from an odd footnote of Peru's transition to independence into a key diagnostic episode in the formation of this Andean nation-state. Shortly after the final defeat of the Spanish viceregal army by patriot forces near Ayacucho on December 9, 1824, a broad alliance of Spanish officers and merchants, a few Creole landholders and traders, mestizo and indigenous mulattoes, and pastoralists and farmers from the valleys and high plains around Huanta refused to recognize the new republican authorities and began a military campaign in the name of King Ferdinand VII of Spain. The rebels sacked haciendas, distributed coca fields in the lowlands, attacked towns, established their own authorities and a government in remote high plain hamlets, collected taxes, and issued judicial sentences and decrees, all in the name of the Spanish king. It took over two years, until mid-1828, before government troops aided by peasant militias from neighboring provinces fully squelched the rebellion. But during the subsequent decades, the indigenous leaders of the *Iquichanos* would be repeatedly solicited by liberal *caudillos* to support them in civil wars against their conservative adversaries. Surprisingly, the Huanta peasants agreed to these requests, to the point of perhaps bringing the decisive force to bear in several key battles deciding the course of national politics. The puzzle, then, that Méndez seeks to solve is how, in a matter of a few years, avowedly monarchist peasant rebels could turn into respected allies of liberal republicans.

The author downplays the monarchist ideology of the rebellion, emphasizing instead social networks, material interests and a radically plebeian political vision among the peasant leaders of the rebellion to explain the paradox. During the "crisis of independence" liberalism and republicanism remained feeble outside Lima, and especially in the south-central *sierra*. Large parts of the population along the trade route from Huancayo (above Lima) to Ayacucho remained skeptical about a patriot victory, harassed Simón Bolívar's and Antonio-José Sucre's (mostly Colombian) patriot troops long before the battle of Ayacucho, and believed in persistent rumors of the imminent arrival of a large Spanish army. Méndez explains the circumstantial monarchist ideology of the indigenous leaders of the rebellion as an outcome of late colonial civic and religious ritual exalting the subjects' emotional tie to the sovereign. The rebels' denunciation of the patriots as godless would have been the result of a growing link between Catholicism and absolutism in the aftermath of the French Revolution.

In explaining the rebellion, Méndez places prepon-

derant weight on the dense social networks created by labor and trade relations between Huantas' merchants, *hacendados*, middling landholders, muleteers and peasants and conflicts over the local administration of justice, tithe collections, and access to piedmont parcels of land in the context of a crisis of the region's dominant commercial crop, coca leaves. Middle strata among traders, muleteers and coca growers could thus emerge as the military leaders of the rebellion, regardless of ethnic origin. Méndez stresses that the monarchist rebel authorities worked to dissolve the colonial ethnic corporate order allowing Quechua-speaking muleteers, and coca-leaf planters to assume power along Spanish and Creole merchants. During the 1830s, several of the indigenous leaders of the rebellion would be courted by liberal *caudillos* in the civil wars against conservative challengers, receiving official recognition as district governors or justices of the peace, and addressed by the likes of Lois José Orbegozo or Andrés de Santa Cruz as honored republican citizens. Only since the mid-nineteenth century did provincial and national elites refer to the inhabitants of the Huanta highlands as *Iquichanos*, pristine descendants of the Chankas who had fought against the Inkas. This ahistorical essentialization and primitivization of the Huanta peasantry would sadly resurface in Mario Vargas Llosa's commission report about the 1983 massacre of eight journalists at Uchuraccay—the erstwhile capital of the monarchist rebels—during the civil war between the Peruvian state and Sendero Luminoso.

Méndez has produced an important, painstaking study of a fascinating early episode of Peruvian nation-state formation. Her insistence on the plebeian, cross-ethnic, and social alliances in this monarchist rebellion is a welcome addition to a decentered, regionally specific and de-essentialized understanding of this process. Precisely because of the social, ethnic, and institutional fluidity of this process, I suspect she may have over-emphasized the ideological affinity of the rebels with the liberal *caudillo* state-mongers and conversely underestimated the significance of their earlier dalliance with monarchism. Republican citizenship could take on a broad gamut of ideological guises, always unstable due to rapidly shifting institutional circumstances. What we need to explore further is the relationship between the fluctuating surface ideologies and more slowly evolving notions about legitimate exercise of power.

Still, Méndez's work contributes greatly to an understanding of these issues, especially given the crucial importance of the Ayacucho-Huanta region in the history of the Peruvian republic from the 1820s *Iquichanos* to the 1980s *Senderistas*.

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FLORENCIA E. MALLON. *Courage Tastes of Blood: The Mapuche Community of Nicolás Ailio and the Chilean*

State, 1906–2001. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 319. \$22.95.

Florencia E. Mallon combines a rich ethnography of the Mapuche community of Nicolás Ailio in southern Chile with the methodological and analytical tools of history to elucidate the relationship between indigenous communities and the Chilean state during the twentieth century. Much more than a community study, her book sheds new light on modern Chilean history by approaching it from the perspective of the often neglected southern frontier. It constitutes the first major work in English on the history of the Mapuche and offers a sweeping revision of the history of modern state formation in Chile.

Mallon skillfully interweaves oral histories of members of the Nicolás Ailio community with pioneering research in hitherto untapped local, regional, and national archives, including the archive of the Asuntos Indígenas office in the city of Temuco. She places the documents she finds in dialogue with the historical memories of community members to produce fruitful discussions of the community's history. This innovative approach allows Mallon to trace the historical changes in the organization of the community, and to bring to life a multiplicity of sometimes diverging perspectives on the meanings of community and ethnicity. Mallon analyzes the powerful traditions that bound the community together and attached it to land they occupied during the late nineteenth century as refugees fleeing the military conquest of the frontier. She also, however, describes the diverse social experiences and cultural identities that members of Nicolás Ailio brought to their definitions of community, an approach that produces a sophisticated historical analysis of the changing meanings of ethnicity among Mapuches in the southern Chilean countryside.

Mallon argues that throughout the twentieth century, state policies set the parameters of Mapuche strategies for defending land and community. Yet she demonstrates that Mapuche communities creatively appropriated state ideologies, institutions, and laws to buttress their claims to land and to rebuild their community and territorial networks of association. First, Mallon traces the formation of the *reducciones*, the usurpation of their land by local elites, and the transformation of Mapuches from semisedentary pastoralists into impoverished and settled peasants forced to seek work on neighboring estates as well as in Chile's cities and mines. She locates the history of Nicolás Ailio in the broader context of the often fraudulent and violent formation of rural estates in southern Chile during the early twentieth century. In a model of historical research and writing, Mallon brilliantly reconstructs the ways the local landholding class constituted itself, its ideologies and world views, its strategies for acquiring land and labor, and its methods of wielding political power. Mallon argues that during this first period Mapuche *reducciones* drew on their state-granted land titles to defend themselves within the arena of the state against usurpation

by Chilean settlers and landowners. In addition, they built new forms of regional alliance among the now-fragmented communities in the region through kinship networks, exchanges of goods and labor by sharecropping, and collective celebrations of traditional customs.

Second, Mallon examines the period beginning with the agrarian reform of the 1960s through the years of the socialist Popular Unity (UP) government (1970–1973). This is the first serious treatment of the effects of the agrarian reform on Mapuche communities by a historian; it makes an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the period. During the 1960s many Mapuche communities sought to recuperate land by joining the broader struggle for agrarian reform in alliance with peasant organizations and leftist political parties. For example, members of the Ailío community occupied the estate of a neighboring landowner with the support of the MIR (Revolutionary Movement of the Left). The community divided between those who advocated sticking to the decades-long strategy of pursuing land claims through legal channels and those who organized the land invasion. Mallon argues that the class-based programs of the parties of the UP government and the MIR treated Mapuches as part of the broader class of poor peasants, without recognizing the specificity of local communities' histories or their ethnic cultural practices. At the same time, Mallon compellingly narrates the ways in which the years of agrarian reform were an unprecedented period of prosperity and solidarity for the Ailío community.

The third key period begins with the military coup of September 11, 1973, and covers the seventeen-year Pinochet dictatorship. The book provides a deeply affecting account of the devastating impact of torture, forced disappearance, and generalized military violence on community members, as well as the resulting disillusionment with the revolutionary project of the 1960s, social fragmentation, and isolation. This experience was exacerbated by the reversal of the agrarian reform and the military regime's 1979 law directed at subdividing and privatizing Mapuche communities' land. In this section, the book provides a groundbreaking history of the origins of the contemporary Mapuche rights movement. Mallon shows that in the south, Mapuche organizations, including leaders in the Ailío community, began during the late 1970s to reconstitute ethnic associations, often in alliance with the rural non-Mapuche poor, to defend their land and rebuild territorial networks. By the early 1990s, however, the networks of solidarity carefully rebuilt during the early 1980s had begun to fracture. A new, militant Mapuche movement embarked on a campaign of illegal land invasions and rejected participation in the 1988 plebiscite that ended Pinochet's reign, as well as in the aid programs designed by the transition government to help indigenous communities recuperate land.

Finally, Mallon examines the indigenous policy of the transition center-left coalition governments of the 1990s. She shows how the Ailío community was able to use a new indigenous law and land fund to recuperate

land. Once again acting within legal and institutional parameters set by the state, the community defined itself more as a trade union or political party than in terms of Mapuche ethnic identity or custom. And once again the community split; those members who had advocated the takeover of the estate during the Allende government organized a new community, Nicolás Ailío II, on land granted by the democratic government. This division reflected different definitions of community held historically by various groups within Nicolás Ailío. One group adopted the state's imposed definition of community as organized around male-headed kinship lines. Other members of Nicolás Ailío defined community in terms of the collective participation in struggle forged out of the leftist movements of the 1960s. This latter understanding of community and ethnicity was expansive enough to allow the inclusion of poor mestizo peasants who did not originally identify as Mapuche, but who adopted the practices and identity of the community they joined. This group organized the new Nicolás Ailío settlement. The result was mixed; while the new community represented the culmination of a ninety-year struggle for land restitution, it also signified that the Ailío community once again had to play by the state's rules, exchanging the radical vision of the Popular Unity period for land and government subsidies and grants. Mallon underscores the complexity of this process: if the Ailío community sacrificed autonomy and the revolutionary program of the Allende years, it gained land that could sustain future generations.

Mallon's book shifts our understanding of key historical moments and processes, from the colonization of Chile's southern frontier to the agrarian reform, Pinochet dictatorship, and transition to democracy, while explaining the origins of the contemporary Mapuche rights movement. With its innovative approach to bringing together ethnography and history, it breaks new methodological ground. It is a landmark study of Mapuche communities and the modern Chilean state.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

D. BRENDAN NAGLE. *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle's Polis*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 352. \$80.00.

A common assumption of nineteenth-century scholarship was that Aristotle's *Politics* provided the best manual for understanding the actual workings of classical Greek *poleis*, for here was a treatise that drew richly on the detailed empirical studies of 158 constitutions (of which only the *Constitution of the Athenians* survives) completed in the Lyceum under Aristotle's supervision. Twentieth-century readers, however, have tended to treat Aristotle's work less historically; Aristotle's generalizations can lose their cultural specificity and be juxtaposed with those of Thomas Hobbes, G. F. W. Hegel,

or John Stuart Mill. D. Brendan Nagle's book is an impressive attempt to balance these two tendencies, in that it provides a synthetic understanding of the empirical and more theoretical aspects of the *Politics*.

As Nagle states in the preface, his goal is "to contextualize historically what Aristotle had to say in the *Politics* and *Ethics* about household and city-state, *oikos* and *polis*. Neither was for him a theoretical abstraction. When Aristotle spoke of the city-state and the household, he was not basing his generalizations on a single city such as Athens, but on the actual universe of *poleis*, all 1500 of them, stretching, as Plato said, from Phasis in Georgia to the Pillars of Heracles at the western end of the Mediterranean. Most of these *poleis* were small, as we now know, in the range of just 300 to 700 households." In particular, Nagle provides a detailed analysis of *Politics* I, III, and VIII-IX, in which the household figures most prominently. According to Nagle, Aristotle's opening claim that the household (*oikos*)—rather than autonomous individuals, classes, ethnic origins, or a governmental contract—is the natural basis of political life is not a purely theoretical postulate, but one that reflects his deep knowledge of actual conditions in the Greek world.

Aristotle's claim leads Nagle into far-reaching, intricate discussions of the many issues involved. These include the great importance of the household in classical Greek antiquity as an economic, moral, and religious force; marital and filial relations; the social and even political importance of women; the education of the young; settlement patterns and land holdings; types and extent of slavery; and problems of labor generally. Nagle pursues these subordinate topics by mixing detailed explications of the *Politics* with abundant references to a wide range of cultural and archaeological studies. Nagle's discussions, taken in themselves, are highly competent, well argued, and often innovative. He challenges certain orthodox prejudices in interesting ways: for Aristotle, "natural slavery" is due not to ethnicity but cultural impoverishment. Aristotle cannot be dismissed simply as a patriarchal thinker, given his complex remarks on gender equality, the desirability of women's education, and their important role in both household and *polis*. Most importantly, Aristotle's ideal state was inspired not so much by large cities like Athens or Syracuse, but rather by the far more prevalent *Normalpolis* that, with its 200–1000 households, was by contemporary standards tiny. These are remarkable conclusions and deserve close consideration.

A hesitation one has about the book is that it tends to become enmeshed in individual topics at the expense of its overarching thesis. Nagle spends little time orienting the reader in the preface, and as a result the ordering of subsequent chapters can appear somewhat haphazard. Thus, chapter one ("Ancient and Modern Households") provides various ancient and modern definitions of the household. Chapter two ("The *Polis* as Community and Polity") discusses Aristotle's view of the state as a moral entity. Chapters three and four ("Polis Households: Possessions" and "Polis House-

holds: Labor Needs of the *Oikos*") together explore the material life of the household—though in fact they deal more with the material life of the *polis* as a whole. Chapter five tackles "Non-*Polis* Households" in regions where the *polis* was not the dominant political institution. Chapter six turns to "The Perfection of the Household" in the ideal Aristotelian state: *polis* conditions of the sort approved by Aristotle should improve the lives not just of the male citizens but also of women, children and slaves, and not lead to their progressive marginalization. Chapter seven jumps to another, highly important theme: friendship and "*Philia* as Bond between *Oikos* and *Polis*." Chapters eight and nine move on to the differing educational schemes of Plato and Aristotle, respectively. Although chapter ten, "Conclusion," does summarize major arguments to some extent, one would have welcomed more of this throughout.

Yet this is a minor criticism, given the immense range and detail of the book. In 350 concisely written pages, Nagle conveys an impressive quantity of information, ranging across the whole spectrum of political questions, using written and archaeological evidence with equal facility. He focuses almost exclusively on the classical period, with a few references to the archaic and Hellenistic periods. The style is mature, thoughtful, and suggestive; there are no imperfect analogies or half-apologetic attempts to "modernize" Aristotle. Here, then, is a book that should be read not only by classicists but also by historians and theorists interested in the political realities that helped shape what some have considered Aristotle's most masterful book.

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GEOFFREY S. SUMI. *Ceremony and Power: Performing Politics in Rome Between Republic and Empire*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 360. \$75.00.

The principal focus of this book is the political interaction between elite and nonelite in the city of Rome during the last decades of the Roman Republic. As such, it engages with one of the key debates in recent scholarship on the late republic, namely the extent to which the constitution of republican Rome was democratic or not, and the nature of the role of the Roman people in the political process. These themes have been extensively treated by a number of scholars, notably J. A. North ("Politics and Aristocracy in the Roman Republic," *Past and Present* 126: [1990]: 3–21); Fergus Millar (*The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* [1998]); and Henrik Mouritsen (*Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic* [2001]). But there is still a lively and ongoing debate on the subject.

Geoffrey S. Sumi's particular approach to the problem is to examine the interactions of the senatorial elite and the Roman people by analyzing aspects of political behavior as public spectacle and ceremonial, and attempting to deduce from this how the elite sought to

influence and control the population, and what affect this may have had. His methodology is to isolate ceremonies or public performances of different types (electoral and legislative assemblies, games and other public entertainments, triumphs and *ovationes*, elite funerals, and ceremonial departures from and returns to Rome) and to examine the ways in which these occasions were staged and manipulated to sway public opinion, win support, or to attain particular goals. Chronologically, the volume aims at coverage of the period from the dictatorship of Sulla to the reign of Augustus, but the actual focus is much more restricted, examining the relationship of ceremony and spectacle to politics in the period of Caesar's dictatorship to A.D. 14. Although this restriction enables the author to examine his theme in considerable detail, inclusion of some discussion of the relationship between ceremony and politics in the second and early first centuries B.C. might have offered a wider perspective and a sense of the extent (if any) to which this changed in the mid first century.

Sumi's survey of the use of formal set-piece public occasions in both the political life of Caesar's rise to power and dictatorship and in the immediate aftermath of his assassination provides some interesting insights into the interaction between the leading players and the Roman population, but also highlights one of the key limitations of his approach. Although our source material can tell us a fair amount about the actions and motivations of the main figures such as Caesar, his assassins, Antony, and Octavian, it tells us much less about the reactions of the people and their responses to the way the key players staged political ceremonies. As a result, it is difficult to assess how far these attempts to manipulate public opinion were successful and what effect they had, leaving many chapters of the book slightly inconclusive. Perhaps the most successful chapters are those dealing with the period between Caesar's funeral and the establishment of the Second Triumvirate, a period for which the greater evidence for the impact of political ceremonial, and the fact that it was targeted at more specific groups such as Caesar's veterans, makes it easier to assess its impact and significance. Sumi's methodology also provides a way into the politics of a very difficult and complex period of Roman history.

Finally, the last chapter returns to a thematic treatment of ceremonial in public life, attempting to assess the extent to which Augustus consciously sought to create a court ceremonial to underpin his rule. As with the opening chapter, this deals with the material thematically rather than using the chronological approach adopted for the rest of the book, as a means of accommodating the length of Augustus's reign (pp. 221–222). This final section is perhaps less successful than the rest of the book, as the longer chronological span means that the author is forced to focus on only a small selection of examples and evidence. However, it does have the merit of bringing out the continuities between Augustus's use of ceremonial and that of Caesar, and

illuminates the symbolic continuities between Augustus and his adopted father. In general, the opening and concluding thematic chapters are probably the least successful, possibly as a result of having to compress a large subject into a relatively short space. However, the central chapters of the book, covering Caesarian Rome to the end of the triumviral period, successfully use the study of political ceremony as a means of illuminating the politics of a very complex period of Roman history.

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M. A. CLAUSSEN. *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonorum in the Eighth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 61.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 342. \$80.00.

The name of Chrodegang (ca. 712–766) is invariably linked with that of Metz, and M. A. Clausen's study of his life and work is rooted in its particular landscape. Metz had been a Gallic town and, after Caesar's conquest of Gaul, it became a Roman provincial capital. The Romans supplied it with the usual array of civic structures, including a monumental amphitheater (with a capacity of over 25,000 persons) and a public basilica. Attila arrived with his armies in the spring of 451, and the city was sacked and burned. The history of Metz in the next few centuries is obscure; certainly, little is known about when and how a Christian community came to be established there. Clausen argues against the narrative of Merovingian decline: "Both society and church continued to function, and both continued to adapt to changing situations" (p. 37). By Chrodegang's time there were some thirty-two churches in Metz. As bishop of St. Stephen's Cathedral, he assumed responsibility for the welfare of his people, and he began with an attempt to legislate the lives of the cathedral clergy in his immediate care. Clausen's aims in this book are ambitious: not only to explicate a highly formalized text—Chrodegang's *Regula canonorum*, or Rule for Canons—but also to claim for its author a central role in the reformation of the Frankish church.

The introduction sets out his main themes. Chrodegang sought, in both Metz and the world beyond, to create new communities based on the model of the apostolic church, where people would be united by *unanimitas*, *concordia*, and *pax*. Clausen reads the *Regula* as a normative, rather than a mimetic, text: "Its intent is to present a picture of the way the Metz chapter should be, not how it actually was" (p. 16). He believes, therefore, that the document is indicative of Chrodegang's wider reform agenda—that, although written as a discipline for the canons of his own cathedral, it provided a practical and theoretical basis for more extensive action elsewhere in the city and in the realm.

The six chapters that follow explore these themes, using an imaginative and shifting series of interpretative techniques. The first two chapters situate Chrodegang in the historical environment in which he lived and

worked, and identify recurring motifs in his writing on reform: community, hierarchy, and eschatology. The middle chapters give a close reading of the *Regula canonorum* and examine the ways in which Chrodegang handled his sources. Chrodegang's work has often been seen as derivative, relying heavily on Benedict's Rule for Monks. Claussen, however, assigns him a high degree of agency. Chrodegang wanted to create a different kind of clerical community, one whose members did not live apart from the world but who would reach out to it, and who would teach the laity by word and example. When he appropriated parts of the earlier monastic rule, he did so with a sense of purpose. Claussen's comparison of the Latin texts of the two rules is instructive on this point, and the argument is persuasive. Claussen reads quotations from other writers—Gregory the Great, Caesarius of Arles, Julianus Pomerius—as intertexts, a theoretical stance that is promising but, at least in this case, not entirely convincing.

In the final two chapters, Claussen moves from textual analysis to an approach that is more spatially conceived. He takes up what Chrodegang has to say in the *Regula* about individuals, communities, and rituals and attempts to link these notions to Chrodegang's practice. How did the bishop transform his see into a holy place, a new *hagiopolis*? This is an extremely interesting discussion. Debates over the nature of Chrodegang's liturgical reforms have gone on for many years. Claussen reframes the evidence. He explains the new liturgies, derived from Rome or inspired by Rome, as a way for the bishop to assert his leadership in the community, and to join clergy and laity together in the performance of shared rituals. For instance, Chrodegang introduced a stationary liturgy to Metz, "a complex series of almost daily liturgies that move[d] bishop, canons, and townsfolk from the cathedral complex to various churches within and outside the walls" (p. 278). Such processions traced new routes through familiar civic spaces, imbuing them with sacred meaning. Stationary liturgies had developed in the late Roman world. Their use in Metz, Claussen concludes, served to bring its citizens "into the new community Chrodegang created by his rule" (p. 289).

This book does more than study Chrodegang and his church. It finds novel ways to engage with the frequently intractable sources of early medieval history. Chrodegang himself is a reticent subject. What is best about the book is that it is animated throughout by a spirit of intellectual curiosity, and that it succeeds in conveying to the reader its own sense of history as an act of continual inquiry.

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RACHEL FULTON. *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 676. \$40.00.

This book is a study of the development of devotion to Christ's humanity in the medieval West, and the con-

comitant devotion to the Virgin Mary as the woman who gave him that humanity.

The book begins with an analysis of aspects of the Old Saxon *Heliand* epic. Rachel Fulton considers this synthesis and paraphrase of the four Gospels from the point of view of the author's missionary intention. Addressing ninth-century Saxons who had been conquered and forcibly baptized by the Franks, the *Heliand* ("Savior") is part of an attempt to win the Saxons for Christ by conversion of heart rather than external compulsion. Fulton argues persuasively that the *Heliand* author imaginatively engages the beliefs and conventions of his audience in order to bridge the gap between the world view that they already hold and that of the Christian Gospel to which he hopes to convert them.

The discussion of the *Heliand* poem sets the tone for the rest of the book in a number of respects. First, the work is constructed almost entirely from discussion of particular devotional texts. Second, the principal texts under discussion are, in one way or another, works of empathy. And third, Fulton tackles the material by means of imaginative leaps of empathy, attempting to feel her way into the circumstances and concerns of the authors whose writing she discusses. It is this attempt at empathic reading that gives rise to her discussion of the work of Paschasius Radbert (*ca.* 780–*ca.* 865) on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Fulton again relates the text to the missionary context of the conversion of the Saxons. Drawing on the Saxon belief in the power of runes to realize that which they describe, she contends that the line of argument that is implicitly followed by Paschasius is that "the visible sacrament is . . . a rune, and it is for this reason that Christians may be assured that it is the true flesh of Christ" (p. 52).

In the remainder of this monograph, Fulton discusses how it was that a fascination with Christ's human nature became increasingly deep and widespread in the Christian culture of the following centuries. Paschasius saw Christ as a judge as much as a savior, and viewed the cross and the Eucharist as instruments of judgment upon the world. By the twelfth century, Christian preachers and visionaries emphasized the vulnerability of Christ's humanity, and tried to become close to his sufferings and his saving flesh by identifying themselves with the compassion of his mother Mary.

In the second part of the work, Fulton discusses, among other things, the medieval application of the Song of Songs to the Virgin Mary, and the growing acceptance of the idea of Mary's bodily assumption. She shows how Western Christians came to consider not only that Mary had given Christ his flesh at the Incarnation (his conception in her womb), but also that mother and son continued to share one flesh both on Earth and in Heaven. Thus, with regard to the fate of Mary's body at the end of her earthly life, some twelfth-century commentators observed that "Mary's body could not have decayed in the grave without injury to Christ's" (p. 408). Furthermore, "Christ's flesh, the flesh that he assumed from his Virgin Mother, effects his identity not only with her, as his human mother, but

also with the Church of humanity, to whom he was espoused on the day of his Incarnation" (p. 448). However, partly because Christ's own suffering on the cross would be too great for the ordinary human being to bear, the devotee would instead enter into the empathic suffering of Mary, who endured in her soul what her son endured in his body.

If we ask what it was that brought about this emergence of devotion to the sufferings of Christ and his mother in the eleventh century, then, according to Fulton, the main catalyst was a calendrical one, with the two millennial dates of 1000 (the anniversary of Christ's birth) and 1033 (the anniversary of his death). These brought about a heightened fear of the Last Judgment, which many expected to occur at this time. When it did not, and when the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed in 1009, Christians were inclined to turn their attention away from the external world of times and places, and instead to cultivate an interior reenactment of Gospel history.

This is an important book that will continue to be read for very many years. It attempts to analyze and account for a key development in the history not only of Western Christianity but of Western culture more generally; and it invites further consideration—by philosophers, sociologists, and theologians, as well as historians—of the subject of empathy.

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SYLVIA SCHEIN. *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)*. (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xvi, 239. \$89.95.

This book is an exploration of the impact of the crusader conquest of 1099 on the Western church's attitude to Jerusalem and the complex consequences of this for the religious ideas of Europeans. It is remarkable, when one considers the expansion of crusader studies in the last thirty years, that such an important subject has not been properly explored. Sylvia Schein begins by pointing that, for early medieval thinkers, Jerusalem played a major role in the Christian revelation, yet the church had adopted the Pauline view that emphasized the vision of the Heavenly City and looked forward to the future Jerusalem that would be revealed in the Messianic age. When commentators referred to the terrestrial city they spoke of the Holy Sepulchre, which Jonathan Riley-Smith has taught us to regard as a sacred relic, to the neglect of the actual place where Christ lived. It was, perhaps, because of such subtle disparagement that the destruction of Jerusalem in 1009–1010 by the "Mad Caliph" Hakim (996–1021) aroused so little interest in the West and was forgotten long before the First Crusade. But in popular estimation Jerusalem remained the goal of pilgrimage, and its popularity grew as Western Christendom became richer

and more stable in the eleventh century. It is hardly surprising that, in chapter one, Schein argues very strongly, and perhaps a little onesidedly, that Jerusalem was the true inspiration and goal of the First Crusade. Her conclusion that contemporaries saw the liberation of 1099 as a "Divine Act" is rather less controversial. But the heart of the book is the suggestion that after the conquest there was a "revolution in the attitude to the Earthly Jerusalem" (p. 32). Schein shows in chapter three that while Catholic writers justified possession of the other "Holy Lands" by reference to the Augustinian "Just War," they took quite a different view of the Holy City itself, which they stated had rightly fallen into Christian hands because of its sanctity. This is a new and important idea in crusader studies. Schein demonstrates in chapter four that the papacy encountered little opposition in incorporating its patriarchate as a subordinate element in the hierarchy of the church, but "On the spiritual as well as on the mystical-allegorical level . . . Jerusalem was considered superior to Rome" (p. 61). But it is in chapters five and six that the analysis is most far reaching. Very quickly after 1099, pilgrims ceased to think of Jerusalem as the "City of the Holy Sepulchre" and saw it as the "City of the Humanity of Christ." The Jerusalem church gave enormous importance to the *Templum Domini* that played a major role in the special liturgies, emphasizing the "holy geography" of the city and Christ's life and linking it with the Holy Sepulchre. In this way, Schein suggests, the city "embodied the entire history of the Christians under both the Old and the New Testaments" (p. 108). This emphasis on the humanity of Christ, Schein thinks, marched with other trends in twelfth-century piety to transform Christian attitudes. But the new piety, she suggests in chapter seven, was primarily a lay piety. It was in Jerusalem that ordinary believers could "engage in a physical *imitatio Christi*" (p. 109) and thus hope to reach the heavenly Jerusalem—hence the intense devotion of laymen to pilgrimage and crusade. By contrast, monks rejected pilgrimage and crusade as inferior to their path to the same end by contemplation and spirituality in religious seclusion.

Chapter eight, on Jerusalem as the "Scene of the Last Days," is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book. This is because Schein focuses tightly on Jerusalem and somewhat neglects the general controversy over apocalyptic ideas among historians; thus Richard Landes is not even mentioned in the bibliography. When Jerusalem fell in 1187, Schein emphasizes the shock felt in the West and the intense religious response.

This is an important book that posits new ideas about the place of Jerusalem in the thinking of the twelfth century, and it is very regrettable that its author died before she could develop them. But the real value of the work is that it shows yet another aspect of the fundamental importance of crusading to Western development. Notions of the humanity of Christ had a profound impact upon European piety, but historians have not hitherto connected these dynamic ideas with the crusades. They will now have to do so. This emphasizes that

the crusades were not just a passing phase of European history but an important manifestation of the European spirit with profound effects upon its development.

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NILS BLOMKVIST. *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (A.D. 1075–1225)*. (The Northern World, number 15.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. viii, 774. \$128.00.

This ambitious, complex, thoroughly researched, and often wordy book examines how the area around the Baltic Sea became included in European society and culture, a change that Nils Blomkvist argues took place in and around the twelfth century. As a result, the thirty or so “autonomous entities” that existed on the shores of the Baltic in *ca.* 1100 were replaced by only four Catholic polities a century later. In studying these changes, Blomkvist focuses on how Baltic regions reacted to Europeanizing influences. He argues that they generally defended the status quo at first but later adapted to the new circumstances.

There is much to admire here. Blomkvist has mastered an enormous amount of secondary literature; the bibliography occupies forty pages. The book engages fully and closely with numerous textual sources in many languages as well as the results of archeological investigations. Blomkvist provides reinterpretations of many medieval texts, and his readings generally carry persuasion. The perspective is wide and synthetic; Blomkvist is as much at home in Gotland, where he actually lives, as in Livonia on the other side of the Baltic. Some sections present arguments that will be of great interest to specialists. For example, Blomkvist suggests a new interpretation of the role of the *götar* (“Goths”) in early Swedish history. Far from being the traditionally stronger party in the union with the *svear* (“Swedes”) of recent scholarship, Blomkvist argues, they gained new prominence around 1100 by rebelling. The general background would be that the *götar* were more influenced by the Catholic world-system than the *svear*, since they lived closer to continental Europe. This reading of a period in Swedish history that is notoriously devoid of reliable sources will surely not remain undisputed for long, especially since Blomkvist does not hesitate to use much more recent sources.

Blomkvist’s foothold in theory impresses. As suggested already by its title, the book draws on Fernand Braudel’s and Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-system approach. The model requires, strictly speaking, a fairly homogenous core economy, which is why Braudel and Wallerstein warned against applying their model to the Middle Ages. Blomkvist argues that as the result of the commercial revolution and the papal reform movement, something like such a core existed in the twelfth century. Where other scholars have talked about the making, birth, or breakthrough of Europe, Blomkvist sees the creation of a “Catholic World-System.” This is perhaps not the most felicitous of tags, since Catholi-

cism (capitalized) is hardly the most characteristic feature of the entity that he describes. Indeed, he often talks about “Europeanization” when describing the process.

The book’s ambitious scope contributes to its weaknesses. Its methodological breadth and geographical range translate into an unwieldy tome that would have benefited from more rigorous editing (also to remove some linguistic infelicities). The text has the feel of several books and articles forced to cohabitate within one cover. For example, the chapter on Gotland (128 pages) contains twenty-four pages that discuss the transmission and contents of the privilege of Artlenburg issued by Duke Henry the Lion. Blomkvist concludes persuasively that this text and its associated documents cannot be used as evidence that German merchants were already firmly established on Gotland by 1160. This is all well and good, except that the long and sometimes highly technical digression breaks up the coherence of the chapter for what is essentially a negative result that would better have been published separately.

Similarly, the first two chapters, outlining the theoretical approach of the author, come across almost as a piling up of famous theories. Not all of them are equally important for the rest of the book, where many of the empirical sections instead appear as traditional critical readings of the sources. It should be said, however, that theory provides Blomkvist with analytical tools that he uses to good effect. The world-system model, with its division into core, semi-periphery, and periphery, allows him to give sustained attention to the reaction of, especially, the semi-periphery (which would include most of the Baltic rim) to the encroachments of the core. Blomkvist is, for example, surely right that it is more useful to see the Gotlanders as a traditional trading nation that was also capable of adapting to and influencing changing circumstances, than “a rather backward island” that was colonized by proto-Hanseatic German merchants (as it usually is portrayed in previous scholarship). It is in applying this kind of perspective that the book makes its perhaps most valuable contribution.

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MARIE-NOËLLE JOMINI, MARIE HÉLÈNE MOSER, and YANN ROD. *Les Hôpitaux vaudois au Moyen Age: Lausanne, Lutry, Yverdon*. (Cahiers lausannois d’histoire médiévale, number 37.) Lausanne: Université de Lausanne. 2005. Pp. xi, 432. €28.00.

Staying the night in Yverdon, in the northeastern part of the Swiss canton of Vaux, some time in 1492, an inquisitor found that he did not care for the *vin du cru*. To keep him happy, the rector of the establishment in which he was lodging had to spend twenty sous on a superior regional white. We do not know the inquisitor’s name or the purpose of his visit. We do know, however, that he was staying in a hospital, and that its rector was a bourgeois called Pierre Chautemps, who would

very soon die and be succeeded in his post by his widow Jaqueta. The disclosure of vignettes like this is one of the unexpected pleasures of studying hospital account books from the later Middle Ages. Moreover, even the dryer business of reckoning income and expenditure has much to tell us about the society and economy in which these institutions functioned.

Broadly speaking, the financial records of medieval hospitals survive more often and in greater detail in southern Europe than in the north. Those of most British hospitals were lost in the Reformation, while, at the other extreme, the rich archives of Italian civic hospitals are the envy of historians working anywhere else. Swiss hospital accounts, although sometimes brief and fragmentary, fall predictably in between. They survive for even quite modest foundations and, in expert hands, can be surprisingly eloquent. The book under review brings together substantial studies—too long for an article, too short for a monograph—by three such experts. Marie-Hélène Moser focuses on the oldest accounts, concerning 1374–1398, from the hospital of Notre-Dame in Lausanne founded by the cathedral chapter in the late thirteenth century. Marie-Noëlle Jomini investigates the “New” hospital of nearby Lutry, on Lake Geneva. This was a civic foundation of 1348, but the large parish confraternity of the Holy Spirit took it over in the 1420s, and the author embraces the financial history of the two overlapping institutions from 1415 to 1488. In the final study, of the Yverdon hospital, founded in the early fourteenth century, Yann Rod selects from a century’s worth of evidence, starting in 1389. All three authors are acutely sensitive to the genesis and purpose of these accounts (several pages of which are reproduced after the extensive statistical appendixes). They know what such material will, and will not, disclose. To keep her project manageable, Moser has made the understandable, but still unfortunate decision to confine her discussion to receipts and expenditure in cash, ignoring transfers in kind and thus distorting her overall balance sheet. Jomini’s hospital seems to have stood almost empty for much of the time, and may have served primarily as the confraternity’s meetinghouse. This middle section of the book is thus as much about fraternal feasting as about charity. For hospital historians, Rod’s is the most comprehensive and satisfying study. Even so, in his chapters as throughout the book, those about whom we wish to know most—the hospitals’ patients—are shadowy figures. Their numbers and age and gender distribution are unclear, although it is evident from payments to wet nurses that some were foundlings. In Lausanne, one abandoned child was even discovered in the hospital bed that its mother had vacated, which hardly suggests Foucauldian levels of surveillance. The accounts are naturally specific about the numbers and salaries of the rectors and servitors of the three hospitals. Yet, apart from occasional reference to the purchase of ingredients for therapeutic concoctions, the record is largely silent about what the servitors did. It can be inferred, though, from the few clearly exceptional mentions of physicians and surgeons that inmates had no

regular contact with either. What the accounts do shed abundant light on is the Vaudois hospital as an agricultural—and viticultural—enterprise (in 1398 the Lausanne hospital employed eighty-eight reapers on its estates), and even the hospital as a source of credit, despite the frequent deficits recorded (in 1489 the Yverdon hospital lent a substantial sum to the commune). This volume is thus most to be valued as a contribution to local economic history. Elegantly set out, abundantly footnoted, it could have been enhanced still further by a more extensive introduction that would have set the scene for the regional economy and related the findings of the three authors to those of hospital historians working on Britain, France, and Italy.

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MIRANDA THRELFALL-HOLMES. *Monks and Markets: Durham Cathedral Priory 1460–1520*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 253. \$95.00.

Recent work on English medieval economic history has begun to move away from the heavy emphasis on production, fostered by the survival of so many manorial records, toward an interest in consumption. Generally the evidence for this is far more fragmentary, but John S. Lee has recently shown what can be done with Cambridge college archives (see *Cambridge and Its Economic Region, 1450–1560* [2005]) and now Miranda Threlfall-Holmes has drawn on the run of extant accounts from the cathedral priory of Durham, one of the great Benedictine houses of medieval England, to chart their purchasing in the later Middle Ages. One advantage of this change of emphasis is that it allows the reconstruction, however partial, of local economies and of the flourishing internal trade that has hitherto tended to be overshadowed by the international trade recorded in the customs accounts. The monks did most of their marketing within their own region, very rarely making purchases in London, for instance, and although in the earlier part of the period studied they had sometimes turned to Hull or York, they increasingly relied on Newcastle for goods that could not be sourced locally.

The accounts shed important light on the extent to which the monks acquired staple foodstuffs from their own manorial tenants. This was not in the form of fixed renders, but through a far more flexible system whereby supplies provided by tenants were offset against the rent they owed. The author argues persuasively that this was a mutually advantageous arrangement, not a matter of coercion. The amounts rendered were variable, and the produce seems to have been valued at the market rate. Durham priory benefited, in this respect, from having significant holdings within easy reach. It would be very interesting to know whether great lay landlords, similarly placed, were deploying the same strategy, but given the paucity of their extant accounts any evidence is likely to be anecdotal.

It is the richness of the Durham archive that has made this study possible, and one is left with a healthy respect for the sheer amount of authorial number-crunching on display here. In the period under consideration the monastery dealt with over 1,200 suppliers, most of them only once or twice. But there are times when one wishes the author might have raised her eyes beyond the accounts themselves, either to flesh out her findings a little or to question what they seem to be saying. She is content, for instance, to arrive at per capita consumption by dividing the total purchases between the number of monks and other residents in the priory—which appears to show that the monks consumed significantly more than the Westminster monks studied by Barbara Harvey. Given the startling level of consumption at Westminster this is rather hard to swallow. The Westminster figures, as Threlfall-Holmes admits, derive from kitchen accounts and represent the food actually served up; the Durham figures represent purchases. No allowance is made here for the possibility of visitors and guests, although it may be significant that the Durham overconsumption as compared to Westminster is to be found in meat and luxury items—just the foodstuffs most likely to be served to guests at the prior's table. No allowance is made either for the fact that high-status households, which this undoubtedly was, tended to overcater, partly for show, partly to generate alms.

Whoever's throat it went down, the amount of food purchased was considerable. Threlfall-Holmes argues that in making their purchases the monks were pursuing a conscious marketing strategy and offers this as a challenge to the belief that medieval institutions were "tradition-bound." Her work does indeed show that the monks were flexible in their purchasing: shopping around and sometimes reducing purchases when prices rose, buying locally where possible but having to go further afield in times of shortage. But only the most prejudiced of historians could be surprised that medieval institutions were capable of showing this degree of common sense. The more interesting (and far more difficult) question is how much room for maneuver the monks or their agents actually had. Even the fullest of accounts cannot tell us what they chose not to buy, except in the very broad-brush sense of demonstrating that they bought less of something one year, and that still leaves open the question of motivation. Were the Durham monks doing anything more than react to the availability and price of goods? Threlfall-Holmes has proved her contention that they were not the slaves of tradition in economic matters; were they also, like their lay peers, making choices based not just on price but on taste?

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VALERIE G. SPEAR. *Leadership in Medieval English Nunneries*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 24.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 244. \$90.00.

Valerie G. Spear's book is an ambitious investigation of the qualities and conditions of leadership in sixteen English convents from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. In seven chapters, she surveys the social status of abbesses and prioresses; the extent of episcopal oversight of, or interference with, their administrations; the relationships these superiors maintained or endured with popes and kings; the often conflicting financial and spiritual concerns superiors had to manage; bishops' efforts to enforce strict enclosure; and, finally, the realism of portraits of female monastic superiors in thirteenth and fourteenth-century English literature. Spear concludes her examination with a brief discussion of the dissolution of these convents and the fates of the superiors thereafter.

The subject of female monastic leadership is an overlooked topic well worth investigation, and Spear begins her discussion with an examination of St. Benedict's ideas about leadership. Most female convents—and the majority of Spear's control group—followed the Benedictine Rule, and those that did not nevertheless followed rules heavily influenced by it. Benedictine ideas about authority and leadership include the dual notions of authority and submission: authority over the monastics in one's charge, and submission to various external ecclesiastical authorities. Spear notes that thus inherent in Benedict's ideas about leadership is a tension that affected a monastic superior's exercise of authority. In addition to the ideas about authority in governing monastic rules, Spear also suggests both external and internal "networks of power" that influenced a female monastic superior's ability to rule her convent, providing diagrams of each that help to illustrate the constraints that Spear explores further (Figures 1 and 2, pp. 12–13). A good example of the tension these forces could create for an abbess or prioress can be seen in their election, which, despite being the provenance of the community, could nevertheless be influenced by bishops and secular patrons wishing to promote a particular candidate (pp. 20–28).

In addition to providing a comprehensive definition of leadership in female houses, Spear makes some very interesting points. She notes that the nature of the sources for superiors' activities tends to highlight negative aspects of their administrations (pp. 43–45); that bishops never understood that the relative poverty of many female houses necessitated more interaction with the secular world, which contravened the idea of strict enclosure (p. 48); that the social status of a superior tended to reflect the wealth of the house she supervised (p. 36); that superiors of small and large houses managed precarious finances deftly and ministered to the spiritual needs of their nuns with humility (pp. 106–110, 191). Spear compares her findings with those of other historians who have also discussed leadership in female houses, notably Joan Greatrex, John Tillotson, and this reviewer. Spear's points are welcome contributions to the study of medieval English nuns, and the amount of detail she mines from a variety of sources will aid others working in this field. One drawback to this study,

though, is the absence of methodologies. There is no systematic analysis of the evidence Spear uses to determine a superiors' social status; nor is there a critical analysis of the data she culls from bishops' registers; nor is there any systematic analyses of the wills she uses to determine the social networks of the superiors. Relying solely on name linkage for many of the conclusions Spear draws about social status and family relations, for example, can be misleading. So while many of Spear's findings are interesting and reinforce what other scholars have found, her points might seem less conclusive than they are.

It is also unfortunate that Spear does not include in her analysis Barry Collett's *Female Monastic Life in Early Tudor England, With an Edition of Richard Fox's Translation of the Benedictine Rule for Women, 1517* (2002). This translation from Latin into English was undertaken at the expressed request of the superiors of the four convents in Fox's diocese of Winchester, two of whom were superiors of houses included in Spear's control group. As Collett points out, the main concern of this translation—and of the superiors who requested it—was leadership: the right exercise of authority and the qualities necessary for a superior to balance all the demands placed on her. Moreover, the facsimile Collett reproduces was annotated with marginal notes by a prioress and several nuns, indicating that they used the translation as a guide for daily living and leadership. This translation then speaks directly to some of the issues Spear raises—episcopal relations and interference with the administration of female houses, for example—and the extent to which we can know what the women themselves thought about how to run their convents. In fact, Fox and the nuns who used his translation would have agreed with many of Spear's points, and so provide contemporary proof of issues that she identifies as necessary for a true understanding of the role of leadership in late medieval English convents.

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EVA SCHLOTHEUBER. *Klostereintritt und Bildung: Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter*. (Spätmittelalter und Reformation, Neue Reihe, number 24.) Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck. 2004. Pp. ix, 612. €119.00.

This paradigmatic work of German scholarship—every work on the Holy Cross Convent near Braunschweig and a great deal more literature is cited here—takes its inspiration from the survival of a nun's chronicle-like diary spanning more than two decades just before the Reformation. The edited Latin text takes up 136 pages (pp. 342–478). Its author's identity remains unknown. She was not in a position of authority; she simply wished future nuns to know of significant events in her own day.

Eva Schlotheuber's main achievement lies in providing a most thorough institutional, theological, political, economic, sociological, and—as far as possible—biographical context for this document. She is an expert not merely on the history of one monastic community

and those who founded and belonged to it, but on other convents (and monasteries) of the region and beyond, the literature concerning which she continually draws on. According to legend, the Holy Cross Convent (*Kreuzkloster*) arose in 1230 as a token and medium of reconciliation between the ministeriale-knight Balduin von Campe and the city of Braunschweig. The new house was an unincorporated member of the Cistercian Order. The majority of the nuns were from the lower nobility of the surrounding territory and from the patrician class of the city. They had been offered (*oblatae*) to the convent, sometimes as young children. Their two salient functions were to pray for the souls of the dead of their families (*Gebetsdienst*, or care of the memory of ancestors) and to relieve their relatives of any further claim on their financial resources.

Three major questions arise: did religious houses run schools for lay pupils who had no intention of joining the religious life? No; how could the Protestant reformers have been so wrong? Did girls who were offered to the convent as minors, even occasionally as tots, have the option when they attained their majority of deciding against final vows and returning to the world? Fundamentally, no. How did convents deal with the move to subject them to reform with its strict enclosure (*Klausur*) in the fifteenth century? With the imposition of enclosure, the conditions of life became more stringent. The reforming movement of the late Middle Ages meant stricter adherence to the Rule of St. Benedict, greater asceticism than had been customary, more rigorous structure in the nuns' daily program, more disciplinary oversight, and the sharing for the benefit of the whole community of gifts made to one nun by her family. Noble families grumbled, for they had wished to enhance the maintenance of their own daughters. Reform threatened the networks that bound monastic houses to the society on which they drew.

Families did not simply abandon their kith and kin to convents and monasteries. They wished to be present at significant stages in their young relatives' advancement toward full status as brides of Christ. But in contrast to lay weddings, the spiritual brides could no longer take part in the feasts that followed their ritual admission to the novitiate or their final vows, nor, increasingly, could such celebrations occur within convent properties. Nuns more truly than before left the world behind.

Especially enlightening are two substantial chapters: one on entry into the convent, based upon surviving records of the rituals used by the Benedictine Convent of Lüne (pp. 121–174), the other on the laws and practices defining oblation (pp. 175–267). In both of these Schlotheuber shows her skills as an analyst of ritual. She proceeds judiciously and persuasively. Irresistible is her description of the coronation of nuns in northern German convents, including the description of the crown itself: strips of white fabric, two fingers wide, laid in cross form across the head of the maiden. Often a red silk cross was sewn to this cross just where it would rest upon the crown of the head. The bride's headpiece

(*Haube*) was an important ritual artifact in the lay weddings of northern Germany too.

Schlottheuber observes that oblation was an indispensable means of recruiting the next generation of nuns. It constituted a powerful bond between religious houses and society. In this chapter, she takes up what was in this period the riveting matter of whether the children being offered should kneel before the altar or be placed physically upon it to sit or even to stand.

Throughout her book, the author uses the words *geistlicher Stand* in describing the oblates' transition, which could be translated as clerical estate or spiritual condition. Only fleetingly (p. 239) does she indicate awareness of the contentiousness of this phrase. Whereas the nuns might well have retained a clerical aspect in their self-definition—they saw themselves as similar to male religious—the church hardly conceded this to them. Men took important roles and decisions concerning these nuns.

Both the rather impersonal diary, in the original Latin, and the prosopography of each known sister in the *Kreuzkloster*, will be of value to specialists. Indeed, specialists will be the chief beneficiaries of Schlottheuber's most admirable study.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ROBERT N. WATSON. *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 436. \$59.95.

This interdisciplinary book focuses on the cultural transformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Low Countries and in England (both areas influenced by Calvinism). Interpreting the period of the "late Renaissance," Robert N. Watson attempts to relate the emergence of skepticism concerning the human capacity for knowledge with the beginnings of environmentalist sentiment. Individuals sought for unmediated knowledge ("the Real") and for unmediated contact with nature ("the Green"), but they continually met stumbling blocks in their awareness of their own perceptions and representations. As many thinkers believed that at the creation Adam had perfect knowledge of natural things, nostalgia and yearning permeated quests for the Golden Age, the lost Eden, and a pastoral setting. In his conclusion, Watson cites Seneca's view of nature but misses the opportunity to discuss the Stoic trend contending with skepticism: the revival of a Senecan "seeds of virtue" and "seeds of knowledge" (present in natural men and women) upon which Justus Lipsius, Hugo Grotius, and John Locke applied natural law theory to politics.

Scholars of Pyrrhonian and Academic skepticism would benefit from Watson's exploration of William Shakespeare's style of skepticism. Leontes of *The Winter's Tale* explores four questions that later concern René Descartes. Might God be a demonic deceiver?

How does one know whether one is dreaming or awake? How may one reconcile the wide variety of human opinion? How may one overcome the unreliability of sense knowledge? Comparing plays to philosophical arguments of phenomenological skepticism, Watson examines the doubts raised concerning appearances and realities in *As You Like It* and *The Merchant of Venice*. *The Merchant of Venice*, while a document concerning religious bigotry, correlates with Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594–1597) in an attempt to find a middle way between absolute truth and nihilistic despair. In treating the late Renaissance, when philosophy was often presented best in innovative genres (e.g. Michel de Montaigne's *Essays*), Watson appropriately explores multiple literary and aesthetic contexts. He effectively redirects historians of philosophy to the broader context of pre-Enlightenment skepticism.

In a chapter on "Shades of Green: Marvell's Garden and the Mowers," an ecologically focused literary analysis, Watson explores Andrew Marvell's recognition of the inability of humans to be "unprejudiced recipients of natural beauty" (p. 139). Discussing the political and theological spectrum of seventeenth-century England in a chapter on "Metaphysical and Cavalier Styles of Consciousness," Watson, with subtle innuendo of mutual influences, suggests a correlation between Cavalier poetry and royalist political affiliation and a correlation between Metaphysical poetry and radical Reformation faith. As power shifted toward the Puritans in 1640, the Cavalier poets accepted some of the transforming power of subjectivity of the Metaphysical poets and shifted from discussing common sense to discussing paradox; meanwhile the Metaphysical style became more decorative.

Interpreting the impact in the Low Countries of Protestant disdain for religious images and its preference for scriptural language, Watson explores art's shifting patronage from clergy to aristocracy and its shifting content from religious figures to nature. Landscapes attempted unmediated contact with God's creation and fulfilled pastoral fantasies. Identifying Jacob von Ruisdael's heir as John Constable, Watson finds precedents of the Romantic movement in the pastoralists of the Renaissance who sought a simplified contact with the natural world.

Watson views Protestant iconoclasm as unable to overcome centuries of familiarity with Catholic images. The reciprocity of gestures of Jan Steen's *Sick Woman* (1665) appears reminiscent of Annunciation scenes. Watson explains the fondness of Dutch artists for portraying animal victims (as in *Birds of Prey around a Dead Lamb*, by Jan Weenix) as filling in with nature the no longer commissioned crucifixion scenes. Pathos previously attributed to Christ's martyrdom now sanctified Dutch nature painting. Watson finds the sentiment also in two English female authors: Margaret Cavendish, in "The Hunting of the Hare," expressed the sympathy for the animal prey, and Katherine Philips admired the vegetarianism of the Golden Age. Watson relates Jacques de Gheyn's *Woman in Mourning Clothes Lamenting over*

Dead Birds to Catholic paintings of the deposition and entombment of Christ: the affective associations of women mourning transferred into the “still lives” of Protestant Dutch art.

The book has detailed explanatory endnotes and an extensive bibliography. Watson argues that great artists Rembrandt van Rijn and Shakespeare showed that imperfect representations are the closest one may come to redemptive truths. He ends with Metaphysical poet Thomas Traherne, who viewed natural objects as delighting the individual soul and human thinking about nature as a completion of it; Traherne’s poetry represents an affectionate rather than an exploitive view of nature. Overall, this book encourages historians to explore literary and visual evidence of ideational change.

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ANDREW PETTEGREE. *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 237. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.99.

The focus of this circumspect and extremely well-informed book is the means of persuasion employed by the Reformers. Andrew Pettegree sets both the Reformers’ doctrines and the media they employed firmly in the context of the late medieval inheritance, and he judiciously attenuates neither continuities nor innovations. Pettegree is sceptical about the unquestioned primacy formerly assigned to print over other media. But he also presents a persuasive critique of the more recent orthodoxy that asserts the superior “legibility” for the unlettered of the image, especially the woodcut illustration, as compared to the text. He points out that the *Flugschrift* (pamphlet) illustrations not only required conversancy with a complex vocabulary of symbols and references, but evidently also needed labelling to make them comprehensible. They were, moreover, not a universal feature of evangelical mission, but specifically Lutheran. He therefore gives pride of place to the sermon, unquestionably the Reformers’ prime medium and the one they dominated until the post-Tridentine church caught up; his figures for the amount of preaching done by Martin Luther (whose versatile genius Pettegree highlights), John Calvin and Huldrych Zwingli are staggering, as is the idea of sermons not infrequently lasting four to five hours, with the congregation standing throughout. (Pettegree of course never neglects the significance of the lesser lights of evangelical preachers.) There follow chapters on media often neglected: song and music, the psalms in the Reformed churches, but a much more varied repertoire in the Lutheran tradition and in England; then drama, for a time a popular didactic instrument and not merely in schools. Only after these does he explore the visual image, broadsheet, book, and pamphlet. He is, however, careful to stress the unparalleled significance and volume of print where (as in France and the Netherlands) a hostile environment made public preaching difficult.

He also considers liturgy and catechesis, and even the medal. He attends, albeit perhaps too briefly, to the Protestant academies, cradle of future generations of pastors.

A particular strength of this book is its investigation of the organization and economics of publishing, the various stages that it underwent, and the diversity of markets for its different “products.” Generous use of figures (here as elsewhere) conveys some idea of its truly colossal scale. They serve as a proxy for what cannot be accessed directly, namely the scope and intensity of evangelical commitment among various populations. It was often extremely dangerous to buy books or pamphlets, and to print, distribute, and sell them. But Pettegree is careful not to draw any direct inferences about belief, or indeed reading, from evidence about printing or purchasing: for one thing, the subtleties of the reformed gospel underwent brutal simplification in the course of reception. Nor, even allowing for the (to me) surprising fact that a pamphlet or broadsheet might be easily affordable on a working man’s wage in the sixteenth century, can it be simply assumed that they were bought exclusively for their contents, or even that they were read, let alone read aloud, although the evidence for intensive preoccupation with the Bible is clear enough, given the incredible number of vernacular Bibles published in the century.

The last two chapters of the book in my view attempt too much, and do not preserve the focus of the rest of the book. Here Pettegree is concerned with the consolidation of the Reformation where some measure of “conversion” had been achieved or it was a question of survival (France) or armed insurrection. In this phase, “persuasive” means that depended on political muscle as well as the media were regularly employed. Nevertheless Pettegree is suspicious of the concept of “confessionalisation,” as implying something imposed by civil and clerical authorities on a supine public. Instead, he stresses the “power of the crowd” to refuse mere impositions; magistrates were often unenthusiastic about clerical autonomy and the enforcement of discipline in any event. Pettegree argues that what consolidation of evangelical churches required at that point was rather instruction (catechesis—here he seems to me to overstate the significance of the dialogue format of Protestant catechisms), liturgy, and propaganda directed solely at evangelical congregations, and not the polemic formerly used, which was designed as a kind of invitation to dialogue between the persuaded and the unpersuaded. But the distinction between polemic and propaganda will not bear much weight: there was precious little dialogue in Protestant polemics long before the ferocious pamphlet wars from the 1560s onward. Pettegree makes valuable but underdeveloped points about the formation of a “Protestant identity” that fell far short of the reformers’ aspirations (the godly minority excepted), but was nevertheless capable of inspiring a Protestant solidarity at critical moments. Taken all in all, this book is a credit to its author and the Reformation Studies Institute at St. Andrews which

he founded and heads, and on whose work he here draws.

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STEVE MURDOCH. *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746*. (The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 A.D., Peoples, Economies and Cultures, number 18.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. xii, 425. \$198.00.

For many of us, the stereotypical view of emigrant communities suggests that emigrants left their homelands in search of a better life and soon severed their ties with the family and friends they left behind. Until recently, the depiction of early modern Scottish emigrant communities was not much different than this, as scholars focused on emigrant Scots in particular towns or regions. Steve Murdoch adds to the growing body of literature on the cosmopolitan nature of early modern Scottish society and the far-reaching network of Scots abroad during the early modern period. He does this by casting a much wider net than other studies in an attempt to show the extensive connections among the many Scottish emigrant communities spread throughout northern Europe.

Murdoch situates his study within the theoretical scope of social network theory, while eschewing the analytical apparatus with which the theory is usually associated. For Murdoch, the most fruitful avenue of research is the one that explores the way individuals created networks (“social networks in practice,” p. 4) and which network linkages were most important for early modern emigrants.

Murdoch divides his book into three sections. The first section looks at network linkages. Not surprisingly, kin networks receive top honors as the most important linkages for early modern emigrants. While blood relation, often far removed, was a powerful factor in kin networks, Murdoch shows that for Scots, kinship included both natural and fictive family relationships such as adoptive and fosterage relationships, which in the Scottish context were life-long commitments. Coupled with kin networks were friendship linkages, or “kith” networks. Murdoch points out that Scots valued friendships and continued to cultivate them for years. These often complex family and friendship structures—“kith and kin”—allowed Scots emigrants to develop social connections in their adopted homes by taking advantage of connections with relatives and friends.

The first section also includes chapters that highlight place-based networks and confessional networks. While not as important for early modern Scots as kinship networks, emigrants exploited connections based on place—town, region, country—even generations after leaving Scotland. Like many other places in northern Europe, Scotland suffered from confessional strife in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Calvinists, Catholics, and those more aligned with the Episcopal church alternately vied for supremacy. But religious af-

filiation did not alone determine the strength of network linkages; it was just one among several possible factors that emigrants considered when establishing connections.

The three chapters in Murdoch’s second section are all concerned with commercial networks. Scots were more active in early modern trade than most scholars have suggested, and they fitted into the intricate commercial networks of northern Europe that extended from the British Isles, the Netherlands, Germany, and Scandinavia to Eastern Europe and Russia. Murdoch shows that in order to be successful in seventeenth and eighteenth-century commerce, Scottish emigrants relied on the various network linkages that they had been developing for over a century. Because of their extensive commercial networks, Scots were able to develop important manufacturing enterprises abroad—especially in the cloth industry and iron works—by sharing information and expertise among themselves.

The first two sections of the book present a wealth of information on Scottish emigrants and the linkages they used to establish extensive networks in northern Europe, but the structure of the networks they developed and the links they relied on were not unique to Scots. Indeed, over the past few years many scholars have examined the historical development of networks in a variety of contexts, so from this perspective Murdoch is not tilling any new ground. What is new in Murdoch’s work is the focus on Scots emigrants generally, and more importantly, the material he presents in the third and final section of his book entitled “Subversive Networks.” The simple fact that many Scots migrated to new countries and set up new homes abroad did not mean that they formed new loyalties. Many remained loyal to Scottish causes even if that meant being disloyal to their adopted countries. Murdoch shows how network connections facilitated espionage in foreign courts to the benefit of the Stuarts in the seventeenth century, and later in support of the Jacobite cause.

Through his extensive research, Murdoch has shown how the Scots were able to achieve success in commerce and industry, and to advance their political and religious agendas wherever they moved across northern Europe. In this book, Murdoch makes a significant contribution to our understanding of how social networks were developed and cultivated in the early modern period.

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SARAH KNOTT and BARBARA TAYLOR, editors. *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xxi, 769. \$165.00.

This dense, ambitious collection of thirty-nine state-of-the-art essays is a remarkable work of collective scholarship devoted to reexamining Enlightenment thinking in Europe with respect to women and the sociopolitical relations of the sexes (gender). Its contributors share an interest in understanding the published debates on

these central factors in human societal organization during the later seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries in Britain, Western Europe, and the North American seaboard. They likewise share a commitment to confronting and countering condemnations of Enlightenment thinking dear to some postmodern theorists.

One aspect of editors Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor's mission is to analyze the publications of women and instances of feminist thinking prior to Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). A second aspect is to reacquaint readers with the plethora of noncanonical Enlightenment thinkers who come into view as researchers locate and reassess what are, in fact, extensive debates in print over the changing sociopolitical relations between women and men. Thus, the "high Enlightenment" philosophers so dear to the hearts of an older "intellectual" history are effectively resituated with respect to myriad other writers, both male and female, in many genres (advice books, novels, poetry, pedagogical treatises, works of "conjectural" or theoretical histories of "civilization"), all of which address "the woman question" and the restructuring of gender relationships in the heterosexual couple and the family. Works such as these engage issues that deeply concerned literate, articulate people of both sexes during a time of accelerating sociopolitical change and enhanced global awareness.

The volume grew from a series of invited conferences held in London in 1998–2001, conceptualized and organized by Taylor and generously funded by the Leverhulme Trust. An ever-growing number of eager participants from many countries and disciplines addressed the organizers' initial desire of looking for intersections between "feminism" and Enlightenment. What they found encompassed that and much else, providing a contextual framework in which to understand the ever more frequent eruptions of demands for women's emancipation and equality as well as the repeated backlashes these eruptions provoked.

Selected from over a hundred initial contributions spanning the humanities (a mixture of historians and contextually minded scholars from literary studies, philosophy, and political theory), the essays published here are arranged in two parts; "Women, Men and Enlightenment" and "Feminism, Enlightenment and Revolution." These are broken into nine topical sections, which range from "Sexual Distinctions and Prescriptions" and "Gender, Race, and the Progress of Civilization" to "Feminism and Enlightened Religious Discourses" and "Women and Revolutionary Citizenship: Enlightenment Legacies?" Each thematic section contains at least three essays (section nine contains six), introduced and ably summarized in each case by another conference participant. The editors' introduction and two concluding essays by John Robertson and Kate Soper (in section ten) bookend the volume, which culminates with an appendix containing sixty-nine short biographies of key figures.

Of these biographies, forty are of anglophone En-

lightenment figures (English, Scottish, Anglo-Irish, and a sprinkling of North American or transatlantic writers such as Thomas Paine). This proportion mirrors the substance of the book. Although the editors acknowledge that "the main focus is Franco-British" (p. xvii), in fact the British orientation is overwhelming and the French underserved. The rich, pathbreaking essays by some of the best anglophone historians of France writing today (Dena Goodman, Siep Stuurman, Felicia Gordon, Suzanne Desan) do not suffice to divert, more than temporarily, the reader's attention from Britain, including Scotland. Despite the heroic efforts by other scholars of continental European Enlightenment (for example, Mónica Bolufer Peruga on Spain, or Paula Findlen on developments in several Italian city-states) and North American developments (Knott, Rosemarie Zaggari) to introduce material that both complicates and suggests the potential for serious comparative analysis, the sequence of essays (topical, not chronological) constantly snaps the reader's attention back to the British scene.

The otherwise excellent essays by scholars who study things British scarcely interact with the offshore contributions. Only rarely do they address the implications of the flow of translations and travel, the circulation of ideas and arguments for the English. For example, Ruth Perry, in revisiting the works of Mary Astell, might have felt less secure in claiming that "the English Enlightenment came significantly earlier than the French Enlightenment" (p. 357) had she engaged with Stuurman's essays on François Poulain de la Barre and "Catholic feminism." Felicia Gordon's excellent comparative treatment of the contributions of the actresses Mademoiselle Jodin and Mary Robinson to the debate on "public" women is a welcome exception to British insularity.

Observed French behaviors more often served as foils for British self-righteousness, as Taylor points out in "Feminists vs. Gallants," and as the buttoned-up Bluestocking writers discussed by Norma Clarke confirm. Well before the French Revolution, anti-French examples fueled a serious backlash against female preponderance and even licentiousness. At times French society served as the "nightmare scenario" whose ostensible effeminacy should be strongly resisted by the English (Taylor, p. 39), or "Paris was a clear example of depravity" (Silvia Sebastiani, p. 82). Never mind that French women's importance to the development of the French language through conversation and phonetic spelling was combated and eventually marginalized by men, who insisted on developing and enforcing on the French language ironclad grammatical rules emulating those of Latin (Goodman). Never mind that the advice books by the French writers Madame Le Prince de Beaumont and Madame de Genlis had a significant impact on English court and aristocratic women. Never mind that the progressive reforms in marriage law (and divorce) enacted by the secularized and revolutionary French state in the 1790s (Desan) powerfully affected debates throughout Europe, including England, well

before the Napoleonic Code rescinded most of them in 1804.

The editors aspired to produce a truly comparative work. They made considerable effort to promote cross-referencing in the essays, but this occurs mostly in the endnotes; it would have taken far more editorial prodding to interlink the texts. Some section introductions make more of an attempt than others to incite comparisons. The two closing essays go in very different directions. The first, by historian of ideas Robertson, seeks to place the book into a male-defined historiography of Enlightenment, even as he never engages with earlier feminist readings. Although he sees England as "a case apart" (p. 701), he remains skeptical about the existence of a properly English Enlightenment, rightly pointing to the need for further connections to be made between the English case and developments elsewhere. In the second closing essay, philosopher Soper seems cautiously optimistic about the positive effects of Enlightenment thought for women, without underestimating either its problematic aspects or its complexity. Neither provides a thorough summing up.

No book of this sort is ever perfect. Yet readers steeped in Enlightenment scholarship will come away from this volume with important new insights on the actual transnational significance of women's and gender issues (the view close up and the view from further out, as it were) in this period as well as an appreciation of the myriad publications and languages in which these issues were discussed. Much is made, for example, of the contributions of the Scottish historians of women (John Millar, Lord Kames) who placed progress in the condition of women at the heart of their analysis of "civilization," well before Charles Fourier in 1808. I particularly savored the essays in section two ("Gender, Race, and the Progress of Civilization") by Sebastiani, Jenny Mander, and Sylvana Tomaselli, who reread the "conjectural histories" written by late eighteenth-century Scottish savants, and posed new questions, such as why did women not compose, or even respond to, such histories; these scholars extend and enrich the earlier findings of Jane Rendall, who introduces the section. The insights in section eight on the religious foundations of feminist argument in eighteenth-century Britain are novel and compelling. The six essays in section nine combine to erode a earlier view (embodied by the pessimistic interpretation of Joan Landes) that women's eviction from political life during the French Revolution was the only story to be told, by demonstrating the extent of debate and women's activism and arguments during the first years of the revolutionary period. Gordon reminds us (p. 612) that it was Olympe de Gouges who insisted optimistically in 1792 that "Everything is possible in this age of enlightenment and philosophy." The ripple effect of such enthusiasm impacted many other women and men, not least in the newly established United States, as Zagari demonstrates.

This book should be required reading for those who might still be dubious about the huge benefits of rec-

ognizing the centrality of gender issues to sociopolitical debate and subsequent historical analysis. The very act of foregrounding women, both as subjects of debate and as participants in debate, in the study of the Enlightenment project not only "grounds" it in human relations but also raises many new and important questions about its scope and long-term effects. The individual authors pose many new questions: for example, Michele Cohen asks "Why is the representation of men and women's 'informal' education asymmetrical? Why is men's 'unsystematic' or self-directed reading construed as the source of their creative genius, but women's assumed to be just that—unsystematic and unmethodical?" (pp. 224–225). Goodman queries "Why . . . were eighteenth-century [French] women made to feel ashamed if they failed to meet it [the new orthographic norm]? And why did women feel this shame particularly?" (p. 196). Indeed, the extensive list of recent and forthcoming books and articles by contributors to this volume (and many others referenced in the endnotes) assures us that there remain many more questions to be asked about women, gender, and Enlightenment. The world's debates about gender are far from over, and, pace the postmodernists, Enlightenment language—equality, rights, emancipation, autonomy—still drives them. What this reader comes away with, however, is the optimism generated by the extent of Enlightenment critique of sexual asymmetry and the hope that equality between the sexes can yet be realized.

KAREN OFFEN

Stanford University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

MARGARET C. JACOB and LARRY STEWART. *Practical Matter: Newton's Science in the Service of Industry and Empire, 1687–1851*. (New Histories of Science, Technology, and Medicine.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 201. \$35.00.

Material cultures of Enlightenment science have in the last two decades increasingly captured the focus of historians of science. Several books have made laudable efforts to flesh out the mundane elements of European natural philosophy and resuscitate the new experimentalism out of earlier scholarship concerned mostly with method and theory. Especially noteworthy have been studies devoted to charting the public cultures of new science that have already ushered in a more complete understanding of what natural knowledge signified in the wider social sphere, and also how that sphere informed the broad perimeters of scientific relevance and its economic ramification. Margaret C. Jacob and Larry Stewart, two of the historians who had an important part in bringing about this change, have now joined to produce a book on the symbiotic relationship between theory and industry during the long eighteenth century. Despite the challenges in writing a short book for a general audience about so vast a subject, the result is a well-synchronized account based on the latest scholarship

and primary research. This book invites us to revisit the role of (mostly British) science in forging modern industrial states and material transformations of European and American societies until the middle of nineteenth century. Given the sources of the early modern opposition to mechanical visions of matter and the polarization between gentlemanly curiosity and practical utility, it is clearly important to understand just how and why science eventually overcame the opposition and transcended the gap between knowledge and practice.

The book's five chapters trace this dismantling of traditionalism, beginning with an account of Isaac Newton's metaphysics and the theological apologetics of early Newtonians like Samuel Clarke and William Derham. Chapter two follows the transformation in the Newtonian image, from a cosmological system of matter and motion whose mathematics was grasped by only a select few to a widely disseminated ideology purporting to act as the foundation of economic and state power. The purveyors of this ideology are discussed in chapter three, where the authors engage with the remarkably vigorous group of British science lecturers, experimentators, and entrepreneurs who at a cracking pace—but not untouched by hostility from conservatives—rebranded the image of a mechanical universe from abstraction to accessibility, utility, even entertainment. Spectacular displays of the powers of electrical fluids had a hypnotic grip over the audiences who, should they have wished so, might recreate their experiences and learn physical principles with the help of bestselling textbooks like John Rowning's *Compendious System of Natural Philosophy* (1734). Courses in natural philosophy were often used as marketing ploys by instruments makers who sold their wares to a wide non-scientific clientele: the barometer, like the latter-day personal computer, quickly became a necessity in middle-class households, valued as much for its philosophical use as for its mahogany aesthetics. It is regrettable that only two images appear to illustrate these extraordinary developments.

The last two chapters pull the theoretical and practical threads into a success story of the British (and by degrees Euro-American) industrial societies. In a narrative ranging anywhere from gears and governors to Unitarians and the Napoleonic Wars, the authors contend that the Victorian acme of industrial production—represented in the 1851 International Exhibition in London—derived from substantive linkages between learning and doing, knowledge and labor, theory and wealth. The assertion may sound self-evident for the general reader but it is less so for the historian of science who might have reservations about the actual relevance of scientific knowledge in the rise of modern knowledge economies. Jacob and Stewart insist that the public dissemination, demonstration, textbook writing, and institutional learning all indicate an unequivocal, if not inevitable, relationship among mathematics, mechanics, experimentation, and technological production that eventually led to a triumphant economy exemplified in the self-made man of the Midlands and the

Northwest. "The lives of M'Connel, Kennedy, Gott, Bouton [*sic*], and Watt [. . .] demonstrate that both scientific and technical knowledge informed business and social relationships" (p. 138).

The success of the British made their education a requirement across the Channel; Jacob and Stewart follow the French and other European states' efforts in importing British practices but unfortunately only nod toward a discussion of the imperial space. Certainly the book's subtitle justifies more discussion of India and South America, lest one get an impression that such places followed suit only when touched by the wand of scientific literacy. The belief that industrial wealth and state prowess were due to mechanical philosophy is less unlikely to have taken root in Britain, Holland, even France—where institutions coproduced themselves in a space that first gave meaning to modern science—than it is to find this idea championed among nations lacking the background in which the Newtonian paradigm ascended during the European Enlightenment. This book is a valuable and highly readable contribution to the history of Western science and technology.

VLADIMIR JANKOVIC

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RICHARD W. BURKHARDT, JR. *Patterns of Behavior: Konrad Lorenz, Niko Tinbergen, and the Founding of Ethology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 636. \$29.00.

This long, detailed, and massively documented history of the origins of ethology (the biology of animal behavior) is a labor of love by a master historian of science. Richard W. Burkhardt, Jr. provides a dual intellectual biography of the founders of ethology, the Austrian Konrad Lorenz (1903–1989) and the Dutchman Niko Tinbergen (1907–1988). In addition, he ranges effortlessly across twentieth-century ornithology, psychology, and evolutionary biology in Austria, Germany, England, Holland, and, to a lesser extent, the United States. He concludes by noting the links between ethology and the emerging, far more popular, sociobiology of the 1970s.

Lorenz once called Charles Darwin the "patron saint" of ethology, and most historians would probably expect a history of ethology to begin with the urtext, Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872). Instead, Burkhardt chooses a more immediate context for what he calls "ethology's ecologies." He begins with an extended discussion of early twentieth-century bird watching, an amateur pastime from which a professional subdiscipline of ornithology was gradually emerging. From the ornithologists came key concepts (e.g. territoriality, and the reconstruction of phylogenies from instincts), as well as model research methods (e.g. getting outdoors among a variety of animals, as opposed to running lab rats through mazes, the preferred American method of studying behavior). In addition to birds, Tinbergen studied the stickleback fish. Much of the observed bird and fish be-

havior centered on mating. It is probably no accident that ethology's most prominent descendants, popular books on evolutionary psychology, are still characterized by a fascination with the biological origins of men's and women's dating strategies. One wonders—Burkhardt does not speculate—how ethology might have developed differently and reached different conclusions had it been based on other animals, say, dogs, horses, or whales.

Lorenz and Tinbergen made an unlikely but oddly complementary pair. The Austrian was a charming prima donna of the barnyard, larger than life, who befriended animals, understood them intuitively, and had a fondness for the grand, sweeping generalization. The Dutchman, in contrast, was a modest, cautious experimenter who carefully stalked his scientific prey, limited his generalizations, and avoided the limelight. They shared (along with Karl von Frisch) the 1973 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine, but only Lorenz would become a celebrity, forever associated with the imprinted ducklings waddling or swimming after him. Tinbergen always acknowledged that his friend Lorenz was the true founder of ethology. In their long-distance intellectual partnership (the two met only occasionally), it was Tinbergen who built and repaired bridges to colleagues, and reined in his friend's tendency to get ahead of the experimental evidence.

Burkhardt devotes a long chapter at the center of his book to Lorenz's Nazism. The record is clear: despite Lorenz's later evasions, distortions, and pleas of political naïveté, he celebrated the Anschluss and shortly thereafter was accepted as a party member (although apparently he never actually received his membership card). Any fair reading of Lorenz's articles confirms his Nazi convictions, or at least his opportunism. He argued that ethology's evidence on animal degeneration under domestication lent credence to the Nazis' abhorrence of racial mixing and to their fears of urban decadence. Tinbergen, who was imprisoned by the Nazi occupiers of Holland, was appalled by his friend's views but eventually forgave him. Still, Lorenz's past cast a long shadow over the rest of his career and, by association, over the discipline of sociobiology, which liberals were already inclined to view with suspicion. Indeed, liberal scholars organized to denounce Edward O. Wilson's *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (1975), as right-wing ideology masquerading as science, even though Wilson believed that sociobiology had absorbed and then transcended the older discipline of ethology.

The great strength of the book is that it shows concretely how a discipline gets constructed and achieves recognition and respectability. Burkhardt does devote considerable space to the summary and analysis of books and articles, but he is careful to stress the "contingent and erratic" (p. 472) in ethology's development. Like other disciplines, ethology has no linear history. To use Burkhardt's distinction, Lorenz and Tinbergen had predecessors, but not precursors. They borrowed eclectically, modifying and rearranging ideas to suit their needs. Burkhardt follows his protagonists as they

struggle with the vagaries and often unedifying politics of grant-seeking, academic appointments, conference organizing, and journal editing. Not surprisingly, only relatively late in their careers did the two men obtain institutional positions commensurate with their distinction as scientists, Lorenz at the Max Planck Institute and Tinbergen at Oxford.

It seems almost churlish to find fault with a work of such substance and erudition, and yet the book would be more compelling (and attract more readers) at two-thirds its length. Few readers will care to know the full arguments of specialized ornithological articles, or which of Tinbergen's students accompanied him on field expeditions in the 1930s. A shorter book would better highlight the main arguments.

Despite its length, this book is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of science in the twentieth century.

ALFRED KELLY
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BENJAMIN LIEBERMAN. *Terrible Fate: Ethnic Cleansing in the Making of Modern Europe*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2006. Pp. xv, 396. \$27.50.

Let the reader beware. Benjamin Lieberman has assembled enough material to encourage serious misgivings about our human nature. I recommend an antidote that may restore a more balanced perspective: Paul Rusabagina's *An Ordinary Man: The True Story Behind Hotel Rwanda* (2006).

The horrors and massive violations of human rights cover just about every page. However, while this book is a depressing collection of examples of "man's inhumanity to man" (and to woman), it raises several important issues in order to impose some analytic rigor. The first concerns the definition of "ethnic cleaning." While it is aimed at imposing homogeneity on a population, it covers a wide variety of processes that are intended to lead to the same result. Among these processes the author discusses expulsion and forced migration, population transfers, pogroms, voluntary flight from persecution, and, finally, genocide.

A second issue concerns the actors in such ethnic cleaning. Here the author offers a particularly useful analysis. The "perpetrators" usually get the most attention, although it is important to distinguish between actors that are states, groups, or individuals. Lieberman provides illustrations for each of these perpetrators. The "victims" may be targeted because of their nationality, race, or religion as defined by the perpetrators. As actors their choices are usually very limited: they may attempt to resist or to flee, although neither will affect the outcome of the ethnic cleaning process. The final group of actors the author considers are the "bystanders." At one extreme they may simply look the other way, while at the other extreme they may benefit from looting or stealing the victims' possessions. Between these extremes the bystanders' behavior may range from simple interest to approval and to encouragement.

The area of this study is defined as dealing only with Eastern Europe and Western Asia. The time period covered is the nineteenth century to the present. These limitations are imposed by the book's title, which limits its subject matter to the "making of Modern Europe." Some readers may question the omission of a number of instances of ethnic cleaning that preceded the nineteenth century and yet have had a great impact on the making of modern Europe. Other readers may question the geographic limitation, since it excludes the entire history of colonial expansion.

Lieberman makes it clear that he is interested in the disintegration of empires and its effect on population policies. The Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Habsburg Empire all ruled over cosmopolitan populations composed of many groups defined by differences of culture, origin, language, and religion. During the nineteenth century, many of these groups experienced the rise of nationalism and its insistence on homogeneity. The old empires tried to resist these trends, which led to a whole series of regional wars. While they managed to win a few battles, they kept losing the wars. This led to the creation of a large number of states based on the imperative of homogeneous populations.

The book deals with the tragedies of creating and enforcing homogeneous populations. This involved massive population transfers, sometimes voluntary but more often enforced. It involved extremes of violence, from massacres to genocides. It also involved the breakdown of social ties among friends, neighbors, and kin groups.

It is the description of these processes that makes the book so hard to read. The author spares us none of the atrocities and horrors involved. But he tries to capture and maintain the reader's attention by switching formats frequently. Lieberman presents a particular case by citing standard historical materials and amplifies it by citing from witness reports. Unfortunately, none of this allows the reader any faith in "never again."

The book is a useful source of much information that is not widely known. It is supplemented by detailed bibliographical notes, followed by an index.

KURT JONASSOHN,
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MARK STOYLE. *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 297. \$45.00.

In his introduction, Mark Stoye explains that his aim in this book is to "fully explore" the "Englishness" of the English Civil War: the conflict between parliamentary and royalist forces that raged for much of the 1640s, and that has attracted an astonishing amount of historical attention ever since. Stoye wishes to argue that, although many historians now concur that "the Civil War was primarily a conflict about religion," "to many English, Welsh and Cornish people it was about

ethnicity and identity as well" (p. 8). This is an important and potentially fruitful furrow to plow, and the story unfolds clearly and simply. Part one considers the early years of the civil war—when parliamentary forces were largely on the defensive—in relation to what Stoye regards as the five "ethnic" groups that were "strangers" to England and whose members, once transformed into "soldiers," became a catalyst for a peculiarly paranoid sense of Englishness. To this end there are chapters on Welsh, Cornish, Irish, and Scottish participation in the conflict within England, as well as that of mercenary soldiers who flocked from Europe at the outbreak of war. In each instance a particular concern is the treatment of these groups in royalist and parliamentary propaganda. Part two then considers what Stoye describes as "England's Recovery": the manner in which these "strangers" and "soldiers" were defeated and purged from the English body politic and how, as a result, the paranoid nationalism of 1642–1644 mutated into a kind of triumphant imperialism by 1644–1646. Stoye argues in chapter six that central to this process was the formation of the New Model Army, a fighting force that was, among other things, profoundly self-conscious of its Englishness. The final four chapters then describe how parliamentary forces reconquered England, Wales, Cornwall, and the remaining royalist garrisons and strongholds that survived the capitulation of the king.

In terms of its historiographical pedigree, this challenging but ultimately flawed account draws from two approaches to the civil war that have emphasized, often implicitly, the importance of a sense of place in shaping a seventeenth-century person's "culture" in general and political allegiances in particular. The first of these is "localism": the assumption (explored by Stoye in *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* [1994]) that it was in the context of England's provinces and counties, cities and towns, and parishes and manors that meaningful identities and allegiances were forged. The second is the "new British history." This is the ongoing attempt to overcome the innate "Anglo-centrism" of much civil war historiography by integrating Ireland, Scotland, and to a lesser extent Wales into the story—not simply as dimensions of England's troubles but also as distinct spheres and cultures in their own right. A key target of both these approaches has been the politically Whiggish, analytically lazy, and historically anachronistic notion of "England" that dominated the historiography until the 1970s. Localism introduced a historicized concern for locality into debates about the causes and nature of what was traditionally assumed to be a national struggle. "New British" historians transcended the assumption that "England" was the primary theater for civil war by revealing a multifaceted "British" conflict that was variegated in terms of its ideologies, experiences, and identities.

A striking feature of this book is therefore the repositioning of "England" at the center of the story while invoking and talking to historiographies that had pre-

viously, and largely successfully, sought to dislodge its conceptual hegemony. As Stoye puts it, he is concerned with "the extent to which that conflict was viewed by contemporaries as a struggle to defend a specifically English sense of nationhood and identity" in the light of Cornish, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish militancy (p. 8). As might be expected, the Englishness he describes is not one that exponents of the old Whig narrative of civilization and progress would recognize. On the contrary, it is xenophobic, racist, cruel, and ultimately remorseless in its attacks on the Celtic margins that, as Stoye argues, defined it. However, the cost of this repositioning in terms of historical analysis, at least as it is executed here, is high. The precision, subtlety, and depth of source-mining that localism brought to the interpretative table is mostly lost: somewhat peculiarly, and in marked contrast to his earlier work, Stoye assumes that outside Cornwall an undifferentiated and largely unproblematic sense of "Englishness" was the master identity that drove and subsumed all others. Likewise the possibilities raised by the "new British history" are largely ignored. For example, given the broader concerns of the book, it is somewhat odd that the parliamentary conquests of Scotland and Ireland in the late 1640s and early 1650s do not warrant chapters. This despite the fact that the experiences of the New Model Army after 1648, and the representation of those experiences back home, must surely be part of the larger tale that Stoye has decided to tell. It transpires that the omission is consistent with the treatment of the Scots and Irish throughout the book: they deserve consideration only insofar as they directly impinged on English politics and identity.

This might seem acceptable given that the book is ostensibly about Englishness; however, the central conceit at work here is that English identity developed primarily through unequal interaction with its northern and western neighbors. Whether this is true or not, to consider that relationship primarily through the stereotypes used by London-based parliamentary and royalist pamphleteers smacks of nothing less than good old-fashioned Anglocentrism (or perhaps, to use the terminology of Edward Said, a domestic version of "orientalism")—the more so given that Stoye largely ignores the burgeoning Scottish and Irish historiographies on the subject. Nor can it be assumed, as Stoye often does, that the stereotypes and idioms of political propaganda reflected the views of its domestic—English—audience in any straightforward fashion. In this respect, Stoye's early and entirely unsubstantiated claim to have discovered the "common sense" of "many—perhaps most—seventeenth-century English folk" is a worrying indication of the conflation and assumptions that follow (p. 1). These serious problems in approach are compounded by a failure to give the events and concepts of the 1640s any degree of historical context. Instead the book provides, for the most part, a conventional narrative of the civil war that is largely disconnected from the cultural and political developments of the previous hundred and fifty years, de-

velopments that were clearly crucial to the construction of the identities Stoye discusses. This is an approach unsuited to illuminating how early modern notions of place and identity informed, and perhaps contributed to, civil war. Nor does it reveal how those notions themselves altered once the military and discursive battles began.

Most problematic for this reviewer, however, is the approach to language taken in the book, both in terms of the analytical vocabulary deployed by Stoye, and his treatment of contemporary—i.e. seventeenth-century—words and concepts. At no stage does Stoye properly define his terms, leading to degrees of interpretative and analytical confusion. That the book is presented as an "ethnic history" is a case in point. The early modern meaning of "ethnic" was "not Christian or Jewish; Gentile, heathen, pagan," and its modern sense (per the *Oxford English Dictionary*) is "Pertaining to race; peculiar to a race or nation; ethnological." Neither meaning provides an appropriate framework for Stoye's discussion. On the one hand, all the groups described by Stoye justified their participation in the civil wars by religion; many, indeed, perceived themselves as God's chosen people. On the other hand, there is a burgeoning historiography—largely ignored by Stoye—exploring how early modern people conceptualized cultural and linguistic differences: the anachronistic and rather sinister connotations that "ethnic" imports are unnecessary and potentially misleading. This is even more true when the term is applied indiscriminately to groups as different (and internally variegated) as the Cornish, Welsh, Irish, Scottish, and English, and when it is used interchangeably with equally difficult (and equally undefined) terms like "nation" and "nationalism." As slippery is Stoye's use of "stranger" and "foreigner." These were certainly significant and much-used terms in the period, words that were used to define, as Stoye suggests, communities through the exclusion of others. However, the ubiquity of this vocabulary was due in large part to the range of communities that used it in order to identify and protect their boundaries and resources. Parishioners, townsmen, citizens, men of the shire, regional inhabitants: all described those outwith their groupings as "strangers," the term was not peculiar to or indicative of national—or "ethnic"—identity. This is a reminder, finally, that while the book undoubtedly brings an important aspect of the British civil wars into focus, it should not be at the expense of other, equally significant contexts; some of which Stoye has been influential in exploring. This is a book that raises many more questions than it answers.

PHIL WITHERTON
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JONATHAN SCOTT. *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. P. xii, 402. \$75.00.

This book offers an engaged overview of English seventeenth-century republican thought. Jonathan Scott

aims to treat this substantial “body of writing as a whole” (p. x) and to contextualize it. He begins by offering a survey of the burgeoning literature about republicanism, synthesizing and evaluating the many different approaches taken by writers in the field. He does so by examining the contexts that shaped republican writing (part one); analyzing the themes that run across the works (part two); and offering a chronological account of the development of republicanism over time (part three). Such an approach, he believes, avoids pigeonholing republicanism as a single language or prioritizing a particular concept or even one author over another.

Scott’s methodology certainly pays dividends. The contexts shaping republican writing are seen as multiple: classical ideas (via humanism) are considered alongside Reformation Protestantism and state formation in its various guises. This helpfully avoids characterizing republicanism as the product of any one influence, suggesting instead a blend of influences at work. Moreover, Scott’s approach makes it possible to compare and contrast individual writers in their attitudes to key shared concerns (“commonwealth principles”), such as resistance, law, history, liberty, virtue, and empire. The chapter on the latter theme is especially good, ranging from discussions about the need for empire over the self to the “commonwealth for expansion.” Similarly, passages showing Marchamont Nedham’s usefulness to the royalists as a writer who could appeal to the “Leveller” constituency are intriguing. The pervasiveness of Machiavellianism, the debt to Greek thought, godly zeal, and the importance of “interest” theory are all nicely brought out during Scott’s discussions. The commentaries on particular texts are often insightful and can usefully be read alongside the primary material; it is easy to see how certain passages could very profitably be set as advanced student reading alongside a set of texts. The chronological section, too, conveys an important sense of evolution and response to changing circumstances, even if it is rather oddly situated at the end of the book. Scott links the mid and late seventeenth century, aware of change but also of continuities within the republican corpus.

Yet both the structure of the book and the very close engagement with some of the secondary literature cause some problems. Although intended as an introduction, it is likely that a student fresh to the field would struggle with some of the discussion where a good deal of knowledge is assumed. More importantly, although the book aims to contextualize republican thought, and there is indeed a very short section near the beginning that outlines the “social state” described by Patrick Collinson, Michael Braddick, and Steve Hindle, the implications of their studies of local self-governance, participatory office holding, and the early modern “monarchical republic” are not fully integrated into Scott’s analysis of republicanism (and here it is perhaps worth comparing the book with Phil Withington’s recent *The Politics of the Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* [2005], which very

successfully integrates practice and discourse). This means that Scott’s republicanism is primarily about a literary canon (never perhaps adequately explained) chiefly comprising John Milton, Algernon Sidney, Henry Neville, James Harrington, John Streater, Henry Vane, and Nedham. It also means that there is virtually no discussion of the gendered aspect and context of republicanism. A second important historiographical trend missing from the book is what Michael Zuckert has called “new republicanism”: the integration of liberal and republican traditions that have for too long been seen as mutually exclusive. Thus although cited on many occasions as sharing ideas with the republicans, John Locke (and indeed other natural rights writers) hovers in the wings. It would have been useful to have a discussion about how far republican and natural rights theories were compatible in the seventeenth century. Thus while the book is very good on its chosen territory it does omit some important trends that have recently helped to redefine the study of republicanism in interesting ways. Finally, although the claim is made that “there is hardly a single important republican work which is not also fundamentally animated by religious considerations and principles” and that the “greatest shortcoming of the existing literature on English republicanism has been its relative neglect of the religious dimension” (p. 6), Scott is not, even in this respect, as provocative as in his earlier monographs. Even so, as with those earlier works on which this volume builds, there is still plenty here to enjoy.

MARK KNIGHTS
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MALCOLM GASKILL. *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 364. \$29.95.

This is a book more focused on description than analysis. Far from being a criticism, the statement identifies the book’s great strength. Malcolm Gaskill has mined the archives, pamphlet literature, and other sources for the largest (indeed the only truly large) witch hunt in early modern England: that conducted by the notorious witchfinders Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne mainly in 1645 and 1646. Gaskill presents a straightforward narrative of the many trials in which these two men were involved, with extensive digressions to provide necessary context and background information. The events he recounts are gripping, and so is the prose in which he tells his story. Gaskill’s target audience quite obviously includes the general reader, as well as the student and the scholar, and he has produced an extremely readable book.

Tension between popular and academic history is to some degree unavoidable, but Gaskill handles it well, and to good effect. Experts on witchcraft will find, laced throughout his narrative, references to many important themes that have figured prominently in the recent historiography of early modern English and continental witch trials, yet Gaskill more often alludes to these

points than makes them the focus of systematic analysis. For example, he repeatedly references the harsh winters and foul weather that plagued southeastern England in these years, without ever explicitly mentioning the idea of the "little ice age" or scholarly debates about how climate may have affected witch trials. Likewise the English Civil War is constantly in the background of his story. Yet, while Gaskill's narrative does reveal that as-size judges were more skeptical of witchcraft accusations than local authorities, he never overtly discusses the temporary breakdown of larger legal systems brought on by the war or laboriously ties this to the profusion of witch trials. While his focus is on Hopkins and Stearne, he argues throughout that these men could only succeed in their self-appointed task as long as local communities cooperated, making "witchfinders" out of entire populations. Yet this argument, too, rests lightly on his narrative.

Gaskill stresses that England in the mid-seventeenth century was, for numerous reasons, a society in turmoil, and that the world for many *was* turned upside down. The great strength of his book is that it captures this world, evocatively conjuring it into life for the general reader, and reminding the expert that the numerous factors that may have underlain witch trials never operated in isolation but rather interconnected and overlapped to create the conditions from which particular trials might erupt. This is not a book that seeks to explain early modern English witchcraft or witch hunting systematically, or even fully to explain the great hunt of 1645–1646. I would probably not assign it in isolation, yet I would certainly use it to complement other readings in a course on witchcraft. And for anyone wishing to know what it was like to live through a hunt, or merely to live in the time of a hunt, this book would be at the top of my list of recommendations.

There are, of course, various risks and drawbacks to the strategy and style Gaskill has adopted. Hopkins and Stearne are slippery figures. The records recounting their activities and recording the trials they inspired are riddled with holes. Pamphlet literature and later accounts are prone to embellishment, and even the most complete records from this period could hardly supply the detail Gaskill needs to construct his rich narrative. Thus he has recourse to a plethora of moderating terms: "perhaps," "possibly," and "probably" all perform heavy service in his account. Yet given the sort of history he wants to write, there is no way around this dilemma. Gaskill knows the sources, and there is certainly nothing slipshod or lazy about his recourse to possibility rather than fact. At some point, such things become matters of individual judgment and taste, but I found nothing disquieting about his frequent invocation of the probable over the patently confirmed. Many aspects of Hopkins's hunt, like much about Hopkins himself, are beyond definitive historical recovery. Gaskill gives us perhaps the most complete account of these events that is possible, and by moving into the

probable, he presents a rich and useful insight into the world in which witchfinders were able to operate.

MICHAEL D. BAILEY
Iowa State University

N. A. M. RODGER. *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. lxxv, 907. \$45.00.

I can think of no one better equipped to write a book of this type. N. A. M. Rodger is an acknowledged expert on British naval history, particularly of the eighteenth century. He has been working in the field for several decades, and he is able to read literature in an astonishing number of languages. This background enables him to approach his subject with great authority, and anyone reading the pages of this substantial work is bound to be struck by his mastery of the material.

Rodger here carries forward the story told in *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 600–1649* (1997). This new volume charts the rise of the Royal Navy to maritime supremacy, from the days of the seventeenth-century English republic, taking in the Dutch wars, the protracted struggle with Louis XIV's France, the mid-eighteenth-century conflicts that secured British naval predominance, the setbacks and defeats of the War of American Independence, and culminating in the long and bloody contest against revolutionary and then Napoleonic France. But the book provides much more than a well-crafted and clear narrative of naval operations. There are also important chapters, arranged in a broadly chronological sequence, on naval administration, the vessels and technology employed, and the social history of the navy. Rodger, in other words, writes a naval history that takes us into such issues as naval recruitment and promotion, and the impact of naval supply on the British and Irish economies, as well as giving us a good grounding in what the navy was doing as a fighting force. His conclusion offers some interesting—and appropriately wide-ranging—suggestions as to why Britain became the major naval power in this period.

One of the important messages to emerge from this book is that, for all the common association of the navy with imperial defense and expansion, the navy was as much a European as an imperial instrument of British power. The primary purpose of the navy was to defend the home territories from invasion by European enemies (especially France and Spain), and to this end there was always a substantial deployment in home waters. The navy was also used to blockade the ports of European enemies and to support land operations by British and allied armies on the continent. Significantly, the Royal Navy fought no major action outside European waters between the battle of La Hogue in 1692 and the battle of Trafalgar in 1805, with the single exception of the battle of the Saintes in the West Indies in 1782. The paramount importance of home defense, and the limited interest in imperial expansion, was revealed at the end of the Napoleonic wars, when the British re-

turned the Dutch colonies and posts that they had captured in Asia in order to bolster the new Kingdom of the Netherlands. The aim of this apparent generosity was quite simply to prevent the French from gaining easy access to the ports of the Low Countries, from which an invasion of Britain's long and vulnerable North Sea coast could be launched.

Rodger's prose is crisp and accessible, and the book, though very long, is a pleasure to read, either from cover to cover, or more selectively as a work of reference for a particular period or theme. The author argues trenchantly and rarely takes any prisoners. Whether one accepts or questions his judgments, one cannot help but be impressed by the sense that they are based on wide reading and deep scholarship. Rodger's book is bound to remain the authority on the subject for a long time to come. And even when his interpretations are challenged, as at some time in the future they are almost bound to be, the scholarship here will continue to attract anyone interested in the navy in the long eighteenth century. The bibliography, which runs to nearly ninety pages, not only lists almost every conceivable secondary source that other historians might wish to consult (if they are blessed with the linguistic skills to do so), but also adds, in some cases, Rodger's own estimate of their worth. The detailed chronology and glossaries, together with the material in the appendixes on ships, dispositions, pay, officer-holders, manpower, and naval finance, are similarly invaluable.

STEPHEN CONWAY
University College London

ANTHONY CLAYTON. *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present*. New York: Longman. 2006. Pp. xiv, 271. \$32.95.

The officer corps of the British Army always has been a singular organization. While much has changed in recent years, traditionally officers have been largely drawn from the higher social classes. Some regiments required their officers to possess a considerable private income. Snobbery was rampant, with some unfortunate deemed socially unacceptable hounded out of their regiments. There was a cult of effortless amateurism, with bookishness frowned upon, and even the discussion of "shop" (i.e. the profession of arms) was banned in the Mess.

Yet there is another side to the story. There has often been a place for the gifted but impecunious officer who had risen from the ranks. One, William Robertson, rose from a private in the 16th Lancers to serve as the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the professional head of the Army, for much of World War I. The British Army has an impressive, although not unblemished, record of accomplishment in small wars and counterinsurgencies, and after distinctly shaky starts in both world wars, the Army was able to adjust to the very different demands of large-scale high intensity warfare with considerable success. All this suggests that the reactionary, technophobic "Colonel Blimp" figures must have coexisted

alongside at least some highly effective, progressive, and adaptable officers. This tension between these two faces of the British officer corps is a rich field for the historian.

Anthony Clayton's book is an absorbing, broadly chronological study of the Regular officer that begins with the earlier years of the British standing army in the reign of King Charles II and ends with the current deployment in Basra, Iraq. Clayton is exceptionally well qualified to write on this subject. Not only is he a distinguished military historian, but he also served in the part-time Territorial Army (rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel), and taught for thirty years at the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst. Clayton moves easily over the history of the British Army officer, covering such matters as ethos, social composition, duties, officer-man relations, and public opinions of the Army. He does not, on the whole, deal with the details of battles and campaigns. He specifically denies that he has written a history of the British Army, although it reads very much like that in places.

Some of the most rewarding parts of the book are those in which Clayton brings his insights as an insider to bear on the subject. His discussion of the subtle evolution in recent decades of the relationship between the officer and the noncommissioned officer is a case in point. Recent counterinsurgency operations often demanded that the officer adopted an informal, consultative approach, posing problems when circumstances called for a more traditional, hierarchical relationship. Similarly Clayton argues persuasively that over the last few decades the anti-intellectual "Blimps" have been marginalized. The officer who derived his authority from his social position is increasingly being superseded by an officer, drawn from a much wider social pool, who is defined by his or her professionalism.

The problem with such a broad survey as this is that individual sections are unlikely to meet with the full approval of the specialist. Clayton's research seems to be confined solely to published sources, and is marred by the fact that he neglects some of the most important recent work into the British Army officer. For the two world wars, for instance, the books and articles of David French, Ian Beckett, Keith Simpson, Edward M. Spiers, Peter Simkins, John Bourne, and this reviewer are ignored. By contrast, he makes good use of regimental histories that, even after allowances are made for obvious biases, remain extremely useful but underused sources.

One gaping hole is the lack of any attempt to provide a full consideration of temporary and Territorial officers. While largely ignoring auxiliary officers is possible for the period before 1914, it is difficult to come to a proper assessment of the British Army in the two world wars without examining the men who provided the bulk of its officers, not least because regular officers had to interact with them, frequently in a position of command. Indeed, Clayton confuses the issue by quoting from Sydney Jary's *18 Platoon* (1987), which is an ex-

cellent source but one written by a wartime commissioned officer in a Territorial battalion.

Clayton is unfortunate in his timing, in that some of the same ground has been covered by French in his Templer Prize-winning *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army and the British People c.1870–2000* (2005). While French's book is written for the specialist, Clayton's is aimed at the general reader and serves as a useful overview that fills a gap in the market. It offers an interesting way in to the history and culture of the leadership of a 300-year-old organization that is continuing to evolve.

GARY SHEFFIELD
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BRIAN COWAN, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 364. \$40.00.

Brian Cowan's book is a lively and well-researched history of the coffee-house culture of England in the Restoration and the early eighteenth century. As such, it has to do two things. The first is deal with the extensive historiography on the topic. Ever since the nineteenth century, from Thomas Babington Macauley through to George Macauley Trevelyan, the coffee-houses have been one of the great set-pieces of eighteenth-century social history. The baleful influence of much of this work (anecdotal, gentlemanly, belletristic) continues to overshadow much writing on the topic. Cowan's book triumphantly moves the debate forward, primarily by reinvigorating the data and showing heroic devotion to archival research. Cowan not only retells the great anecdotes of coffee-house history—such as the attempt by Charles II to suppress seditious conversation in coffee-houses in 1675—but also finds exemplary narratives of his own, including stories of the fops and beaux of White's Chocolate House during the reign of Queen Anne.

The second problem such a book must face is the theoretical model of the public sphere, derived from the early work of the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas. Although Habermas himself reused the work of numerous Whig historians from Macauley to Trevelyan, it is his name that is most frequently attached to the view that coffee-houses, as enlightened places of genteel sociability, created a new "public sphere" in early eighteenth-century Britain. In the coffee-house, Habermas reiterated, bourgeois men came together without distinction of ranks to participate in a rational and critical debate on literature and, subsequently, matters of public concern. Cowan demonstrates that there is little empirical evidence for the "public sphere," and that for each of the claims that make up Habermas's argument, the evidence represents a partial and perhaps partisan account of a considerably more complex social and cultural phenomenon. Although the book maintains a healthy skepticism toward a public sphere metanarrative, stating unequivocally that few historians have accepted Habermas's "rosy view," the argument nonethe-

less seems to rest on, or imply, its own Whig teleology, which shares much ground with the public sphere argument. The key problem is accounting for how, and when, coffee-houses became associated with rational politeness. The weight of Cowan's argument suggests that they did so around the turn of the eighteenth century; but here the argument might have made more of the difference between arguments about, and demonstrations of, polite coffee-house behavior, between normative argument and empirical data.

Inevitably, there are quibbles. Cowan's research has thrown up enormous quantities of evidence. The footnotes are marvels of compression, packing in vast drifts of evidence, which only occasionally threaten to impede the reader's progress. At times, though, the argument and the narrative drive are weighed down by the need to find a place to fit in all the evidence. Moreover, the argument tends to assume that all kinds of evidence are the same: that vestry minutes and session papers give us the same kinds of information as the political tracts and newsletters of the Exclusion Crisis or the scrabrous town satires of Ned Ward and his ilk. By ignoring the effects of genre and literary diction, Cowan underestimates the literary status of much of his evidence.

The book also, to my mind, over estimates the role of the scientific community in the history of the coffee-houses, to the detriment of the commercial world—partly, in fact, because the empirical habit of the virtuosi left more trace in the archive than the bookkeeping habits of merchants and traders. Cowan suggests that the virtuosi's enthusiasm for exotic medical simples inspired the commercial interest in coffee. The evidence equally suggests the opposite: that commercial interests, especially those associated with the Levant Company, made habitual use of coffee, from where its influence spread to wider communities of drinkers, including curious men of science. Coffee-house life was overwhelmingly commercial and political in its character, even though some social communities dedicated to particular enthusiasms, such as natural philosophy, bookselling, or literary criticism, created distinctive and memorable social spaces. Cowan creates problems for himself with the caffeine debate too. Early chapters of the book, on the rise of the coffee-drinking habit, are animated by an intriguing counterfactual: what if coffee had not succeeded in penetrating the Western markets in the seventeenth century? But if in the end it seems there was a specific quality of coffee that ensured the popular success of the coffee-drinking habit, and thereafter the coffee-house sociability, then the name of that something is caffeine. Such quibbles aside, Cowan's book is an important and beautifully produced work on the history of the coffee-house, especially in its account of the masculine cast of coffee-house sociability, the state regulation of coffee-houses, and the trade of coffee-house keeping in London.

MARKMAN ELLIS
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AMANDA GOODRICH. *Debating England's Aristocracy in the 1790s: Pamphlets, Polemics and Political Ideas*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society. 2005. Pp. x, 213. \$80.00.

According to Amanda Goodrich, Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and Thomas Paine's response, *The Rights of Man* (1791–1792), sparked a pamphlet war in England that lasted until repressive measures in 1796 stifled pamphleteers. Many of the works involved focused on the revolution's social and political implications for Britain, discussing the role and nature of the aristocracy in language that created new definitions of "radical" and "loyalist," and by extension new perceptions (although not necessarily new realities) of the English social structure.

Goodrich analyzed 500 pamphlets published between 1790 and 1796 that included "representations of aristocracy, conscious or otherwise" in their commentary on the French Revolution (p. 14). She argues that Burke's *Reflections*, which began this debate, unintentionally linked England's aristocracy with France's *ancien régime*. Thus, Paine's *Rights of Man* simply built on the duality Burke proposed, portraying a British nation divided between aristocracy and people. According to Goodrich, Paine and his supporters castigated the English aristocracy as "an idle parasitic elite like the French before the revolution" (p. 61). He and fellow radicals praised the French aristocracy's downfall and urged Britain to follow suit, thereby creating a political state based on merit, not birth or status.

This work is most impressive when it assesses embedded meanings in loyalist responses to Paine in 1791–1792 and the changing language of the radical/loyalist debates between 1793 and 1796. Goodrich persuasively argues that the debate was not simply between writers on opposite ends of the political spectrum. Radical pamphleteers were not united on criticisms or remedies, and rhetoric frequently was much more extreme than the radicals' proposed solutions. Nor did loyalists monolithically support the aristocracy and "Church and King"; instead, these pamphleteers argued that the existing constitutional state already had an open elite based on merit, and that this created Britain's flourishing commercial economy. This argument deflected attention away from the aristocracy and allowed loyalists to suggest that Britons should support the existing form of government as the best means to personal wealth and status.

Despite its merits, there are some problems with this book. Nowhere does Goodrich discuss the pamphleteers' audience(s). Although she distinguishes tracts "for the people" from "those directly engaged in the literary debates" (p. 123), the basis for this distinction is unclear. Without information about cost, distribution, sales, and the likelihood that "the people" would have read these pamphlets, it is difficult to accept her conclusion that "the enduring support [for the English constitution] expressed in published pamphlet litera-

ture helped to ensure that no revolution took place in England during 1790–6" (p. 168).

Goodrich also fails to put the pamphlet war into its domestic context, providing only a short summary (pp. 23–28) of prior political controversies that insufficiently links them to issues discussed in the pamphlets (e.g. corruption, the nature of the constitution, taxation). But British reactions to the French revolution were colored by history and contemporary politics, and she ignores one controversy that clearly linked the two: the Protestant Dissenters' vigorous campaign in 1789–1790 to secure full civil liberties. While Goodrich acknowledges (p. 34) that Burke wrote in response to prominent Dissenting minister Richard Price's published sermon, which praised France and called for English political and religious reform, she ignores the widespread public outcry over the Dissenters' organizing tactics and their threat to use electoral influence to remove exclusionary laws. Some believed that this threatened the primacy of the Anglican church and would overturn the existing constitution. This is important background to the loyalist Anglican mindset, but Goodrich never makes this connection and portrays pamphlets by staunch Anglicans solely as a response to French affairs (pp. 85–89).

Goodrich also neglects political caricature, despite the fact that she focuses on "representations" during a period elsewhere known as caricature's "golden age." Although there is a caricature of Burke on the book's cover, in the text she mentions only a single print—by Thomas Hogarth in 1749—when discussing loyalist comparisons between Britain and France in the early 1790s. But contemporary prints that made this point were abundant, so one is left to wonder why Goodrich never mined this rich vein of imagery.

Overall the book tries too hard. "Historians" as a group are the *eminentes grise* of this work, and are repeatedly criticized for neglecting, overlooking, failing to fully explore the subject, or holding common (but presumably erroneous) views (e.g. pp. 80, 91, 97, 106, 107). Somewhat surprisingly in light of this criticism, she did not consult James J. Sack's *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760–1832* (1993). Her concluding chapter, which sketches events up to 1832, makes claims about the lasting importance of this debate on aristocracy, but these cannot be substantiated in such a short discussions. Perhaps this will form the basis of Goodrich's next work. Despite its faults, this book is a welcome contribution to the literature.

TAMARA L. HUNT
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ROBERT DARBY. *A Surgical Temptation: The Demonization of the Foreskin and the Rise of Circumcision in Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 374. \$35.00.

Robert Darby takes on the difficult task of writing a history of the body (or in this case a body part) that avoids the lure of discourse analysis and "mere repre-

sensation" (p. 9) and pays attention to the body itself, focusing on the tangible, material, and corporeal. Darby's subject is the penis, and his purpose is to understand why circumcision became a widely accepted medical practice in modern Britain.

His central argument is that the rise of circumcision as a standard practice in modern Britain was the outcome of several factors, the most important being the masturbation panic of the early nineteenth century, the medical movement toward prevention of disease by sanitary and surgical means, and the importance of nerve force theory. He argues that circumcision arose in the nineteenth century as a preventive health measure, to control a pathologized male sexuality with its attendant nervous afflictions, and to prevent venereal disease. Darby's work draws heavily on the work of other scholars: Roy Porter, Michael Mason, Thomas Laqueur, Hera Cook, John Tosh, Peter Gay, and Janet Oppenheim, to name a few. He brings their ideas and findings together in exploring the larger medical and sexual context for the rise of circumcision.

The strengths of this work are several. First, Darby's detailed attention to the penis, and especially the foreskin, fulfills the promise of attention to the corporeal. Second, he gives detailed attention, particularly in chapter six, to the ideas of William Acton, a medical man whose views are often cited but not often examined in detail. He argues that Acton's views of sexuality and disease were central to the rise of circumcision (although Acton himself never endorsed its widespread use). Moreover, Darby's scope is wide ranging. Although his central geographical focus is Britain, and primarily England, he draws evidence, illustrations, examples, and anecdotes from other locations—the United States, France, Germany, Italy, India, and Australia among them—and a time frame that reaches from the ancient world to our own day. Particularly illuminating are the author's suggestions as to the reasons for differing histories of circumcision among English-speaking nations.

However, Darby tends toward hyperbole, claiming for example that "The masturbatory hypothesis was . . . a crucial step in the rise of the medical profession" (p. 61). And he offers undocumented, perhaps undocumentable, claims of, for example, Acton's "important contribution . . . to medical understandings of genital function, masturbation, childhood sexuality, and the problematization of the foreskin" (p. 119). On occasion he contradicts himself. For example, he argues for the "widespread adoption of circumcision" (p. 188) but later insists that it had a "brief life span" and that "even at the height of its popularity it was still a minority practice" (p. 313). Finally, Darby does not always resist the temptation to the double entendre. Some readers may be amused, others not so much.

For many readers this book can be a rich guide to the wide historical literature on modern English medical and sexual thought and practice. Given that our knowledge of historical bodies is largely lodged in words, perhaps the task of avoiding representation and discourse

analysis is easier said than done. Still, Darby's work offers an example of how to make the attempt.

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JENNIFER TUCKER. *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 294. \$55.00.

Jennifer Tucker's book is a challenging exploration of how, when, and under what conditions photography came to be seen as an enhanced representational tool for a range of scientific practices in Victorian Britain. Her story is not about the application of a static tool—photography—to a stable practice—science—but the dynamic co-constitution of both. Definitions of science, she observes, were hotly debated at the time of the advent of photography, and she argues that not only did demands of science help to shape a photographic community and its technical/moral standards, but that photographic imagery helped a certain form of science—middle-class, progressive, utilitarian, institutionalized—to triumph over other possible models.

Tucker's focus on the limited field of scientific photography is dictated by both historical and "political" considerations. Though less circulated than other types of photographs, Tucker claims that scientific images "had a disproportionate hold on people's concept of what photography was" (p. 8). It was also the case that, from the very inception of photography, British scientists were closely involved in defining the meaning and limits of photographic observation. Photography was seized upon by early Victorian naturalist communities, and consequently an aesthetic derived from natural history collecting was transposed onto photography even in nonscientific contexts; the first international photography contest, held at the 1851 Great Exhibition, was presided over largely by men of science who, through their judgments, projected a set of protocols for valid scientific visualization and experience. Scientific considerations also had an impact on the development of photographic techniques, for example in the gradual acceptance of collodion, which produced images of greater detail, sharpness, and contrasts than the more textural and nuanced calotype process favored by artists.

Alongside this evocation of a mutually constituted history of science and photography, Tucker sets out a case for its significance for a contemporary politics of knowledge. An historical perspective on the claims to photographic truth is essential, in her view, in understanding and critically evaluating our own highly visual age, especially questions about the evidentiary status of visual material. Our own relationship to photography as evidence, Tucker argues, is one of tension: while many accept it as the preeminent form of proof, in the age of digital technology there is both professional and public awareness of the scope for manipulation. It is one of

Tucker's main aims to show how that tension is not new: writing against the traditional views of nineteenth century people as naively uncritical about photography's truth status, Tucker shows not just that skepticism existed but demonstrates how the imbrication of science and photography helped to generate it.

To do this she draws on a wide range of primary sources (photographs, newspapers and magazines, laboratory notebooks, scientific and trade journals, private correspondence, popular science works) and insights stretching across academic disciplines (British intellectual and cultural history, the history of science and medicine, visual culture studies, women's studies). But it is two concepts drawn from the field loosely described as "science studies" that provide her analytical matrix: Peter Galison and Lorraine Daston's concept of "mechanical objectivity" as an ascendant normative ideal for representing scientific findings, and Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer's "invisible technician," which foregrounds the social and material relations that go into the making of an ostensibly objective matter of scientific fact. Tucker shows how the history of scientific photography unfolds along a complex set of tensions between and within the ideals of objective and embodied (artistic, technical) work. The most significant finding of a particularly strong first chapter, for example, is that the ideal of mechanical objectivity in early photography was the product of social, gender, and commercial pressures, not the assumed "natural" position of photographic pioneers, and that by articulating the terms under which photographs might (and by extension might not) be mechanical, the nascent community of scientific photographers educated and alerted the public as to the specific conventions and conditions out of which photographic "objectivity" was constructed.

The book's structure is thematic rather than strictly chronological, with chapters on such diverse topics as spirit photography, photographing weather phenomena, photomicroscopy in the bacteriological laboratory, and the production and circulation of photographic representations of Mars. There is an underlying chronological narrative linking these studies, however: that of the transition from an early fluid relationship between photographic/scientific amateurism and professionalism and their related aesthetic and technical conventions, to a later version of institutionalized, science-driven photography claiming to advance the threshold of visibility (and thereby knowledge). Along the way there are some fascinating discussions: the technical and moral policing of the "darkroom"; the battle waged by would-be scientific meteorologists against popular and artistic conventionalized representations of lightning bolts; the interdependent relationship between sketched, photographic and cartoon images of germs, to name only a few. Analysis of photographic sources, of course, is of critical importance in such an undertaking, and this is something that Tucker does well, aided by the fact that her publisher has allowed her to assemble almost seventy images, mostly drawn from

outside what she calls the iconic "signature images" known to historians.

Books with scope and ambition inevitably fall short in certain respects, and here Tucker's is no exception. Tighter editing would have improved the book, both in terms of preventing occasional factual lapses and of enhancing narrative and analytical clarity. The driving arguments of several chapters, moreover, invite further discussion: her use of the *Photographic News* as the voice of an emergent (and ultimately triumphant) community of middle-class, utilitarian, and scientific photographers makes one wish that she had devoted some space to an alternative viewpoint, the calotype-loving aesthetes, for example, to show us precisely how, and to what degree, the conventions championed by the *Photographic News* won out. At times the examples selected for analysis are not delineated clearly enough for the reader to appreciate their relevance. Chapter two's opening discussion of the Tichbourne claimant trial does little to elucidate the actual content of debates over the photographic evidence presented at court; chapter four's discussion of photomicroscopy's participation in stabilizing the "microbe craze" confuses debates about microbial existence with those about microbial function—despite Tucker's attempts to keep them separate. But readers from a wide range of disciplines will, I am sure, be ready to overlook such shortcomings in a book that offers them so much.

IAN BURNLEY

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KATHARINE ANDERSON. *Predicting the Weather: Victorians and the Science of Meteorology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. x, 331 \$45.00.

This is an original, ambitious, and well-researched study that fills up a significant lacuna in the historiography of meteorology. Katharine Anderson's book recounts the efforts of the up-and-coming Victorian scientific community to constitute a science of the weather. These efforts were largely unsuccessful. The British weather proved too complicated for the Victorians to master. The result was a scientific venture of a lower kind—a large but crude enterprise, generating much data out of which neither theoretical understandings nor accurate predictions have emerged. Scientifically uneventful, the Victorian science of the weather has attracted little historical attention. Historians of the Victorian era largely ignored it, while historians of science concentrated either on the more authoritative nineteenth-century American efforts, or on the twentieth-century developments leading to the modern science of meteorology.

Out of these shallow historical and scientific waters Anderson extracted a rich and nuanced narrative about Victorian science and culture. She starts in the 1840s, with the rise of telegraphy, which for the first time allowed information about the weather to travel faster than the weather itself. It ends in the 1880s, when steam power replaced sail, thereby reducing the urgency for

accurate weather prediction. This era was crucial for the development of Victorian science at large. At the start of the 1830s, it was little more than a fashionable club controlled by amateur gentlemen of independent means. By the 1880s, it was a thriving national enterprise that had successfully challenged the intellectual authority of religion and metaphysics, enlisted government support, and established its methods of quantified analysis and empirical verification as a new and superior norm of truth. Anderson ably connects these two stories by using the tribulations of the science of the weather as a springboard to discuss the difficulties and challenges faced by the Victorian scientific enterprise at large.

Anderson launches her study by examining the early Victorian notions of prediction in various fields such as science, theology, history, business, and law. Their alleged intimacy with the uniform laws of nature allowed Victorian men of science to claim authoritative knowledge about both past and future. This set them against other Victorian figures—theologians, prophets, historians, lawyers, traders—who also made competing claims about the past and the future. Tracing prediction across such wide cultural spectrum allows for a rich discussion about the ambitions of Victorian science and its critiques. Chapter two takes a closer look at the role of popular weather prophets in shaping the Victorian discourse of weather prediction during the 1840s. Focusing on the tradition of weather prophecy and its distinctive mass-media form—the almanac—provides a valuable discussion about the role of popular media in the circulation of scientific knowledge, and the shifting boundaries between scientific and popular knowledge in Victorian culture.

Hinging on the revolutionary technology of the telegraph, the science of the weather ushered in a new scale of activity involving large networks of observers, steadily sending data from all corners of the empire to a scientific center for processing. This large-scale activity and its obvious utility for the maritime empire perfectly fit the ambitions of the scientific elite, strengthening the case for a government-sponsored research. At the same time, the crude nature of the new science and its correlation with utility and public sponsorship brought to the surface fears innate to the scientific elite: that the idea of science as a search for truth would be overpowered by the demand for useful knowledge, and that the progress and values of science would be threatened by a gradual offset in the balance between research and application. Chapter three and four probe the complex interplay of these ambitions and fears, as reflected in the careers of the British Meteorological Department, established in 1854, and its famous director, Vice-Admiral Robert Fitzroy, who two decades earlier had captained the *Beagle* around much of the world, with the young Charles Darwin on deck.

Chapter five focuses on the emerging practices and technologies of the new science. The lingering failure to decode the unruly weather by numbers, Anderson argues, begot technologies of measurement and repre-

sentation that tried to incorporate the sensibilities underlying the traditional forms of weather wisdom; hence, for example, the marked development of weather mapping techniques. The argument is intriguing but limited. A comprehensive analysis of the Victorian efforts to objectify the weather would have to consider other central technologies, such as barometers, rain gauges, and air balloons.

The last chapter turns away from the vagaries of British weather and politics to the imperial settings of India. The relations between Britain and its crown colony were a key question in the 1870s, as were the relations between science and government. Anderson correlates the two, trying to show how the Indian weather provided a showcase for the relevance of science to the modern state, while the new science of the weather provided a natural foundation for British imperialism. Whether she succeeds or not, her book is a powerful example of the new and sophisticated scholarship generated by young historians of science, eager to traverse the boundaries between history of science and other historical subfields in search of a richer account of science as a major force in modern history.

TAL GOLAN
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DANE KENNEDY. *The Highly Civilized Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 354. \$27.95.

Sir Richard Burton (1821–1890) was a soldier, explorer, writer, consul, and translator of protean energy. He helped push back the frontier of British colonization in northern India, translated the *Arabian Nights* (1885–1888), was one of the only Europeans to visit Mecca, and sought the source of the Nile. Burton's notion of a "Sotadic zone," a world-encircling belt of torrid regions where sodomy was supposedly rife, is one source of his lingering fame. His investigations of homosexuality, and the burning of unpublished (and reputedly prurient) manuscripts by his widow, invite speculations concerning Burton's own sexuality. Personal proclivities and the legend that he created around himself have led to Burton being seen as a Victorian eccentric, an exception to the rule of nineteenth-century standards of behavior and belief.

Dane Kennedy's goal in this attractive volume is to demythologize and rehistoricize Burton. One great merit of the volume is to take Burton seriously as an intellectual, and indeed to view him as a quintessential civilized man of Victorian Britain. The breadth of Burton's knowledge, the unbounded nature of his curiosity—especially for little known corners of the globe—and his involvement in British expansion make Burton a figure worthy of higher status among Victorian cultural figures than he is usually accorded. His explorations and translations contributed significantly to furtherance of knowledge about Arabia, the Indian subcontinent, and eastern Africa. Especially in writings

on the Muslim world, Burton tried to break through prejudices and challenge stereotypes, and his flirtation with Islam served as a challenge to the religious verities of Britain. His interest in sex, says Kennedy, may or may not reflect personal desires, but what remains important is that Burton counts as a pioneering sexologist among such commentators as Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter. Although Burton made many blatantly racist and racist comments about people outside Europe, particularly Africans, his writing nevertheless develops a perspective of cultural relativism; unlike contemporary observers, Burton moved away from a physiological to a cultural perspective on racial difference. Though an eminent nineteenth-century man, his ideas thus foreshadow a transition to twentieth-century modernist consciousness.

Kennedy has read Burton's eighty volumes and archival material scattered in various repositories, and his deep knowledge of Victorian society and of imperialism is clear in each chapter. So, too, is Kennedy's familiarity with various theories of cultural studies, from performativity to hybridity. Yet nowhere do these theories overwhelm a clearly written and agreeable text, and Kennedy steers away from conjecture, especially psychological analysis, where evidence is unavailable. Kennedy writes with obvious sympathy for a colorful and complex figure, but this book is not hagiography. Burton's faults, sometimes even questionable ethics, for Kennedy make him such an interestingly emblematic personage.

That said, the feeling lingers, especially when Kennedy talks about Burton's estrangement from the domestic world of Britain, that the conventions against which he rebelled remained constrictive. Most of his compatriots would have resolutely resisted recasting British society for it to be more congenial to a temperament like that of Burton. Perhaps the author essays a bit too forcefully to propel Burton towards a modernist, relativist view of the world. After all, he viewed black Africans as an inferior human species hardly capable of improvement (although slavery might provide a civilizing agent). If Burton tried so hard to situate himself in the interstices of cultural divides, he had clearly moved away from the center of Victorian gravity where Kennedy wants to lodge him. Kennedy's intriguing argument that racism paradoxically freed Burton from evaluating Africans by British standards is carefully articulated, but some readers may not be convinced.

In a similar fashion to Linda Colley and Catherine Hall, although here with useful concentration on a single man, Kennedy is interested in examining the ways that commercial, political, and cultural encounters overseas, both individual and national contacts, formed British identity in the age of empire. Although opinions differ about how deep an imprint expansion left on Britain, and historians such as Bernard Porter have expressed reservations about a profound and omnipresent influence, no one can now see Britain as an insular country. In Kennedy's work, Burton is a fine case of the

extroverted nature of British culture. Kennedy's work admirably explores an individual's—and a nation's—engagement with a world that remained weird and wonderful, suggesting broadly that “the great intellectual challenge of the nineteenth century was to make epistemological sense of this world of difference.” Ambiguities, ambivalence, contingencies, opposition to orthodoxy, he implies, are character traits of Burton and Britain. Relativism, Kennedy concludes, is yet another characteristic credited to exploration, travel, and the experience of wider horizons. Exposure to foreign difference both made and unmade the Victorian view of the world.

ROBERT ALDRICH
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MORRIS B. KAPLAN. *Sodom on the Thames: Sex, Love, and Scandal in Wilde Times*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. 314. \$35.00.

In recent years, historians of London have begun to explore how the streets of the metropolis functioned as both gendered spaces and sites of sexual opportunity. Early modernists like Laura Gowing (*Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* [1996]) have mined court records to uncover the intricacies of gender identity formation and sexual relations. Similarly, cultural historians of the modern period, following the lead of Judith R. Walkowitz's *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (1992), have shown how privileging gender and sexuality as categories of analysis adds to our understanding of the urban experience.

Morris B. Kaplan's study builds on this work by examining how some now quite infamous male historical actors traversed urban spaces and negotiated their sexual desires for other men. In so doing, he effectively situates his book in two new areas of scholarship: one that privileges the history of modernity and its most quintessential figure, the urban flaneur, and another that explores the history of sexual subcultures. This study should, then, be read alongside a growing body of work on London's queer history. Harry Cocks (*Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* [2003]), Matt Cook (*London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* [2003]), and Matt Houlbrook (*Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* [2005]) have all drawn attention to how modern sexual identities were created, how male desire was regulated, and, finally, how queer Londoners helped to shape the city.

Kaplan's book is not, however, a detailed cultural history (like Houlbrook's impressive study) but rather an exercise in historical narrative. Convinced of the power of narrative in recreating the late Victorian sexual landscape, Kaplan's queer history focuses on a series of well-known if, in some cases, understudied scandals: the Boulton and Park scandal of 1871, in which the adventures of two cross-dressing men were revealed when they were tried for conspiracy to commit sodomy; the

1889–1890 Cleveland Street affair, where it was discovered that a brothel, catering to the socially prominent, employed adolescents who worked, simultaneously, as telegraph boys for the Post Office; the 1871 resignation of the Eton schoolmaster, William Johnson, for allegedly inappropriate romantic attachments with his students; and, finally, the 1895 trials of the renowned aesthete and author, Oscar Wilde.

By privileging storytelling, and rejecting discourse analysis, Kaplan aims to historicize desire, effectively showing how these cases ultimately “resist easy assimilation to contemporary [sexual] categories” (p. 6). He also seeks, while limiting his interpretive asides, to illustrate how particular forms of desire between men came to be read as signs of cultural malaise after 1870. Of equal significance is Kaplan’s willingness to use historical sources to reveal the fluid, and occasionally conflicted, nature of sexual desire.

Kaplan’s abilities as a storyteller are evident in each of his quotation-rich chapters, which focus on the particulars of the four scandals. Based on a careful examination of legal documents in the National Archives, close readings of press accounts, memoirs and personal letters, and an interesting 1881 pornographic novel, these case studies highlight not only the complexities of gender transgression and sexual desire in the latter decades of the nineteenth century but also the intertwined histories of the British political and legal systems and the dynamics of class relations. In his dissection of the Boulton and Park scandal, for example, Kaplan illustrates the existence of a queer subculture that possessed both its own coded language and a distinctive ability to challenge traditional gender roles. Similarly, his exploration of Johnson’s resignation from Eton and his lifelong friendship with his former student, Reginald Brett, reminds us of just how complex intergenerational relations between men could be in elite educational institutions where classical ideals of pederastic love held considerable sway. In examining the Cleveland Street affair, Kaplan shows how, in a climate of increased vigilance and concern about the social implications of male love, “Same-sex desire was assimilated to child abuse and class domination” (p. 191) in the popular imagination. Each of these preceding scandals figured prominently in the 1895 prosecution of Wilde for “gross indecency.” For Kaplan, the Wilde trials, during which public memories of these earlier episodes were frequently invoked, “crystallized anxiety about the reach and limits of male friendship in both pedagogical and political contexts” (p. 250).

There is much to commend in Kaplan’s eminently readable account. His revelations about how the public world of the courtroom and the private world of the bedroom overlapped and clashed in these personal dramas, his careful exploration of the ways in which class position inflected sexual and gender identities, and his privileging of narrative in writing the history of sexuality all help him to establish the point that “ambiguity, vacillation, and opacity are inherent in desire” (p. 270). Like all good scholarship, however, Kaplan’s study

raises a number of questions. What, for example, is lost in the reliance on narrative? Does eschewing a fully integrated cultural analysis ultimately detract from the author’s ability to establish the complexities of each case’s historical context? In particular, I am thinking about the occasional tendency of the author to simplify, for the sake of his narrative, the nature of cross-class relations during this period. In his consideration of middle and upper-class desires for younger, working-class men, he might have explored more fully the implications of the social and sexual exchanges that occurred when West End gents went “slumming” for “rough trade.” Also, while Kaplan attempts, in often convincing ways, to link the study of sexuality with the study of gender, he tends to neglect the burgeoning scholarship on the history of British masculinities, an omission that makes his arguments about gender fluidity and ambiguity slightly less forceful. Still, Kaplan is to be applauded for telling these stories more completely, for identifying them as crucial events in understanding the regulation of same-sex desire, and, finally, for ensuring that the work of queer historians reaches a wider audience.

PAUL R. DESLANDES
University of Vermont

PAUL R. DESLANDES. *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 319. \$45.00.

Few institutions can match England’s ancient universities, Oxford and Cambridge, in laying claim to having shaped their nation’s history as incubators of its values, visions and leaders. As Paul R. Deslandes notes, an astonishing forty out of the fifty-three prime ministers who have governed since Robert Walpole in 1721 were educated at these two institutions (p. 233). Histories abound of the universities and their constituent colleges, but Deslandes is the first to focus on undergraduate masculinity in relation to class, race, and national and sexual identities. He draws heavily on several hundred periodicals and magazines, most ephemeral effusions such as *Snarl: An Occasional Journal for Splenetics* (1899), along with more familiar and long-lived productions such as *Oxford Magazine*. While it will come as no surprise to most readers that Oxford and Cambridge were bastions of elite, white male heterosexual privilege, Deslandes’s Oxbridge is neither serenely self-satisfied nor isolated from broader social and cultural debates. He identifies four competing male undergraduate personae—the aesthete, the athlete, the reading man, and the aristocratic blood—recognizable by the way they furnished their rooms, the organizations they joined and supported, and the networks of sociability they constructed. Deslandes’s male undergraduates—“gentlemen professionals” (p. 38)—are a feisty lot who fret about examinations as manly combat and wage “miniature rebellions” (p. 97) against dons, deans, and proctors over curfews, dress codes, sex, and

the numbers of guests permitted to enjoy supper in their rooms. They also wrestle with weightier issues such as the status of women and growing numbers of non-British and nonwhite students in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

While this study emphasizes continuities across the period it surveys (1850 to 1920), it does argue that the *fin-de-siècle* was marked by an intensification of beliefs in white racial superiority and in men's need to maintain the university as a masculine domain. Deslandes contends that the increasing emphasis on the "athletic ethos" provided a ritualized masculine culture of sport (p. 157) that responded to the perceived threat of women at the university while encouraging "heterosexual sociability." Several scholars have studied female undergraduates and their campaigns to gain degrees within larger narratives about women's rights and the struggle for gender equity, and Deslandes revisits these debates as episodes in the history of masculinity. He offers a lively reconstruction of men's response to "Feminine Fanatics" who, some feared, sought to transform Cambridge into a "Hermaphrodite Compound" in their 1897 quest for degrees (p. 207). Male undergraduates starkly differentiated "fair visitors" of the "gentle sex" who came to witness their athletic prowess on the Cam and Isis and to dance with them at May Balls from ambiguously sexed female students at the women's colleges who dared to compete with them for academic distinctions such as senior wrangler. In the imagination of most male undergraduates, female students remained "wholly incompatible outsiders" (p. 193).

Deslandes reorients the historiography of sexuality at Oxford and Cambridge away from its focus on celebrated examples of homoeroticism to the institutions and rituals of heterosexual courtship. Readers are more likely to meet undergraduates larking with young women near the Oxford city band than to learn about John Maynard Keynes and Lytton Strachey's musings about higher and lower sodomy as Cambridge Apostles. While aware of such currents in undergraduate life at Oxbridge, Deslandes usefully shows that "heterosexual romance, courting, and liaisons, not romantic friendships with other men, dominated the sexual development of most undergraduates" (p. 30).

Deslandes is at his best when he delves deeply into a particular episode and readers can glimpse his main characters. He demonstrates the connections between "professional prospects, the ethics of fair competition, upper-middle class masculinity and familial responsibility" (p. 150) in his deft reconstruction of the Reverend Samuel P. Downing's successful campaign in 1882–1883 to restore the name of his only child Reginald to the Classical Tripos list, previously removed on the grounds of cheating. Likewise, Deslandes resurrects an eerily contemporary controversy over what was—and was not—acceptable speech on campus when Lancelot Julian Bathurst (son of the sixth Earl Bathurst) was held responsible for an article attacking "miscalled women" students for relishing rather than blushing at the "stronger bits" of a university lecture on

Oedipus Rex in 1888 (p. 197). The subsequent bonfires, petitions, and protests in favor of Bathurst—including the formation of the short-lived Oxford Undergraduate Revolutionary League—did not sway the dons of New College, who sent him down for nearly a year. But Deslandes observes that such protests deepened male undergraduates' solidarity with one another and allowed them to assert their own vision of robust masculinity in the face of unwanted female interlopers.

Deslandes's principal sources—student magazines and periodicals—capture well the varsity ethos with its mingling of pompous self-importance and youthful high-jinks. Readers will relish the generous inclusion of witty illustrations drawn from them, a salutary reminder that *Punch* never monopolized the production of satiric images in Victorian Britain. If Deslandes's materials are often over the top in their silliness, he is sometimes too intent on taking them seriously. We get Pierre Bourdieu on "collective acts of consecration" (p. 17) and Victor Turner on the "liminality" of undergraduates who were neither children nor adults (p. 49), but far too little about how, why, and under which conditions his sources were produced. This book captures well the rhythms and rituals of undergraduate life. However, undergraduates' inner psychic worlds remain elusive, perhaps because Deslandes chose not to delve into the abundant collections of private papers—letters and diaries—written by varsity men during and about their time at university. Such materials might have clarified what was at stake in their representations of varsity life in print by contrasting them with the meanings and interpretations students imposed upon their experiences in their more intimate writings and private reflections.

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JULIE-MARIE STRANGE. *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870–1914*. (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 294. \$85.00.

The shame of pauper burials, the scandal of bodies dissected by medical students, ostentatious funerals, feckless mothers who "buried four" of their children: these stock images are what is best known about death and the Victorian poor. Julie-Marie Strange's remarkable book leaves such stereotypes far behind with a probing and original study of working-class ideas about death and experiences of mourning in the late Victorian and Edwardian years.

A monograph on grief, an emotion so intense yet so particularized and varied in its expression, is an ambitious undertaking, and Strange does not shirk her task by using statistical proxies or other devices to simplify and neutralize the subject. Indeed, she defines death and grief broadly: caring for the dying; laying out the body; practices and meanings in funerals, burials, and cemeteries; and family and neighborhood participation

in mourning. Her research plan is extremely imaginative. She supplements the hundreds of autobiographies and oral histories she has read so thoughtfully with many other sources. Cemetery and vestry records of all kinds are mined on burials and families' desperate efforts to procure private burial plots and to finance commercial funerals; Poor Law records on pauper burials; Medical Officers of Health notes on sickness and deaths.

For her fine-grained reading of the gradations between working-class stoicism and emotional display, Strange is actually indebted to her *bête noire*, David Vincent, who in 1980 wrote an essay titled "Love and Death and the Nineteenth-Century Working Class." Vincent's study is simplistic in comparison with Strange's book, but his bold claims have helped Strange to formulate her own far more nuanced ideas. Throughout her book she is at pains to refute Vincent's position that, because of their material conditions, working-class people, unlike the middle classes, could not indulge in demonstrative forms of mourning; grief was, to them, a "luxury" (p. 12). In Strange's view, tireless care of the deceased when ill and concern with the management of the body were full demonstrations of love and grief, even if the bereaved seemed to say little about their loss. Nor were familiarity with death, pragmatism, and fatalism tantamount to indifference or lack of feeling. Historical actors' grief cannot be disentangled from their practical concerns with burial costs or lost wages. Among the poor, a death could indeed very likely unleash a chain of misfortunes involving more illnesses, or the loss of a breadwinner or family earner—from which it is impossible to isolate "pure" grief.

A book claiming to describe death, grief, and poverty in Britain as a whole over two generations might well be greeted with skepticism. While Strange's study is very gender-conscious, it is not specifically concerned with regional variations, nor is does it explore the epistemological difficulties of describing the emotional lives of a whole population. These weaknesses are very much minimized, however, by the author's geographically and sociologically wide-ranging and thoughtfully chosen sources. She has raided record offices in Bolton, Liverpool, and Wigan as well as two county record offices—Gloucester and Lancashire—to learn about practices in smaller towns. Moreover, she has found interesting and oblique ways of attacking her subject, most intriguingly by scrutinizing burial board and cemetery administrative records along with the case records of two mental hospitals in Lancashire—through which it becomes clear that the loss of a close relative of any kind was the event that often precipitated the acute mental illness of single women in particular).

The author's eye for vivid detail, huge repertoire of examples, and generous understanding of working-class culture lead to many fresh insights. To take just one, Strange demonstrates the cultural emphasis on physical contact with the dead. Laying out the corpse at home, a nearly universal practice, was a valued aspect of this stage of bereavement, and the local women who

specialized in preparing cadavers were often skilled at managing the emotions of loss at this early stage. Knowing exactly where their dead were buried—marked by a headstone—was another form of physical contact with the dead and a passionately desired element of mourning. Thus a burial from the workhouse was abhorred not just as a matter of lost status but also because it meant that the corpse could not be kept in the home, and the grave could not be visited.

ELLEN ROSS
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ANNE CLENDINNING, *Demons of Domesticity: Women and the English Gas Industry, 1889–1939*. (Modern Economic and Social History Series.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2004. Pp. xvii, 352. \$109.95.

This book is not about evil household spirits. In Britain between 1889 and 1939, demon was shorthand for demonstrator: an educated, middle-class, middle-aged woman paid to teach other women how to cook with gas. Anne Clendinning's book explores the important roles of these demons, as well as the general roles of women in the growth of the gas industry. While chapters one through three chart the rise of the lady demons, the three final chapters explore post-demon, female replacement workers during World War I and the grand promotional schemes of the interwar period. It is a fascinating, hitherto untold story that touches on a broad range of themes that overlapped in the half century under study: domestic science, professionalization, progressive technologies, consumption, separate spheres, household labor, industrialization, and women's rights.

Clendinning's approach, with a special focus on gender, is original and convincing. Refuting the notion that the gas industry was solely motivated by the apparent popularity of electricity in the 1880s, she argues that the lady demons occupied a liminal realm between the producers and consumers of domestic technology. "The use of women experts to mediate between male producers and female consumers helped to domesticate, perhaps even feminise, gas technology, engendering sales and challenging gendered assumptions about the corporate sphere," Clendinning explains (p. 3).

The book's concentration on a single industry, gas, is both its strength and its weakness. The author's careful scrutiny of everyday sources such as the *Journal of Gas Lighting* and a 1911 poem by a demon gives readers a sharp sense of the characters who made British gas a modern industry and the unusual positions they occupied between the home and the corporation. The book opens, for example, with the lovely tale of lady demon Ethel Margaret Lovell-Wright taking top honors at the International Gas Exhibition in London in 1904. Her prize was a gold watch, traditionally the symbol of corporate masculine respectability. At the same time, readers are left wondering about other professional women whose paid work took place in the homes of others. Lady decorators, realtors, health inspectors, music teachers, even lady doctors walked the same fine

line between feminine respectability and manly enterprise.

Especially compelling is Clendinning's interest in trade exhibitions, and the conception of both selling and cooking as spectacles. Chapter two, "Exhibitions and the Spectacle of Selling," examines trade shows as sites of entertainment, education, leisure, and commerce. Inspired by the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and worried by the success of the Electrical Exhibition of 1882, the gas industry held an exhibition in 1882–1883 that revolutionized its commercial practices. In order to counter public opinion of coal gas as an outdated fuel, the industry linked gas lighting and cooking with public health and housing reform. Lady demons were essential to this transformation of public opinion. Beginning in mid-1888, sales of gas stoves escalated due to the great success of traveling cooking demonstrations staged by lady demons. Blank forms to rent stoves were distributed to audience members during the popular shows, which were often held in town halls. "It was part of the process of feminising the gas cooker by shifting its association away from the public institution of the restaurant or the hospital, and into the private scullery of the middle-class home," says Clendinning (p. 67).

This work, although a business history of selling gas, is not a book that explains how gas appliances and fittings worked or who designed them; how gas technology changed British kitchen plans or eating habits; or how women's highly visible role in gas companies affected utilities pricing. Clendinning's study belongs, instead, with fine social and cultural histories like Angel Kwolek-Folland's *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office 1870–1930* (1994) and single-occupation books like Susan Porter Benson's *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (1986), feminist works that challenged and complicated Alfred Chandler's explanation of the rise of managerial capitalism. Clendinning's questions extend beyond the corporation itself to scrutinize the cultural context of particular decisions, such as the invention of the penny-in-the-slot prepayment meter of the 1890s and the promotion of stoves through rental/credit schemes. How did such practices impact women consumers, she asks. What does the lowly gas stove tell us about imperialism?

The book's twenty-four illustrations are unfortunately reproduced very poorly, which may mean scholars of material culture and architecture will find it disappointing. For researchers in social, cultural, and business history, however, the lady demons are still a spectacle.

ANNMARIE ADAMS
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LOWELL J. SATRE. *Chocolate on Trial: Slavery, Politics, and the Ethics of Business*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 308. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Cadbury has long been associated in Britain with ethics and progressive social policy, both because of the antislavery position associated with its Quaker founders and because of its model village of Bournville, which housed some company workers at the end of the nineteenth century in exemplary conditions. Lowell J. Satre challenges this image through a detailed examination of Cadbury's use of cocoa beans farmed by slaves in the Portuguese island colonies of São Tomé and Príncipe off the coast of Angola between the years 1901 and 1909.

Although Portugal had abolished slavery in all of its colonies by 1870, it allowed contract labor. Natives could sign agreements of their own free will by which they committed themselves to five years' labor at a set wage. Under this system by 1900 Angola shipped about 4,000 *serviçais* a year to São Tomé and Príncipe to work on cocoa plantations. In reality, the workers were coerced, repatriation was all but impossible, and the death rate was as high as twelve percent. Cadbury, Satre shows, was one of the main customers for the crop farmed by this de facto slave labor. By 1900 Cadbury purchased forty-five percent of its cocoa beans from São Tomé. By 1907, long after the labor practices in the Portuguese colonies had come to light, Cadbury still imported 7.4 million pounds of cocoa beans from São Tomé, about thirteen percent of the island's total exports (p. 80).

There is considerable evidence, presented in detail by Satre, that George Cadbury was well-informed that slave labor was producing the beans that made his chocolate. As early as 1901, Cadbury had heard reports of slave labor. In 1905, Cadbury finally sent an agent, Joseph Burt, to investigate. Journalists were well ahead of him. In 1905, Henry Woodd Nevins wrote an investigative article for *Harper's Monthly Magazine* entitled "The New Slave Trade," an expanded version of which appeared as a book, *A Modern Slavery*, the following year. The *Daily Mail* reviewed the book and criticized "Quaker houses who largely advertise their preparations of cocoa but singularly enough never mention that the main ingredient is slave labour" (p. 54). In 1907, press coverage escalated when, in a high-profile article in the *Fortnightly Review*, Nevins alleged that "One-fifth of all the chocolate eaten and cocoa drunk in the world is the produce of slave labour and the cocoa and chocolate makers of Great Britain have been indirectly employing one-third of the slaves on the islands" (p. 82). The Cadbury agent's report was released to the public in 1908. The Burt Report concluded that thousands of black men and women were being transported against their will to work in unhealthy conditions from which they would never return; "if this is not slavery, I know of no word in the English language which correctly characterizes it" (p. 93). The whole controversy came to a head when a newspaper editorial appeared in September 26, 1908, in the *Standard*, overtly contrasting Cadbury's reputation as a "philanthropist and friend of humanity" with the conditions of the slaves in São Tomé. Cadbury, who felt he had been pub-

licly accused of being a hypocrite, sued the *Standard* for libel. At trial Cadbury's defense was basically that he had spent a great deal of money and time investigating the workers' conditions. If his response seemed slow or inadequate, it was because he had been in constant contact with the Foreign Office which had advised him to work with them to pressure Portugal to effect change. In 1909, when it was obvious that this tactic was not working, Cadbury stopped using beans from São Tomé. The jury found in favor of Cadbury, but obliged the *Standard* to pay damages of only one farthing, a mixed judgment which allowed Cadbury's critics to feel that he had been justly exposed. Ultimately, Cadbury's business continued to thrive (albeit with beans from the Gold Coast, not São Tomé) and so did coerced labor in the islands until São Tomé gained independence in 1975.

Satre's book presents a wealth of description about Nevinson's investigative work, about Cadbury and his dealings with the Foreign Office, his correspondence with Burt, and his response to the controversy. All of this is set within its political context. But Satre does not include the reaction of consumers. Did trade journals, such as the *Grocer*, express much interest? Were buyers of chocolate products prepared to boycott, as they had Lever Brothers' soap in the same period for price fixing? Finally, with the Foreign Office records now public, the reader is left to decide whether it is credible that Cadbury was genuinely trying to act as a force for good.

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CHRISTOPHER HILLIARD. *To Exercise Our Talents: The Democratization of Writing in Britain*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 390. \$29.95.

Perhaps the urge to write for publication is a rather mysterious impulse. To express oneself? To leave some words behind that might survive? To make a contribution to thought, society, progress? To make some money and to spend time doing something that might not be tedious or physically exhausting? To be creative in a way that one can continue as long as one is interested? These questions are prompted by reading this superb study of the vast expansion of the act of writing by more and more members of the middle, lower-middle, and working class in Britain. Such developments, as in the case of others in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth, represented both the growth of skilled amateur activities and the expansion of professionalism. In the world of writing, as elsewhere, the British displayed their proclivity to form organizations.

One of the many innovative aspects of this book by Christopher Hilliard, based as it is on extensive use of the archives that have survived, is an emphasis on the provinces, as well as on the suburbs, getting away from a London-centric view. The major continuity throughout is the founding and persistence of formally organized writers' circles. In them like-minded individuals could

get together to give one another encouragement, set up workshops, hear speakers, and perhaps make themselves into better writers who could sell nonfiction pieces and short stories to the expanding newspaper and magazine markets. Novels tended to be harder propositions, as quite a few would-be authors accumulated pages and pages of text that were routinely rejected by publishers. There is a fascinating discussion of the development of ancillary businesses called forth by the expansion of the urge to write. The establishment of literary agents came about at the upper end of the trade and further down correspondence schools developed to teach men and women how to write for fun and profit. Hilliard takes a rather indulgent view of the latter and may not sufficiently allow for those who were out to make easy money feeding off the dreams of frequently untalented would-be writers. The writers themselves tended to be driven by two contrary impulses, one to write dashing fiction that would indulge their own wishes, and those of their readers, to escape from the everyday world through adventure and romance, and the other to write about what one knew. Gender played an important role, and Hilliard cites husbands who felt that their wives might be neglecting their families to pursue writing. But there were far more men involved in the writers' circles than one might expect, particularly in the years before World War II. As Hilliard concludes: "The writers' circles created a space in which respectable, unostentatious people could pursue creative ambitions, and fashion themselves as creative, special people, without renouncing their normal lives" (p. 68).

A parallel, yet connected, aspect was the emphasis, particularly in the 1930s, on emerging working-class authors, and publishers were urged to be on the outlook for them. John Lehmann, the middle-class, left-wing poet and publisher, was something of a hero for his encouragement of working-class writing and his publication of the work in his hugely successful *New Writing*. It is a characteristic British paradox that Lehmann, a representative of the high literary establishment, should be such a successful cultivator of working-class talent. For part of his career he worked at Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press. In the contrast between realism and modernity in Woolf's famous essay, "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown" (1924), the writers Hilliard studies were definitely on the side of the realism of Arnold Bennett. Authors whose names still have some resonance are discussed: James Hanley, B. L. Coombes, Jack Common, George Garrett, and Sid Chaplin. Flora Thompson's masterpiece, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (1945), was perhaps the greatest work to emerge from this movement. It was in part the product of writers' circles and the giving of advice and mutual support. The British Communist Party played a role as well, most notably in what it published in the *Left Review*, edited by Randall Swingler and then Edgell Rickwood.

Hilliard continues his study through World War II and beyond. In his fine discussion of writers from the armed forces it becomes fascinatingly clear what an in-

fluence the movement he discusses has been in Britain. So many turned to poetry under the stress of wartime. The most distinguished writers of the period, such as Alun Lewis, did not fit the definition of *The Times*' call for latter-day Rupert Brookes in "Where are the War poets?" They were less likely to be from the traditional officer class. World War II writers tended to be rather toned down, eloquent in their ordinariness, one might say in the spirit of the writers' circles.

Hilliard has brought to our attention a barely known and important world. This is a quietly heroic book in which many intriguing individuals are rescued, allowing us better to understand British society. To write and publish required art, but it needed to be supported by commerce, an income to provide "a room of one's own" in which to write. Some succeeded; many did not. Many were weavers of stories; now their stories have been told. As in the best monographs a whole new area is illuminated, in this case "the democratization of writing in Britain."

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PAUL WARD. *Unionism in the United Kingdom, 1918–1974*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xi, 243. \$85.00.

As Paul Ward rightly suggests, the story of the development of separate nationalisms within the British Isles is all too often seen from a teleological perspective, the inevitable resurgence of Scottishness and Welshness as Britain lost an empire but did not quickly "find a role" (as Dean Acheson famously put it in the 1960s). In the year in which England's participation in the soccer World Cup led to English cities (and especially their public houses) being awash with the red-and-white crosses of St. George, a flag that has had no official status since 1707, it is all too easy to accept such a view, even with respect to the English, never mind the smaller national groups which combined into the United Kingdom from 1536 onwards. Yet, for several centuries, unionism—that is to say, the active endorsement of a united nationality within a single kingdom—was a positive creed as well as the default assumption, actively endorsed indeed by Scots, Welsh, and Irish public figures, as well as by anglicizing colonizers and an English majority population.

In his book *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism and the British Left* (1998), Ward explored the ways in which such "patriotic" emphases were not the sole preserve of the political Right, and in *Britishness since 1870* (2004) he contributed persuasively to the growing literature on the broader issues of competing and overlapping expressions of national identity. Here he examines the phenomenon of unionism, and its active survival into the period 1918–1974, when Irish independence had already blazed the trail for national autonomies within the British Isles but before Scottish, Welsh, and Ulster separatism became serious threats to the British state. He tackles the issue by offering short

essays on the essentially separate unionisms of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland and illustrates his theme in each case with two or three biographical studies of Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish political careers that were lived out within the unionist framework. That structure makes for some inevitable repetitions but largely comes off, and in the process sheds a great deal of light on the forces that made unionists (if not necessarily Unionists in a party political sense) of such diverse figures as David Lloyd George's political heirs Megan and Gwylim, Walter Elliot, Tom Johnston and Huw T. Edwards, Lady Tweedsmuir, and Dame Dehra Parker. A number of interesting, if minor, political lives are thus exhumed from the darkness into which they had already descended, due weight is given for once to the significance of women in the political operations of Edinburgh, Cardiff, and Belfast, and the many-sided activism of ideological unionism is illustrated, even in the period in which, according to previous assumptions, it should objectively have been far more apologetic, if not actually silent.

It becomes clear that the political figures studied here were each capable of maintaining in their minds a sense of multiple identities, being perfectly aware of their local nationality while at the same time seeing unionism as a natural corollary of that Scottishness or Welshness—and in most cases seeing a firmly-acknowledged local nationality as an essential part of what they could contribute to the whole, especially when acting on a worldwide, imperial stage. The relationship of multiple identities with the decline of empire after 1945 is thus shown to be far more complex, and the eventual disappearance of peripheral unionisms far less inevitable than has often been assumed. Yet the decentralized nature of Ward's book, and the essentially secondary (at best) caliber of his biographical subjects, tend to undermine any far-reaching or coherent conclusion, except that demonstration of previously unacknowledged complexity. None of his subjects held very high office at Westminster, in some cases because they never sought it, and some of the Scotsmen and Welshmen who did indeed go on to higher things would not fit Ward's framework half as well as the secondary figures who did not: we may think of Lloyd George or Alec Douglas-Home. It is hard to resist the conclusion that Walter Elliot and Tom Johnston were stressing their mediating status within a still-unionist political culture because they did not have it in them to rule the British Empire as dominant metropolitan celebrities, but still needed to protect their seats and their backs from the voters back home. Aneurin Bevan succeeded at Westminster and played a self-consciously Welsh part on the big stage, without ever seeing the same need, and without diluting his belief in centralization with any sort of multilayered quasi-unionism. It is, in short, hard to see these secondary figures as holding back the tide of separatism, and fairly easy to view them as floating along on its ebb tide while it lasted. In that sense, the tele-

ology still seems to work, even if the process was more complex.

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FEARGHAL MCGARRY. *Eoin O'Duffy: A Self-Made Hero*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 442. \$35.00.

Eoin O'Duffy, Irish Republican Army (IRA) general, police chief, and later leader of a semi-fascist organization usually referred to informally as "The Blueshirts," was born Owen Duffy in the Irish border county of Monaghan in 1890. He was born into a poor agrarian society polarized between Protestant and Catholic; in this Monaghan was much as was the rest of the northern province of Ulster. After partition, Monaghan was one of the three Ulster counties that went with the Irish Free State, the other six counties becoming the British province of Northern Ireland. Fearghal McGarry has written a life-and-times biography of this fascinating figure, almost forgotten for a long time until disinterred a generation ago by Maurice Manning in his classic book *The Blueshirts* (1972). McGarry has done an excellent job in excavating O'Duffy's life, plowing through unsorted material in archives to build up a picture of a man very much of his times and reflecting in his personality and passions the mental state of an entire revolutionary generation.

O'Duffy was of humble background; he had above-average administrative ability and capacity for leadership. He was very active in the Irish struggle for independence, often referred to by veterans as "the Tan War" in reference to a British paramilitary force well known for its brutality and bravery, the "Black and Tans." When a treaty was signed between the Irish leaders and the British Government on December 6, 1921, O'Duffy sided with the pro-treatyites, who included his friend and mentor, Michael Collins. He found himself in reluctant conflict with the anti-treaty side of the old Sinn Féin movement led by Eamon de Valera. Eventually he became chief of police, or senior officer of the Civic Guard or *Garda Síochána*, the new unarmed police force that replaced the old armed Royal Irish Constabulary in the new Free State. The modern-day Republic of Ireland is one of three democracies in the world to have a tradition of unarmed policing by "civilians in uniform," the others being the United Kingdom (outside Northern Ireland) and New Zealand. Much of this achievement is to O'Duffy's credit, although it must be said that the Civic Guard was also the product of a lucky accident; it was originally intended to arm the new police force, but it had been infiltrated by the anti-treaty IRA and had to be stood down, disarmed, and re-enlisted.

Like many revolutionaries in Ireland and elsewhere, O'Duffy had a strong, even neurotic, personality, as McGarry makes clear in one of the most illuminating passages in this study. An eyewitness described

O'Duffy's most striking characteristic as being the "piercing blueness of his eyes," which he was well able to use to intimidate subordinates. He was a rather solitary figure and tended to bury himself in work, putting in seventeen-hour days and using late-night card games and drinking sessions for recreation. As it did for many of the leaders of the Sinn Féin movement, independence proved a disappointment to him; not only was Ireland partitioned, but it was unregenerate. Ordinary Irish people persisted in speaking English rather than returning to the dying Irish language of the nation; as he complained, the Irish were becoming more anglicized than ever.

He was obsessed by sport, and with the moral caliber of the young men of Ireland (young women do not seem to have been a problem). In 1932, ten years after partition, de Valera came into power democratically, leaving the pro-treatyites in opposition. O'Duffy, long impressed by Benito Mussolini's Italy, attempted to form a mass movement on fascist lines, the Army Comrades Association or Blueshirts. IRA and Blueshirt gangs clashed on the streets of Dublin, in a semi-farclike reenactment of the Civil War. Eventually de Valera declared the IRA to be illegal and also made illegal the wearing of unofficial military uniforms. The Blueshirts collapsed, having lost their credibility and any middle-class support they might have originally enjoyed because of the extravagant and exaggerated behavior of O'Duffy and his lieutenants.

O'Duffy attempted to recoup his fortunes by organizing a pro-Franco brigade to fight in the Spanish Civil War. Again, the outcome was a mixture of tragedy and farce, and the O'Duffyite brigade came to very little. O'Duffy died in wartime Ireland a broken man, having consorted with German spies. He came to be seen as a Nazi collaborator and a political bankrupt. McGarry has done a path-breaking professional study of an almost forgotten but very significant man who was important not only in himself but also as an example of a social type. O'Duffy epitomized so many of his generation of Irish nationalists in his puritanism, uncertain sexuality, idealism, authoritarianism, and deep disappointment with his fellow countrymen.

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THALIA BRERO. *Les baptêmes princiers: Le cérémonial dans les cours de Savoie et Bourgogne (XV^e-XVI^es)*. (Cahiers Lausannois d'Histoire Médiévale, number 36.) Lausanne: Université de Lausanne. 2005. Pp. 468.

Under the aegis of Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani, the *Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale* have for more than twenty-five years published much research on witchcraft and criminality, demography, attitudes of life and death, funeral rites, children and the young, local feudal lords, the history of the Vaud, and finally, on the house of Savoy. In examining the baptismal ceremonies of the dukes of Savoy, Thalia Brero now takes up the

challenge of local history. Her study shows how much local history can enliven historical research.

Brero proposes here to extract the meaning that princely dynasties of the Renaissance assigned to ceremonies accompanying the baptism of their heirs and the reasons for the splendor that surrounded them. The first chapter presents the historical context of the baptisms under examination. The beginning of the sixteenth century was a difficult period for the duchy of Savoy, which found itself caught between the hegemonic aspirations of Francis I and Charles V. With the marriage, in 1521, of Charles II of Savoy to Beatrice of Portugal (the future sister-in-law of Charles V), the choice was made in favor of the imperial party, to the detriment of the traditional alliance with France. This couple produced nine children; only one would survive to adulthood, succeed his father, and assure the destiny of the line.

Two of the six boys born to Charles II—Adrien, the first born who died early, and Emmanuel-Philibert, the future duke—have, thanks to Brero, a central place in the historiography of these rituals, for their baptisms were made the subject of exceptionally precise accounts. Along with other more fragmentary narratives that extend to the early seventeenth century, they are one of the major sources of her study. The author also relies on some descriptions of birthing rooms, the most celebrated of which, *Les Honneurs de la Cour*, written around 1484–1487 by Eléanore de Poitiers, deals with the birth ceremonies at the court of Burgundy; we have here a real guide for use, but also to sumptuary regulations calibrated to the slightest social differences. Finally, if the Savoyard baptisms have not left traceable accounts, other princely and royal courts provide the author with a harvest of complementary information starting from the end of the thirteenth century.

The first part of the book consists of a very detailed commentary of each phase of the ceremonies, approached through different sources (pp. 7–280). After a brief iconographic dossier, the second part offers an edition (and a translation, for the *Adrianeo*, written in Italian) of narrative texts concerning the two Savoyard baptisms (pp. 281–363). These are followed by synopses reconstructing the composition of various baptismal processions and by a substantial biographical repertory.

Brero follows the coming into the world and the welcoming of the little princes from the first days of their mother's pregnancy to the return to the church after the baptism. Of the five chapters devoted to the intense moments of the ceremony, it turns out that the specifically religious element of the ritual, common to all Christians, is somewhat eclipsed in these narratives; rather, they emphasize the power and unity that were, on one level, demonstrated by the organization of the rooms and chambers around the new mother and her child, and, on another, by the processions between the residence of the prince and the church. These processions, whose composition and order varied between the end of the fifteenth century and that of the sixteenth, throw useful light on the transformations of the court of Savoy

and its administrative apparatus alike. The identification of the participants in the ceremony and those receiving the message expressed by its pomp are a strong point of Brero's book. By playing a role in the spectacle, or by reading the account of it sent to them, foreign princes, lords depending on the duchy, members of the ducal administration, simple subjects, and occasional spectators or guests were invited to recognize the power of the prince and to confirm the strength of their connection to him. More briefly, the pages consecrated to godparenting and to the practices in the naming of the infant illuminate aspects rarely treated with regards to princely baptisms.

The place that women, and godmothers in particular, played in the retinue, their specific roles in the ceremonial, the baptism of girls, the exchange of gifts around the cradle and the birthing bed, the relationships between festivities linked to the baptism and to marriage merit—as the author freely acknowledges—deeper analysis, here prevented by the documentation. It remains that Brero has uncovered some fascinating aspects of princely culture at the end of the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, while insisting on the political meanings of their mechanisms and their changes; ceremonial continuity but also the possibilities of innovation; the reciprocal inspiration and the fashions circulating between European courts, including the “ceremonial espionage” they engaged in; and the genre of superficially stereotypical accounts in which the turn of a particular phrase of the ceremonial could reveal a specific function or the personal status of their author. This is to say that the author has not only broadened the chronological and geographical context of her inquiry and consulted ceremonial practices quite far from the little Savoyard court, but also tackled problems touching on European culture as a whole.

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ROBERT DESCIMON and JOSÉ JAVIER RUIZ IBÁÑEZ. *Les ligueurs de l'exil: Le refuge catholique français après 1594*. (Epoques.) Seyssel: Champ Vallon. 2005. Pp. 317. €26.00.

This book by Robert Descimon and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez takes up the history of the ultra-Catholic League that seized power in late sixteenth-century France at the point that most other historians abandon it: Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism in 1593. This event is usually seen as marking the beginning of the end for the League; everything that followed Henri's 1594 entry into Paris, which had bitterly resisted his claims to the throne, was a kind of mopping-up operation, with his ultimate triumph all but assured. Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez remind us that Henri's victory only looks this certain in hindsight. The radical members of the League who fled when Henri entered Paris or were subsequently exiled on his orders did not by any means believe that this reversal signified the final defeat of their cause. Taking up residence in other Leaguer towns or

across the border in the Spanish Netherlands, they continued the fight with swords, sermons, polemics, and prayers. Each used the weapon that suited his talents and experience: noblemen served with their retainers under Spanish command, clerics warned that Henri's false conversion undermined the sanctity of the state, and jurists published treatises justifying continued Spanish intervention in French affairs and even urging the election of Philip II as king of France.

Whatever their city of origin, most refugees lost property and past sources of income in their flight. Shifting their allegiance to the Spanish crown, they sought payments and pensions from Philip II. The records of their appeals for aid and of the payments they subsequently received, dispersed among archives in Belgium, Spain, Italy, and France, form the documentary base for this study. The list of refugees compiled from this base favors the exiles from northern French cities who sought refuge in Brussels, because this is where the archival record is strongest, but the authors have also tried to track down the smaller number of refugees from southeastern France who sought the protection of Catholic powers in Italy and Savoy. Because of the nature of the sources, moreover, the authors can tell us more about aristocrats who fought under the Spanish flag than about merchants and artisans who fled for religious reasons (or to escape retribution for past actions) but were unlikely to receive pensions from the Spanish crown. And, of course, these sources tell us nothing about League activists exiled from their native cities who found refuge elsewhere in France.

Despite these inherent limits, the picture the authors draw from their sources is an interesting one. It is not surprising, given the wartime situation but also broader social values, that aristocratic warriors who brought their troops over to the Spanish side received more favorable treatment than commoners in terms of both immediate and continuing payments. This was true even for the duc d'Aumale, whom the Spanish quickly recognized had little leadership ability on or off the battlefield. Among commoners, those who received the best treatment were men personally known to the duke of Feria, who had commanded the occupying army in Paris and, out of a sense of obligation, secured modest pensions for exiled members of that city's League.

As the authors recognize, the urban exiles, although less favored by the Spanish crown, have greater historical significance than the handful of nobles who, with their several hundred retainers, turned their allegiance to Spain. It is the former who gave the exiles a common purpose in articulating an ideology that justified continued resistance to Henri IV's right to rule, and many readers will find Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez's discussion of the ideological foundations of this "last League" (p. 139) the most interesting part of the book. They show that the "Spanish League" was a tardy invention and drew its support not from venal traitors who filled their pockets with Spanish doubloons—that was a myth disseminated by the League's enemies—but rather from committed Catholics who refused to accept Henri

IV's conversion as valid and came to see Philip II as the only viable alternative. There was, moreover, a distinct ideological break between the arguments radical Leaguers had earlier made for putting Philip II's daughter Isabella on the French throne and those later articulated by the League-in-exile for naming Philip himself as king of France. The former arguments rested on Isabella's status as the granddaughter of Henri II; the latter derived from a much more radical theory of elective kingship.

Given the intrinsic interest of these arguments, it is puzzling that the authors felt the need to introduce their book with an apologetic disclaimer denying any attempt to rehabilitate the League's radicals (p. 7). Surely no one could mistake this erudite study for special pleading. In any event, the level of detail and assumptions of previous knowledge make this a book that will hold greater interest for scholars already familiar with the history of the League than for casual readers.

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BRUNO RESTIF. *La révolution des paroisses: Culture paroissiale et réforme catholique en Haute-Bretagne aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles.* (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2006. Pp. 415. €24.00.

Bruno Restif set himself the daunting task of studying the application of the Catholic Reformation at the parish level in three dioceses (Rennes, Dol, and St. Malo) that together constituted most of Upper Brittany before the French Revolution. His great advantage and challenge was that the archives of the 469 parish and parish equivalents involved became available for study when they were deposited in the archives of the département of Ille-et-Vilaine in the 1990s.

The words "revised doctoral dissertation" are often a warning of tedium to come. Not so in this case. Restif's research extends from the mid-fifteenth century, when parish financial accounts began to be recorded in registers, to the mid-eighteenth century. He concentrates on the years between the first decade of the seventeenth century and the first third of the eighteenth century. His purposes are to study religious change from parishioners upward, rather than from bishops downward, and to contribute to the rejection of the stereotype of passive early modern peasants upon whom an active and enlightened elite imposed its ideas. Restif shows that acculturation took place, but on a two-way street.

Restif studies parish finances, changes in church architecture, organization of "sacred space" within the churches, confraternities, provisions for prayers for the living and dead, reception of the sacraments, religious feasts, and preaching. In other words, all of those things that registers of pastoral visits can reveal. Unfortunately, there are not many of these available for the three dioceses, but the author has more than compensated for that by his intensive use of all the contents of parish archives, not just financial records, as well as

synod records, liturgical books, parish mission reports, inventories after death of the clergy, and documents concerning presbyteries. He also used the religious art found in the churches and oral traditions collected in the nineteenth century.

Restif finds that parish life was dynamic in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cited are church enlargement and decoration, the separation of the sacred and profane spaces and development of chapels within parish churches, along with increased devotional activity and participation in parish administration by a significant number of individuals.

The author places the start of the Catholic Reformation in Upper Brittany in the second decade of the seventeenth century and shows that it began simultaneously in rural and urban areas. While the reforming activities of bishops were significant but sporadic, the effort to separate clerics from the laity and to emphasize clerics' roles as pastors and models of Christian life developed throughout the 1600s. Pastors took more control of parish finances during these years. At the same time actions of the Parlement of Brittany led to the development of parish oligarchies.

Preaching, instruction, confession, and devotional confraternities were the key means used to internalize and standardize Catholicism. Church redesign and embellishment emphasized the Mass and created drama. Popular devotions to saints and religious processions provided excellent opportunities for Restif to study "negotiated acculturation" in which clerics and laity reached compromises.

Restif believes that the Catholic Reformation in Upper Brittany came to an end during a transition period that began between 1680 and 1690 and ended between 1710 and 1730. He cites intertwined financial, intellectual, and religious reasons for this. In most respects, excluding chronology, the Catholic Reformation of Upper Brittany is that of all of France. The real value of Restif's work is that he shows in great but readable detail when and in what forms it developed in three dioceses that were both similar and different.

The bibliography reveals the depth and breadth of the primary research involved and shows that Restif has read widely in French and English. I have one reservation: that he does not recognize the full extent of self-generated reforming activities in many parts of sixteenth-century France, including the ecclesiastical province of Tours of which his three dioceses were part. Rather, he is a captive of the prevailing thesis that the Catholic Reformation in France arrived in the southwest in the early seventeenth century, as a result of external influence.

What is much more important is Restif's thorough and innovative use of parish archives and every other possible source of information. Everyone interested in the social and religious history of early modern Europe is deeply in his debt for this extraordinary study of parish life in early modern Upper Brittany.

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JAMES R. FARR. *A Tale of Two Murders: Passion and Power in Seventeenth-Century France*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 225. \$21.95.

James R. Farr situates readers in the city of Dijon, Burgundy, France, as witnesses to a criminal inquiry from 1639 to 1643: Philippe Giroux (a *président à mortier*, Parlement of Dijon) was accused of murdering his cousin, Pierre Baillet (*président*, Chambre des Comptes), and his valet, last seen entering Giroux's house (September 1638). The influential Giroux family, nobles of the robe and clients of Henry II de Bourbon, prince of Condé, governor of Burgundy (first cousin of Louis XIII), figured in the investigation begun six months later (March 1639). The scrupulous Lantin inquiry found no eyewitnesses, murder weapon, or body, and hence made no arrest; but Lantin was dismissed. The zealous Millière-Jacquot inquiry (1640–1643) led to the arrest and imprisonment of Giroux (1640–1643); yet that dossier fell short on the same evidentiary fronts.

What was the evidence? Motive: Giroux's affair with Marie Fyot (Baillet's wife), which some linked to the death of his own wife, Marie Le Goux de La Berchere (1636), was not proven. Opportunity: Baillet was seen entering Giroux's house (1638) but may have left later to meet creditors, or travel to Italy (as some heard say). Circumstantial evidence: this indirect evidence requiring speculation was not sufficient to obtain a murder conviction (by procedural rules). Concrete evidence: there was no direct evidence—two eyewitnesses, or a confession from the accused—that rules required. Forensic proofs: the proof most vital to convict for murder, a dead body, was missing. At this critical juncture, with the prosecution stymied (1643), a tip from Pierre Saumaise de Chasans (*conseiller* in the Parlement), sworn enemy of Giroux, led to the discovery of two sacks of bones. The father of the accused, Benoît Giroux, admitted hiding the sacks after someone threw them over his garden wall three months earlier. Still, an inspection of bones and bits of clothing did not identify the men, or connect the bones with murder, or tie Giroux to the bones or murder. Departures from procedure were troubling as well.

Procedural rules: departures from legal procedures give pause. The length of time allowed for the investigation, almost four years (1639–1643) without concrete proof, was prejudicial. Time allowed a second *monitoire* (1640) that fueled more rumors; revisits to witnesses, some tortured; and cases taken up on the side, *Moreau v. Saumaise* (rape, 1640) and *Rhodot* (infanticide 1641). Confusion resulted. Servants changed stories twice or thrice; townspeople passed on third-hand hearsay; some took bribes; others left town or died; and dirty deeds intruded. Time also effected a major scandal that surely influenced decisions made by the prince of Condé, patron of the Giroux family. And time gave Saumaise de Chasans opportunities to mount public attacks against Giroux and arguments for a grave departure from procedure: to allow a murder conviction.

tion based on circumstantial evidence without a dead body identified (March 1643). Farr places these judicial proceedings in a wider historical context.

Historians have observed social patterns among the judicial elite; noted the workings of venality (offices tied to inheritance) wherein women owned and inherited offices, passed them to heirs (women and men), and invested capital in such ventures; and identified the Marital Law Compact (unique in early modern Europe) securing family and state control of marital unions. In this book, readers watch the men and women whose lives shaped those systems: judicial officeholders attain nobility, children intermarry, and families pay for dispensations to allow under-age sons into offices; Jeanne Burgat (Baillet's mother) advances the money to purchase his office; Fyot and Baillet share a marriage punctuated by violence, Giroux and Le Goux de la Berchere one marked by indifference, and both unions stagger under the deadly weight of severe marital distress. Besides perils facing noble families, threats to commoners are recounted.

Working people caught in a criminal inquiry faced serious risks. Judges ordered torture legally, but also illegally, as in the second round suffered by the servant Eleanore Cordier (1643). Judges tried and acquitted doctor Lazare Rhodot on infanticide charges (1634), but illegally retried and sentenced him to the galleys (1641). With procedural rules thrust aside, the cunning counterbehavior stands out: lying, disinformation, disappearance, and, above all, negotiation to survive an inquiry. In this tale, negotiating skills are apparent at all levels of society; therefore, Farr's imposition of Michel Foucault's theory framing the "meaning of order" during the 1600s in a "hierarchical mold" (pp. 201–202) does not fit the facts. Foucault's inflexible theory of authority wielded top-down is detrimental to the work of historians who do not wish to conceptualize power, or knowledge, or discipline raining down from those above upon those below who do not raise an umbrella. That is why historians more often prefer the insights of Pierre Bourdieu offering a flexible "theory of action" tied to "practical reason" (goals sought) whereby authority (or knowledge, or discipline) is negotiated among parties in various directions (top-down, bottom-up, side-to-side). Bourdieu's multifaceted and dynamic "theory of action" pushes historians to account for human agency; Foucault's ordered and static "hierarchical mold" hides agency under the weight of hierarchy.

In my experience, Farr's book is a fine teaching tool. Wrapped in taut suspense, readers are gripped by indecision: guilty, not guilty; could be, maybe not. Adopting a smart strategy, he does not take a stand for or against the Giroux verdict (1643), so students may be asked to summarize evidence on both sides—reason about it—and offer verdicts of their own. A compelling historical narrative based on careful scholarship, this book is a valuable addition to studies of early modern France.

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KATE VAN ORDEN. *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 322. \$40.00.

As a musically challenged French historian, it was with trepidation that I approached this book. An initial flip through it confirmed my fears. There were pages of musical notation, some reproductions of sixteenth and seventeenth-century originals. And the text could be equally daunting. For example, one finds the following comparison of two pieces of music by the composers Janequin and Le Jeune: "Janequin employs large infusions of *musique concrète*, extreme rhythmic values, shifting meters, and textures ranging from imitative polyphony and polyphonic cacaphony to homophony. Le Jeune works within a musical language unfailingly committed to homophony and a vocabulary of minims and semiminims keyed to the stressed ("long") and unstressed ("short") syllables of his text . . . There is no Phrygian here, just seven B-naturals in one section of a massive piece otherwise entirely in F, with its standard B-flat" (p. 32). Fortunately, the book's technical sections (which will surely be of great interest to historical musicologists) are fairly self-contained. The uninitiated can skip them without losing the thread of the book's main argument. And a very significant argument it is.

Kate van Orden convincingly demonstrates that music was critical in building a new social and political order after the Wars of Religion: "If the arts of power aimed to engage subjects in the orders of absolutism—its hierarchies, armies, chivalric confraternities, Gallicanism, academies, and court—few could surpass the effectiveness of music . . . Music was a magical tool of command, an *instrumentum regni*" (pp. 283–284). She highlights the musical basis of a wide range of absolutist ideas and practices that have rarely (if ever) been considered from a musical perspective: the "domestication" of the French nobility, fencing/dueling, Jean Bodin's theory of absolutism, horseback riding, musketry, and pike drill. The book is well argued in limpid prose. The author is as much at ease in the world of the word as in that of music.

Space prevents me from discussing all of the practices van Orden examines. I will restrict myself to the two main issues she treats: the relationship between music and war and the role of music in the construction of absolutism. While reminding us that music was part of the "civilizing process," van Orden points out that music was also valued for "its ability to incite violence" (p. 29). Through an examination of dance and music, she analyzes the deep ambivalence of early modern France toward violence. Private war, civil war was to be restrained, in part by the calming effects of music. But military virtue remained the defining characteristic of the nobility, and music had a role to play in maintaining it. A musical/mathematical order presided over the martial activities—fencing, riding, and dancing (an aid to balance as well as a social necessity)—taught at the increasingly popular military academies for young nobles. On the field of battle, certain rhythms were

thought to encourage valor, and by the seventeenth century they were being used to regulate marching, volley fire, and pike work; the military revolution observed “a specifically musical protocol” (p. 204). Indeed, van Orden argues, the “military dream of society” described by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977) had roots in the *ballet de cour* (p. 188). Even lute playing (no noble was considered fully educated without this skill) served a military as well as a civilizing purpose; it helped “internaliz[e] musical proportions that governed both physical and moral action” (p. 53).

Music and dance were also put to work representing absolutist authority. Their role in “civilizing” the nobility (while simultaneously honing their martial dispositions for royal use) has already been noted above. Traditions of social dance at Court—particularly the athletic *gaillarde*—enacted this militarized civility under the eyes of the monarch. The *ballets de cour*—described by van Orden as “war on another stage” (p. 104)—also advanced the absolutist project. Far from rejecting violence, they incorporated it as a symbol of the royal monopoly of the legitimate use of force (an intriguing twist on Eugen Weber). Sacred music, too, played a role in establishing monarchical supremacy. On this subject, van Orden has written a nice chapter on the struggle of French kings to seize the *Te Deum* from popular Catholicism and turn it into a musical expression of triumphant majesty. Finally, in one of the book’s most interesting sections, van Orden shows how Bodin’s theory of absolute monarchy was based on “harmonic principles.” In his *République*, “harmonic theory became the mathematical paradigm for the civil order” (p. 69) and “musical calculations [became] a means of discovery, a scientific method whereby the *mathesis universalis* governing the physical world, the senses, morality, and society directed a new research for truth” (p. 78). This is a very important work that opens an entirely new perspective on the making of French absolutism.

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CAROLINE FORD. *Divided Houses: Religion and Gender in Modern France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 170. \$35.00.

This study contributes significantly to our understanding of modern France and to our larger understanding of modernity. Caroline Ford places gender, religion, and *laïcité* at the very center of nineteenth-century cultural, social and political developments. She insists on the significance of the Catholic revival that followed the French Revolution and the prominence of women in that movement. Women were especially visible as members of the rapidly growing religious communities, as ardent followers of new female saints, and as practitioners of public rituals of devotion. While focusing on the nineteenth century, Ford situates what has long been called the “feminization of religion” in a *longue*

durée from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. She argues, however, that this feminine Catholicism ended with the nineteenth century. Ford posits that secular French men reacted vehemently to the “feminization of religion.” They elaborated the views of Enlightenment and revolutionary anticlericals into a political culture of *laïcité* that shaped the worldview of bourgeois men: republicans, state bureaucrats and those in the legal professions. This fervent commitment to the creation of a thoroughly secular environment, legitimated by reason and science, emerged in the effort to contain and respond to the powerful religious movement of Catholic women.

While other historians have treated aspects of the struggle between anticlericals and feminized Catholicism, Ford’s aim is to understand what the feminization of religion meant to nineteenth-century women and men. She accomplishes this goal through four carefully analyzed microhistories. Three of these are legal cases spanning the decades from the 1820s to the 1860s. They permit Ford to examine the position of women, the family, nuns, and religious institutions in the Civil Code. She also demonstrates that these highly publicized trials both constructed and were constructed by what Ford calls the “social imagery.” Through a careful reading of the lawyers’ *mémoires judiciaires*, Ford establishes the relations between the legal texts and the literary tropes of melodrama. The anticlerical obsession with the convent as a site of young women’s incarceration and loss of autonomy (claustration) appeared in Jules Michelet’s tracts, Eugène Sue’s novels, and the legal briefs of the notorious cases examined by Ford. These microhistories do provide a unique window onto conflicting nineteenth-century perceptions of religion, gender, and the relation of church and state. Analyzing the legal texts, Ford succeeds in providing complex portraits of women religious and the lawyers engaged on both sides of these cases.

There are, however, some drawbacks in this reliance on microhistory. The author admits that microhistories will always evoke the question of how representative such individual cases actually are (p. 9). At times the close reading of the specific lawsuit calls forth so many particulars that larger issues are obscured. In addition, there is relatively little effort to link the separate microhistories. This poses few problems with the three legal cases, but the brief study of Saint Philomène appears as a striking departure. Its role in the overall study is not entirely clear. Nonetheless, the chapter is a wonderful examination of the construction and erasure of a new female saint, a striking example of Ultramontane Catholicism and its feminine embodiment. Ford’s argument that by the late nineteenth century Philomène was supplanted by the new cults of Joan of Arc and Thérèse de Lisieux is fascinating. The emergence and disappearance of these modern female saints call for a more extended cultural history than is possible in one chapter.

While there are some limitations to the use of microhistories, they do permit Ford to probe deeply the

meanings of religious revival, the feminization of Catholicism, and the counter movement of *laïcité* prior to the Third Republic. The court cases in which the agency of devout women was contested demonstrate that Ultramontane Catholicism and *laïcité* were strongly linked, dialectical developments. The activities, status and representations of women were of importance to both. Women religious in particular challenged conventional assumptions that marriage and motherhood were women's only roles. Until 1901 the Civil Code did not recognize the existence of women religious. When they came to the attention of the court and the public, their struggles to implement their own choices threatened paternal authority, destabilized family relations, undermined male control over family property, and confronted male clerical power. Ford treats the issue of the independent agency of female religious with care. She rejects any anachronistic view of these women as proto-feminists, but she insists that they were not simply pawns of the clerical male hierarchy. In two of the suits examined the nuns used the language of individual rights to argue their cases. Ford notes the paradox that female religious vocations, denounced by anticlericals as an abdication of personal autonomy, at times became a site of women's independence, challenging nineteenth-century legal and gender conventions.

Ford successfully demonstrates the centrality of women, religion, and *laïcité* in the social imagery of the nineteenth century. Her book will stimulate further research and analysis of these developments during the dramatic period of the early Third Republic and throughout the twentieth century.

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JAN GOLDSTEIN. *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750–1850*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 414. \$45.00.

This important book intervenes in several historiographical debates with the commanding air of an author sure of her sources while equally cognizant of their limits. This judicious tone adds weight to Jan Goldstein's bold assertions, all of which rest on a novel retelling of the transformation of France from the Old Regime's corporate society to a nineteenth-century bourgeois social order as seen through the prism of three politically influential theories of the psyche. The first of these, Abbé de Condillac's gallicized version of Lockean sensationalism, dominated educated thinking from the mid-eighteenth century through the French Revolution. After 1830, sensationalism gave way in official circles to Victor Cousin's radically different version of the psyche, which lycée professors of philosophy would teach to sons of the bourgeoisie through at least the turn of the century. Phrenology, a third and losing contender for scientific status under the July Monarchy, nonetheless won converts in that period among socialist reformers, some women, and many workers who appreciated its egalitarian, individualized way of measuring

psychological promise by the shape of the skull—an approach that, according to Goldstein, endowed phrenology with an entirely different social message from the elitist theory of the masculine psyche developed by Cousin.

To turn the history of these psychological theories to the historiographical ends that interest her, Goldstein must prove her claim stated in the introduction that “sensationalism, Cousinianism, and phrenology . . . function[ed] in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France much as Freudianism functioned in the twentieth-century United States.” Each theory became in its respective heyday part of the “mental furniture” of the average educated Frenchman (p. 12). Deploying a considerable range of sources, Goldstein succeeds sufficiently well in proving her case to make this book essential reading for historians of European modernity.

One of her major claims concerns the history of the “self” in Western thought. To Charles Taylor's sweeping narrative in *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (1989), which begins with Augustine and includes both John Locke and René Descartes, she offers a corrective. Locke's sensationalist epistemology, as she points out, made no room for the a priori unitary self in which Descartes grounded meaning. In a sensationalist theory of the self, an experientially situated *moi* comes into being incrementally and in response to encounters with an exterior world, producing in the process a self that Goldstein calls horizontally fragmented. The implications of such a theory of the self for a society undergoing radical social change could be troubling. This is what Goldstein sets out to prove by examining in the first four chapters of her book how opponents, supporters, and chastened survivors of the French Revolution responded to sensationalism's assumptions about the individual psyche in society.

Her most important interpretive contribution lies in her account of the reaction against sensationalism after 1800 among a circle of politically engaged intellectuals associated with Biran de Maine who sought to ground a stable meritocratic social order in a new philosophy of the ethical self. Cousin's reinterpretation of the human psyche and its access to absolute verities—the good, the true, and the beautiful—responded to that challenge. Once Goldstein shows how Cousinianism established its tenacious hold over what boys from mostly well-off families learned in the prestigious philosophy class that concluded a lycée education, she can make her broadest claim. Cousinianism not industrial capitalism produced the bourgeois male after 1830 in France or, at the very least, contributed disproportionately to his “construction.” It then reproduced successive generations of “bourgeois” men through its importance in lycée education into the twentieth century.

This intervention in perhaps the most contested and long-standing historiographical issue in the social history of modern France responds directly to Sarah Maza's recent argument that before 1850 the French bourgeoisie was not a social reality but a political myth created by republicans and Bourbon loyalists to malign

the July Monarchy (*The Myth of the French Bourgeoisie: An Essay on the Social Imaginary 1750–1850* [2003]). Goldstein rebuts this argument by claiming that the self-understanding that Cousinianism gave to its adepts produced both a typically “bourgeois” sense of individual entitlement, including an absolute psychic right to property, and the self-satisfied conformity that opened them to endless ridicule in the 1830s and 1840s. She even explores how Cousin dealt with protests from a female interlocutor over his exclusion of women from a psychology addressed exclusively to educated men. Logically any such barrier was indefensible, but it could and would be institutionalized in French public schools after 1880.

The unproven feature of Goldstein’s argument is the degree to which the institutionalization of Cousinian psychology produced the practice of introspection outside the classroom that Cousin urged on his adepts. The evidence that Goldstein offers—philosophy exams from 1820 and letters to Cousin from protégés in the field in the 1840s—is too directly tied to the master’s personal influence to verify this new “technology of the self” among lycée graduates generally. Scholars investigating a broader range of sources, such as memoirs, intimate letters, and novels, may even question the class and gender boundaries of such “self-talk.” But whatever its interpretive limits, this elegant, deeply researched book convincingly grounds three different theories of the psyche in the politics of their day.

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DAVID ALLEN HARVEY. *Beyond Enlightenment: Occultism and Politics in Modern France*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 267. \$38.00.

Despite its title, this book focuses on one strand of the occult in France: Martinism. David Allen Harvey argues that this marginalized movement is “a unique and fascinating synthesis of Enlightenment and counter-Enlightenment thought” (p. 4) that marked “a form of French exceptionalism within broader Western trends” (p. 6). “Martinists sought to restore wholeness to a deeply fractured postrevolutionary French society, and return France to the central providential role that, they believed, it was meant to fulfill” (p. 6). Rather than considering what others said about this particular variety of the occult, Harvey wisely attends to what the occultists themselves said and sets that metaphysic within its social and political contexts from the Old Regime to the Third Republic. In so doing, Harvey traces the development of Martinist thought from its quasi-Masonic roots (thanks to Martines de Pasqually and Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin) to its New Age implications (foreshadowed by the neo-Martinists Stanislas de Guaita and Gérard Encausse [Papus]) in this monograph’s generous effort to rehabilitate a distinctively French discourse of the occult.

Harvey’s book is thematically organized. It begins with an explication of Martinist notions of society and

politics arising out of certain beliefs regarding human nature, the meaning of life, and the end of history. Borrowing from Antoine Faivre’s assessment of Western esotericism’s most common features, Harvey defines the Martinist variant on modern occultism very broadly as “a quest to push the frontiers of knowledge to the limits of the universe; its spirit was not obscurantist, but rather Faustian” (p. 9). The second chapter deals with the Martinists’ “imagined histories,” which posited “that modern society was on a fundamentally wrong path and that man had been happier . . . under a distant, divinely inspired order, in which science and religion were united and men lived in harmony and peace” (p. 35). Here Harvey considers in some detail the arcane metahistorical constructions of Antoine Fabre d’Olivet, Antoine Court de Gébelin, Jean-Baptiste Izouard (Delisle de Sales), and Joseph Alexandre Saint-Yves d’Alveydre, whose “synarchy,” however derivative of Fabre d’Olivet’s work, provided a blueprint for a new political and social order similar to the medieval estates general. The third chapter is concerned with Martinism’s invented traditions, not of national identity but of secret societies, privileged initiations, and magical symbols. Court de Gébelin, it turns out, was an important architect of the Tarot cards, and their mythology was presumably drawn from Egyptian sources and elaborated by Jean-Baptiste Alliette (Etteilla), Alphonse-Louis Constant (Eliphas Lévi), and Encausse. Masonic, Templar, and Illuminist legends also played a role in these inventions.

Chapter four turns to closely related occultist communities: the Theosophy of Helena Blavatsky, the Spiritualism of Hippolyte-Léon Rivail (Allan Kardec), the fortune-telling of Marie-Anne Adelaide Lenormand, the mystical cult of Joseph-Antoine Boullan, and the Palladisme of Léo Taxil. However far afield these mystifications, they shared with neo-Martinism at least “a common rejection of postrevolutionary French political institutions, intellectual tendencies, and social structures” (p. 122). In chapter five, Harvey studies similarly related but still very disparate trends in modern prophecies, the most overtly political voices of the occult shared less by Martinist elites than by women and working-class writers. Many of these visions came in response to the momentous changes of the French Revolution, such as Saint-Martin’s *Le Crocodile* (1792), the legends of Louis XVII, the reprinted or fabricated prophecies of Nostradamus, Olivarius, and Orval, and the visions of Henriette Couédon. “The idiom of political prophecy,” Harvey writes, “was generally counterrevolutionary throughout the nineteenth century, and by the fin de siècle, it had become entrenched on an increasingly virulent integralist Right” (p. 152). The extent to which French fascism had occult roots is considered in chapter six. Harvey discounts such a connection to Martinism, which was more corporatist, pacifist, and utopian than it was authoritarian, militarist, or antisemitic. Finally, Harvey’s study ponders the specifically utopian features, evident in the Theosophic tendencies of Saint-Martin and Fabre d’Olivet’s, the

Slavophilism of Encausse and Saint-Yves d'Alveydre, the elitism in Constant's brotherhood of sages, and the golden age in various manifestations of Saint-Alveydre's synarchy, including one from the Vichy regime during World War II.

Harvey has provided a singular service in outlining several occult strands in French thought. He suggests the ineffable perversity of ideas in the modern West and not just in France. The Enlightenment project was never quite so simple as the *lumières* claimed in their crusading slogans. There are times, however, when Harvey's thesis on French exceptionalism and his focus on Martinism are lost in the summaries of truly marginal texts, some of which owe more to premodern legacies of the occult and to other Western and non-Western sources than Harvey acknowledges. Occasionally he relies on less than authoritative secondary sources, especially on Freemasonry. But these problems are minor in a work that deserves a large readership in French intellectual history.

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ISABELLE VON BUELTZINGSLOEWEN, editor. *"Morts d'inanition": Famine et exclusions en France sous l'Occupation.* (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2005. Pp. 305. €20.00.

This well-documented collection of essays, edited by Isabelle von Bueltzingsloewen, who also contributed to it, focuses on the food shortages and dietary privations of those who were among the weakest and most marginalized groups during the German occupation of France in World War II. These included patients in psychiatric institutions, hospitals, and hospices; inmates in prisons and internment camps; and, in general, those among the most vulnerable sectors of the urban French population. Eighteen contributors depict a modern society and its political and medical establishments confronting problems of hunger not seen in France in a century. Even the memory of hunger, a priority for hospitals through the mid-nineteenth century, had disappeared by 1940 (Olivier Faure, p. 131).

When the Germans occupied France in 1940, they established an artificial exchange rate of one mark to twenty francs, making French goods available for cheap purchase. German policy was to use the agricultural, industrial, and labor resources of France for the benefit of their war effort. By March 1943, a member of the French Academy of Medicine estimated that ten million French were suffering from "slow famine" and that two million of them risked death as a consequence of malnutrition (quoted by von Bueltzingsloewen, p. 297). This book asks to what extent the Vichy government was complicit in the suffering.

The contributors agree that there is no evidence that Vichy operated a deliberate starvation policy. A combination of politics and neglect, however—the latter resulting from a breakdown in the prewar social fabric—

led to an intentional disregard of the unwanted, such as institutionalized psychiatric patients, who often starved to death (von Bueltzingsloewen, pp. 58, 63). Samuel Odier notes that Vichy did little to help such people, despite being aware of their precarious position (p. 93). Catholic charitable organizations often saw their scope of action limited by the 1905 law that separated church and state, although some, such as the Sainte-Marie de l'Assomption religious order, which ran several private hospitals for psychiatric patients, were able to mitigate food shortages (Olivier Bonnet, p. 121). The elderly also suffered disproportionately from food shortages as many in hospices were left to die of malnutrition. The mortality rate in the Albigny hospice, near Lyon, more than doubled from 1940 to 1942. Its disciplinary archives document elderly patients, many aged seventy or more, turning to theft for food (von Bueltzingsloewen, pp. 151, 158). Newborns and nursing children suffered because of the malnourishment of their mothers.

Not all the marginalized groups were as powerless as the psychiatric patients and the elderly. Those in tuberculosis sanatoria received better treatment. Though in decline after the nineteenth century, tuberculosis was still the greatest cause of death in France in 1939, and an extensive network of specialized sanatoria had been developed over the years. Often younger and affiliated with organizations that defended their interests in the interwar period, tuberculosis victims were able to make their voices heard during the Occupation. Dominique Dessertine found one hospital director who warned that insufficient rations were inducing patients to return to their homes, thereby increasing the risk of epidemic. This voice was heard in Vichy (Dessertine, pp. 163, 176, 178).

Increased numbers of prisoners, frequently with ties to the outside, as Vichy incarcerated its political enemies, were often able to supplement their diets with food smuggled and sent in legally. So many political resisters experienced the French jails under Vichy that they formed a cohort that helped to reform the prisons after the war (Corinne Jaladieu, p. 199). From 1938 to 1946, internment camps housed Spanish Republican refugees, Jewish exiles who had fled Germany prior to France's defeat, French Jews and others during the Vichy years, and Germans trapped in France after the Liberation. Even these camps were not death centers as such, and inmates were sometimes helped by a variety of charitable organizations. Rather than black and white, the picture was gray (Denis Peschanski, p. 212).

German requisitions were a constant problem. The German takeover of a hospital in Villeurbanne in late 1942 forced the sudden transfer of 156 elderly patients, thereby overcrowding other facilities (von Bueltzingsloewen, p. 153). Every month, the Germans appropriated 2,000 cows, 2,000 pigs, and 3,000 calves from the Department of Loire-Inférieure (present-day Loire Atlantique), with dietary consequences that varied in different localities (Jean-Pierre Le Crom, p. 258).

Those who were well placed, with access to farms or the Black Market, managed better than the marginal-

ized. Both public and private agencies tried to address the needs of endangered groups, but their efforts were limited by social and political cleavages that predated the war. Despite Vichy's rhetoric of solidarity and fraternity, Ludvine Bonnet found that "profound inequalities and scandalous profits" exacerbated the situation in Lyon (p. 241).

Several contributors argue for the need for more research, despite the loss of many valuable documents and the government permission and red tape required to access others. Von Bueltingsloewen reminds us twice (pp. 63, 161) that the death of some 15,000 largely elderly people during the summer of 2003 in France reinforces the need for historians to recall the marginalized and the voiceless of the Occupation.

BERTRAM M. GORDON
Mills College

FRÉDÉRIC TRISTRAM. *Une fiscalité pour la croissance: La direction générale des impôts et la politique fiscale en France de 1948 à la fin des années 1960*. Paris: Ministère de l'économie, des finances et de l'industrie. 2005. Pp. ix, 740. €30.00.

"Modernization or decadence" was the stark choice Jean Monnet posed for French politicians in 1946. After economic stagnation in the 1930s and ruthless exploitation under German occupation, France had to choose between reconstruction to restore past patterns of organization and investment, or new initiatives to invest in technology, trade, and mass consumption. Modernization required changes in institutional organization and culture, management tools and personnel, and the objectives of state economic policy. From the miserable state of physical devastation, chronic underinvestment, shortages of food, raw materials and transport, and desperate financial need in 1944–1945, to the dynamism, affluence, and innovation characteristic of the French economic miracle in the 1960s, a massive transformation took place. The role of the French state was fundamental in directing this transformation.

For nearly twenty years, the Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France (CHEFF) has been publishing new research in French economic history, including revised dissertations, memoirs and biographies of key players, and an impressive array of conference volumes. Frédéric Tristram's book joins a collection of key works on the transformation of the French state apparatus for economic management that includes Michel Margairaz's *L'État, les finances et l'économie: Histoire d'une conversion, 1932–1952* (1991), Laure Quennouëlle-Corre's *La direction du Trésor, 1947–1967: L'État-banquier et la croissance* (2000), and Aude Terray's *Des francs-tireurs aux experts: L'organisation de la prévision économique au ministère des finances, 1948–1968* (2002). As is clear from the titles, these works have an institutional focus and cover twenty-year periods of transformation in the structure and thinking of the state. The theme of "conversion" employed by Margairaz is central to these histories of

the transformation of institutions, personnel, and policy objectives.

Tristram's book assesses the role of a key player that has received very little attention: the Direction Générale des Impôts (DGI), created in 1948 to unify a tax system that had been run by four separate financial administrations since Napoleonic reforms in the early nineteenth century. Resistance from administrators had repeatedly frustrated earlier reform initiatives; the DGI in 1948 provided only a directing council for administrations that remained separate until they were fused in the 1960s. After 1945, a cadre of younger financial officials pressed for tighter fiscal control and the use of fiscal policy for economic ends rather than narrowly financial purposes (i.e. to promote investment and foster economic growth, rather than simply to balance the budget). These officials, appointed to the DGI, played a significant role in reforms to simplify the tax code, reduce opportunities and incentives for tax fraud, and alter the tax structure to encourage investment. The DGI was particularly important in developing and promoting the value added tax (VAT) to rationalize taxation at successive stages of production.

Tristram meticulously tracks the stages of policy development, the directing personnel, and the political and institutional influences on (and interferences with) tax policy as it evolved from 1945 to the late 1960s. The establishment of the DGI set in place a nucleus of young technicians, but the organization had then to find its voice and establish its presence in economic planning and policy. It did so with striking success in the early 1950s, achieving significant tax reform, most notably with creation of the VAT. But changes in personnel, budgetary difficulties, and political opposition curtailed its role in the mid-1950s. The rise of Poujadisme, the popular anti-tax movement led by Pierre Poujade, was particularly important. Poujadiste attacks on tax reform and the "mafia of tax inspectors" targeted the DGI in particular as experts with no business experience, indifferent to the sufferings of "the little guys." Political pressures altered tax policy to appease the discontents of small businesses, most notably in delaying the application of the VAT to the retail sector. A change in director and the resurgence of budget difficulties resulted in a retreat from the DGI's reformist agenda and reduced involvement in economic policy discussions. Even when tax reform resumed in the 1960s, the DGI's role had been substantially reduced.

Like many monographs in the CHEFF series, this volume is well organized, with concise summaries of lengthy chapters and a rich trove of supplementary data in appendixes (including the CGT's 1947 tax reform proposal, which profoundly influenced early DGI reform initiatives). It is a great resource for details on tax policy and personnel. The rapid turnover of ministers and governments in the Fourth Republic and the incremental nature of reforms negotiated within the administration and in politics make it easy to lose sight of the larger economic issues in a forest of fiscal details. The variations in tax initiatives, and the political and

administrative infighting and debates, make dry reading, but the volume fills an important gap in historical coverage of the modernization of the French economy.

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY. *Children of the Laboring Poor: Expectation and Experience among the Orphans of Early Modern Augsburg*. (Studies in Central European Histories, number 38.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xvi, 493. \$129.00.

The declared goal of the City Orphanage in early modern Augsburg was "truly to instruct and bring the children to the fear of God, to prayer, also to work and to all good virtues." Similar statements can be found in documents describing the establishment of institutional care for orphans in other German cities. But how successful were these efforts? This is a question many social historians have asked without being able to give an answer due to lack of sources. Thomas Max Safley, whose previous book portrayed the orphanages of the City of Augsburg as economic organizations that had a enormous influence on the capital and labor markets in one of the most important urban centers in the Holy Roman Empire, was lucky to come across a wealth of information that enabled him to write another about the experiences of orphans. The so-called "Waisenbücher" (Orphan Books), kept between 1572 and 1806, record detailed biographies of 5,734 young boys and girls, including their family background before entering the municipal orphanages, their experience within these institutions, and their fortunes after leaving them. In combination with other documents (e. g. tax lists, court records), it is possible to reconstruct a prosopography of the orphans and to cast light on the experience of poverty and charity in the preindustrial era.

The methodological approach used by Safley is unique among the many works on foundling homes and orphanages or similar institutions of poor relief. He combines quantitative surveys with close analyses of individual lives, and in so doing he enables the reader to catch more than a glimpse of what it meant to eke out one's livelihood without parents or to be without family support during the very first stages of one's life. By focusing on the "experience" of those "poor" (in the broadest sense) children, this seminal study looks deeper than others into "the interplay among individual, family and institution, the overlap between individual agency and institutional latitude" (p. 29).

The first section explores the family histories of the orphans. Safley provides exact figures about family background. Over forty percent entered the institution because both their parents had died. The second most common cause for household dissolution was abandonment. 68.7 percent of the orphans admitted came from artisanal households, the distribution among various trades reflecting the general composition of the city's population. Almost half of the children who were ad-

mitted to these welfare institutions were not really poor but had some means on which to draw. In discussing the economic motives behind the decision to refer a young child to one of the three existing orphanages (one municipal, one Protestant, one Catholic) Safley rejects the term "rationality," as it is impossible to substantiate such a behavior by studying the existing sources. However, the calculations people had in mind when taking such decisions can be reconstructed. It is quite impressive to see how the author manages to show in which way peoples' actions in every day life were shaped by emotions as well as by vested interests.

The second part reconstructs the life within such a "total institution." We learn, for example, that the orphans wore uniforms and that the diet was sufficient though nothing to write home about. It is a pity that Safley does not compare the menu served in Augsburg's orphanages with those in similar institutions in other cities. The black market for food in these orphanages is not a unique phenomenon but was already a disciplinary problem in medieval hospitals. To claim that a death rate of almost forty percent is a proof that the orphanages made every effort to preserve the health of the young inmates seems to me rather daring. Comparative data from Cologne, for instance, where the death rate was slightly lower in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (thirty-five percent) might put things in better perspective. The health statistics of the orphans at the time of admission is, however, a boon to medical historians.

The third part follows the specific fates of the orphans. Of the 2,720 orphans placed out of Augsburg's orphanages between 1572 and 1806, as many 2,058 eventually finished their apprenticeship or professional training and passed into the labor force. Such a figure can be indeed considered as a remarkable "success rate" for this early modern institution, which aimed at making clients self-supporting. Only a minority refused to be imbued with social discipline. Less than five percent of the orphans who stayed alive fled the orphanage or the household in which they were employed as trainees or apprentices. Even fewer rejected the strict regime completely by descending into beggary and crime.

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CELIA APPEGATE. *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 288. \$35.00.

Celia Applegate's book reaches far beyond what its title implies. This rich and thought-provoking study analyzes the Berlin Singakademie's revival of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829, under the direction of Felix Mendelssohn, for what it tells us about the state of music, the middle class, religion, and above all German national consciousness before, during, and after

the event. Applegate's research mines existing scholarship on music, literature, philosophy, political and intellectual history, and above all the numerous contemporary music periodicals, to probe the elusive nature of German national consciousness, its transcendence beyond political or even linguistic boundaries, and its interaction with contemporary religious and social upheavals. The Bach revival, according to Applegate, may very well mark the beginning of that intimate but ill-fated relationship between Germans and their music, characterized by Thomas Mann in his novel *Dr. Faustus* (1947) as a destructive obsession (p. 3).

Applegate organizes her multilayered approach by working from the center outward: opening with the immediate circumstances of the 1829 event, and then branching out geographically, chronologically, and thematically. Chapter one looks first at Mendelssohn's milieu: his family's conversion from Judaism, the exclusive cultivation of Bach's music within his small circle of acquaintances, his revelation regarding the potential national impact of a Bach revival, and the intense media campaign that contributed to the concert's success. The second chapter reaches back more than a century to consider the origins of musical aesthetics and literacy amidst a rapidly growing reading public, the concurrently emerging sense of German patriotism, and philosophical debates over the seriousness of music. Music journalism dominates the next chapter, as Applegate looks at examples of both a "pan-German" and a local Berlin music periodical to observe the shaping of German national consciousness unfolding on their pages. In chapter four, Applegate reconstructs the history of the Singakademie as a model for other German choral societies, while the focus of chapter five turns to the decline of the German Protestant church in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the paraliturgical gap that was partially filled by the revival of the *St. Matthew Passion*. The final chapter follows the subsequent careers of the concert's key organizers, revealing the lasting impact of the 1829 concert on their musical, political, and religious outlooks.

This review cannot do justice to the richness of detail, the subtlety of argument, and the author's virtuosic interweaving of intellectual, economic, religious, and political history toward understanding this defining moment in 1829, but it is important at least to point to some of the study's more salient themes. Foremost are the enduring campaign to take music seriously, and its convergence with or even appropriation of the growing tendency to recognize a Germany defined by cultural rather than geographic or even linguistic boundaries. Challenged especially by Immanuel Kant's dismissive attitude toward music, sympathizers not only defended music's depth and seriousness but also claimed that it surpassed literature in elevating German culture to the level of the "classics." These claims required constructing a historical narrative of the great German masters and shifting the focus of the debate from vocal to instrumental genres, thereby paving the way for proposing German music's appeal beyond the German-speak-

ing world. Applegate digs even deeper into the social-historical background to reveal the precarious position of musicians, who, having experienced the downsizing of German courts and civic music corps under Napoleon, championed music's indispensable role in educating the German nation and defining its cultural parameters.

Social history also helps us to understand the dual role of amateur societies in reinforcing the enduring legend of Germans as the "people of music" and in filling a vacuum left by the waning appeal of the Protestant church. The founder of the Singakademie, Carl Friedrich Zelter, was largely responsible not only for building up the society by reaching out to professional as well as amateur musicians, but also for gaining state support for amateur music-making and for music education. Perhaps even more important was such groups' capacity to compensate for the decline in Germans' participation in organized religion by reviving sacred music outside the church. Here Applegate focuses much-needed attention on the central but commonly overlooked importance of religion in the shaping of national consciousness, in this case through the lens of music.

If the reader is left harboring some skepticism about the impact of this one concert on all of the political, social, and cultural spheres drawn into the discussion, Applegate remedies this by illustrating its subtle yet profound effect on the lives of the young adventurers who came together for this brief but pivotal moment. Applegate summarizes her conclusions best in her final statements: "[Mendelssohn] made it possible to imagine that the broad participation of the talented and the merely enthusiastic . . . could gradually involve everyone in the cultural life of the nation . . . that there could be a flourishing secular culture in Germany that embraced Protestantism, Catholicism, even Judaism . . . that the German present and future could be nourished by the past, even one known only in fragments" (p. 263).

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BRENT O. PETERSON. *History, Fiction, and Germany: Writing the Nineteenth-Century Nation*. (Kritik: German Literary Theory and Cultural Studies.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2005. Pp. vii, 360. \$54.95.

John Stuart Mill believed that the strongest source of national identity was "the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past." These communities of recollection are the product of political conflict and shifting distributions of power; they may become collective possessions, but they begin by being constructed and imposed. The creation of a German national history, for example, was both instrument and outcome of Prussia's military and political victories in the German civil war of 1866. As Brent O. Peterson writes, "it took the transformation of Prussian heroes

into Germans to make the state and nation coincide, which is why we need to trace the contours of that narrative construction." It may be going too far to say that "the content of their [Germans'] acquired memories mattered more to the shape and meaning of 'Germany' than the new lines and captions that appeared on maps of Europe after 1871," but there is no doubt that the acquisition of memories and the shaping of political space are inseparable parts of the same historical process (pp. 4–5).

Historians will be familiar with the central themes in this book, but they will find many of Peterson's examples and much of his analysis interesting and new. A number of the authors Peterson considers are well known: Theodor Fontane, Gustav Freytag, perhaps Willibald Alexis and Fanny Lewald. But how many of us have read—or even heard of—Julius von Wickede, Wilhelmine von Gersdorf, Ludwig Rellstab, or Louisa Mühlbach? Born in 1814, married to the prominent literary critic Theodor Mundt, Mühlbach was awesomely productive: among her 290 novels are a series of volumes on Frederick the Great, Queen Louisa of Prussia, and a variety of other historical topics. According to one scholar, between 1849 and 1914, Mühlbach was the single most popular German writer available from private lending libraries. Stanford University Library has some thirty of her books (including several English translations), which await readers in our most distant storage facility.

Hayden White has emphasized the fictive quality of historical writing. Peterson takes the "opposite tack." For me, he writes, "it is just as interesting to explore what happens to history when it is embedded or represented in fiction" (p. 45). In his first chapter, he examines the relationship between fiction and history by comparing how novelists and historians set about to recreate the past. Mühlbach plays a prominent role here, as do Leopold von Ranke (whose literary qualities Peterson greatly underestimates) and Gustav Droysen, one of the founding fathers of the Prusso-German historical school and a formidable analyst of historical methods. In subsequent chapters, Peterson takes up two central themes in the German master narrative: the personality and historical significance of Frederick the Great, and the period of reform and national revival following Prussia's defeat by Napoleon in 1806. Both have been the subject of many novels and were central to nineteenth and twentieth-century historiography.

Among the many virtues of this book is the author's unwillingness to force his subject matter into neat analytical categories. His writers do not conform to a single pattern; they overlap but are not totally congruent. As he correctly points out, "the evidence of historical fiction can show just how gradual, how difficult, and how tenuous the forging and acceptance of national identities actually was" (p. 76).

Peterson concludes by pointing out the continued significance of the past for German public life. "German history," he writes, "remains controversial because Germans have not yet agreed upon the meaning of the

present, although if they had achieved consensus about the past, many of today's problems would never have arisen" (p. 267). This is, he implies, a distinctly German problem. In fact, always and everywhere historical controversies are reflections or refractions of disagreements about the present. Mill's communities of recollection are, among other things, always the site of persistent debates about the content and meaning of the past, about what should be a source of pride or humiliation, pleasure or regret. In comparison to Ireland or Turkey or Israel, for example, these debates in contemporary Germany seem relatively benign, matters for scholarly debate and television talk shows, not intense political conflict.

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MICHAEL KELLOGG. *The Russian Roots of Nazism: White Émigrés and the Making of National Socialism, 1917–1945*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 327. \$75.00.

With this fascinating, meticulously researched, and highly detailed new study, Michael Kellogg intends to fill a perceived gap in the historiography of the origins of National Socialism. According to Kellogg, historians have failed to do justice to the crucial influence of monarchist Russian émigrés on the development of Adolf Hitler's worldview and political goals after World War I. Using materials in Russian state and military archives not previously accessible to Western scholars, as well as multiple sources from all the major German archives, Kellogg has written the first history in English of "Aufbau (translated as Reconstruction): Economic and Political Association for the East," a secretive conspiratorial organization centered in Munich, manned and directed primarily by White Russian émigrés, and dedicated to the overthrow of both the Weimar Republic and the Russian Bolshevik government and the restoration of authoritarian or monarchist regimes in Russia and Germany that could form a united front against the Entente powers. Its leader, the Baltic German officer Max von Scheubner-Richter, and fellow-Aufbau member Alfred Rosenberg, linked the virulently antisemitic and anti-Bolshevik Russian émigré community with Hitler's National Socialists in a symbiotic relationship. Kellogg carefully recounts the organization of Aufbau in 1921 as the center of counterrevolutionary activity shifted from Berlin to Munich, where the Kapp Putsch had been successful in installing an authoritarian government while it failed in the same objective in the national capital. Scheubner-Richter played a leading role in the planning and execution of the Hitler-Ludendorff Putsch in 1923, in which he was the most prominent of Hitler's followers to lose his life.

According to Kellogg, it was Russian and Ukrainian monarchist émigrés who brought to the Nazi worldview the apocalyptic, religiously inspired, antidemocratic, antisocialist, antisemitic conspiracy theory most dramatically manifested in the fabricated *Protocols of the*

Elders of Zion, which was widely disseminated by the *völkisch* press in Germany after World War I. Relying on the pioneering research of German scholar Michael Hagemeister, Kellogg refutes some details of the version of the origin of the *Protocols* offered in Norman Cohn's *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1967), according to which the manuscript was originally written in French by operatives of the tsarist Okhrana. A compilation of fictional texts already published in Russian as early as 1903, the *Protocols* were brought to Germany by disgruntled Ukrainian monarchists in 1919. Their conspiratorial fantasies and rabid anti-Bolshevism merged with redemptive *völkisch* and Christian antisemitism to produce the specifically Nazi ideological brew. The advantage of a Jewish conspiracy thesis for the German radical right was that it could plausibly present communism as closely related to Western liberal capitalism, despite the fact that the victors of World War I stood in mortal antagonism to the Soviet system as well.

The strength of this book lies in its rigorously researched account of the complex interplay of sometimes contradictory monarchical and populist forces that helped shape the politics of the radical right in Germany in the years leading up to the Hitler Putsch. The monarchist émigré community was riven by divisions, the most important one being the rift between two rival Romanov claimants to the throne: the Germanophile Arch-Duke Kirill, backed by Aufbau and German nationalists, and the Western-oriented Arch-Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, who favored a constitutional monarchy to be achieved with French support. A further rift in the émigré community developed between supporters of a unitary Great Russian monarchy and Ukrainian nationalists, who wished to establish an independent Ukraine. Members of both camps, but especially the eventually dominant Ukrainian separatists, would later play important roles in the Third Reich. These rifts were described in Robert C. Williams' ground-breaking *Culture in Exile: Russian Emigrés in Germany 1881–1941* (1972), but Kellogg adds considerable detail to our knowledge of the close cooperation among radical right-wing Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Germans, not only in the Russian Civil War in the Baltic, the Ukraine, and the Crimea but also in terrorist attacks on the German foreign minister Walter Rathenau (for negotiating the Rapallo Treaty in 1922, recognizing the Soviet regime) and on liberal Russian émigrés (one of which cost Vladimir Nabokov, the father of the novelist, his life). Most importantly, monarchist émigrés cooperated with National Socialists in preparations for the Hitler-Ludendorff Putsch, the failure of which led to the eventual demise of Aufbau in 1924.

The extensive claims that Kellogg makes for the significance of his empirical findings are open to some question, however. "Instead of focusing solely on alleged German peculiarities in the vein of [Daniel] Goldhagen," Kellogg concludes, "historians should un-

derstand the genesis and development of National Socialism in the context of cross-cultural interaction between defeated groups from World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution" (p. 272). As justified as his critique of a linear German *Sonderweg* may be, Kellogg tends to understate the prevalence and virulence of *völkisch* ideology in Germany. He is right, however, to point out that the violently antisemitic radical right was stronger and more successful in electoral politics in Russia than in Germany before World War I. More questionable in my view is his contention that monarchist émigrés played the decisive role in what he oddly describes as Hitler's "rapid political lurch from the far left to the far right in postwar Munich" (p. 220). According to Kellogg, Hitler espoused standard socialist views until the second half of 1919, when he allegedly made a 180-degree turn to embrace the virulently anti-Bolshevik and antisemitic ideas of his émigré mentors and later Aufbau members Scheubner-Richter, Rosenberg, and Fedor Vinberg, as well as their *völkisch* backer Dietrich Eckart. In support of his thesis Kellogg cites passages from Brigitte Hamann's *Hitler's Vienna: A Dictator's Apprenticeship* (1999) suggesting that Hitler was not yet an antisemite in his Vienna years, but he ignores her much stronger evidence that Hitler greatly admired the antisemitic mayor of Vienna Karl Lueger and the leader of the Austrian Pan-Germans Georg von Schönerer while denouncing the nominally Marxist Austrian Social Democratic Party. Kellogg also claims that Hitler shifted to the colonizing strategy of *Lebensraum* only after the collapse of his 1923 putsch doomed joint Russo-German schemes to launch a war to liberate Russia from "Jewish Bolshevism." Whatever the provenance of his ideas, however, there is no doubt that Hitler came to share the Russian monarchist émigrés' paranoid version of history, according to which the Jews had started World War I to bring down the antisemitic Russian Empire and had then turned against the German Empire to bring about its defeat as well through Marxism and revolution, thus eliminating the Russian and German nationalist elites who supposedly constituted the only effective barrier to Jewish world rule through Western liberalism and Soviet communism. Although he may tend to exaggerate the importance of Aufbau's legacy (to which he also attributes Hitler's ill-fated decision to divert forces from the drive on Moscow to the conquest of the Ukraine in September 1941), Kellogg has not only made a valuable contribution to the early history of the Nazi Party, but also points the way to further research in newly accessible post-Soviet archives on the Nazis' Russian connections.

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BERND GAUSEMEIER. *Natürliche Ordnungen und politische Allianzen: Biologische und biochemische Forschung an Kaiser-Wilhelm-Instituten 1933–1945*. (Geschichte der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus, number 12.) Göttingen: Wallstein. 2005. Pp. 352.

The historiography of National Socialism over the past few years has undergone a dramatic shift, from virtually exclusive concern with political and economic factors to a growing awareness of the determining links between German academic science and Nazi ideology and practice. Emphasis on this new perspective signifies a remarkable theoretical transformation, given the earlier consensus that Nazism emerged as a reaction against modern science and that, for the most part, scientists who remained in Germany after 1933 were the victims of a reactionary regime that sought to undermine the apolitical and purely objective, value-free research of the scientific community (a theme evoked, for example, by the title of Kristie Macrakis's study of scientific research in Nazi Germany, *Surviving the Swastika: Scientific Research in Nazi Germany* [1993]).

Innumerable studies now concentrate on the complex relationship between German science and National Socialism, and it is apparent that academic science during the Third Reich was hardly an impassive bystander when it came to the racial and genocidal policies of Nazism; rather it was a willing and often enthusiastic contributor to Nazi ideas and practices. Awareness of this disturbing reality is borne out in Bernd Gausemeier's impressive new study of three of the leading biological institutes of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society during the period of the Third Reich: the Institutes for Biology, Biochemistry, and Brain Research. Gausemeier is concerned with the infiltration of Nazism into the fabric of these institutes and his study seeks to provide an explanation of how this came about as well as a comprehensive analysis of its far-reaching effects.

Gausemeier takes issue with Macrakis's assumption that "normal" science under National Socialism was possible and suggests rather that questions of innocence, guilt, and moral compromise entered into by individuals and institutions between 1933 and 1945 raise troubling questions that cannot be avoided when writing about the period. This is especially true for biology, the queen of the sciences under National Socialism, which provided critical intellectual and scientific authority and indispensable help for the functioning of the regime. As Gausemeier notes: "science under National Socialism means science in a state of ethical emergency," a situation where scientists accommodated themselves to *Gleichschaltung* and were able to "legitimize inhumane politics" while also inuring themselves to the "moral" problems raised by research that directly supported policies of "total annihilation" (p. 10). The Final Solution, in other words, literally was made possible by the enthusiastic and willing participation of much of the scientific and especially biological community in Germany.

For Gausemeier, National Socialism was hardly an irrational system but rather a highly structured and motivated organization, especially in its employment of theoretical science and technical expertise for the realization of ideological goals. Problems of settlement and the relocation of whole populations were all orga-

nized by educated technocrats (p.15). Likewise, concentration camps were planned with enthusiastic deliberation so that racial extermination under the Nazis became an achievement of rational scientific calculation.

As such, the configuration of science under National Socialism can no longer be portrayed as marked by inner migration or passive resistance, but by overwhelmingly active complicity in the regime (p. 16). Gausemeier deliberately probes the "methods of modern scientific research" in Germany, not apart from, but "in relation to the history of National Socialism" (p. 12). And in a stunning reversal of the commonly accepted wisdom that Nazi ideology was nothing more than pseudo-science, Gausemeier correctly understands racial science as a complex melange of scientific knowledge that was all too legitimate and real, even though interspersed with disturbing elements of dystopian fantasy—a science where "modern" research became a precursor to extermination (p. 27).

Given these insights, Gausemeier details the undeniable relationship between scientific research and "racial political practice" (p. 26), largely based on his discovery of new source material in the archives of the Max Planck Institute, the postwar successor of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes. Given the polycratic nature of Nazism, the scientists were free to mobilize themselves for service to the state, making possible the ready coalescence of the interests of science, industry, and the aims of the Nazi military. In demonstrating how the activities of the institutes under consideration became integral theoretical and planning divisions of National Socialism, Gausemeier also credits the contributions of authors like Ute Deichmann, Paul Julian Weindling, and Susanne Heim, whose writings over the past few years have substantially deepened our understanding of related intellectual and political developments.

Gausemeier agrees with Detlev Peukert that National Socialist biology was an outgrowth of the way in which the biological and anthropological sciences had evolved even before the coming of Nazism, but his account of this is somewhat less successful than other sections of the book. To explain the transition of German science from the Second Reich and the Weimar Republic to Nazism, Gausemeier introduces largely uncritical summaries of the writings of authors like Anne Harrington and Bruno Latour. But Harrington's book on holistic romanticism and idealism as intellectual precursors to Nazism (*Reenchanted Science* [1996]) is marked by a discussion of scientific and ideological personalities who were at best only marginal for the birth of Nazism; and Bruno Latour (*We Were Never Modern* [1995]), for all his interesting poststructuralist speculations, is too vaguely abstract to be really useful in explaining the confluence between German science and Nazism. In reality, Nazi biology in decisive ways is traceable to the scientific monism of Ernst Haeckel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and this part of the story is neglected by Gausemeier, although he does provide us with thumbnail sketches of the sci-

entific-philosophical assumptions of some of the directors of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes like Alfred Kühn and Adolf Butenandt, which seem to suggest a predilection for Nazism. These men were in all likelihood influenced by Haeckelianism—tendencies not detected by Gausemeier. Nonetheless, with its clarity of vision and impeccable research, conducted on a very wide scale, Gausemeier's book stands as a critically important and outstanding achievement of historical writing.

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PAUL JULIAN WEINDLING. *Nazi Medicine and the Nuremberg Trials: From Medical War Crimes to Informed Consent*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xii, 482. \$80.00.

Paul Julian Weindling's monograph reconstructs the Anglo-American approach to Nazi medical criminality in the postwar era, culminating in the "Doctors' Trial" before a U.S. court at Nuremberg and the announcement of the "Nuremberg Code," which enunciated guidelines for ethical research involving human subjects. The book challenges the "paradigm" of Nazi medical criminality as the product of a "malevolent and manipulative state" (p. 5) that corrupted a benign medical profession. The urge to minimize the ethically problematic character of experimental research was driven by Cold War national security interests, which demanded robust engagement with experimental science to counteract the new global security threat, the USSR.

Although the Allies planned a formal postwar reckoning with Nazi crimes as early as the "Moscow Declaration" (1943), when the war finally ended in Europe they had no policy for dealing with the crimes of German scientists. The emphasis instead was on gleaning intelligence about German weapons programs. The priority of seizing German scientific findings was uppermost until August 1945, when a policy of investigating medical crimes began to coalesce. Tension within this policy on German science, however, dogged the Allies' confrontation with medical atrocities, chiefly because they wanted to seize scientific "assets" for themselves. Allied investigative bodies were initially tasked with identifying the whereabouts of secret weapons and other information deemed vital to national security. As these agencies gathered intelligence on German wartime science, they stumbled across medical crimes. Significantly, some of the leading figures accused at the Nuremberg Medical Case were first interned on suspicion of involvement in germ warfare research. The testimonies of former concentration camp prisoners in May 1945 helped shift Allied policy from strategic evaluation of German science to the judicial investigation of its criminality. By November 1945 a British unit under John Thompson had formed to provide the Allies with the results of investigations into German scientific crimes. After a meeting with Thompson's unit in May 1946, U.S. officials assigned top priority to investigating

medical crimes, and in August the British Foreign Office turned over its evidence on medical defendants to U.S. negotiators. Ultimately, the United States would indict twenty-three defendants in the "Doctors' Trial," including Karl Brandt, Adolf Hitler's escort physician and from 1943 the chief of the Reich's Health Services; chief military medical officers of the Luftwaffe medical services Siegfried Handloser and Oskar Schröder; and SS medical officers Karl Genzken and Joachim Mrugowsky, among others. The defendants were charged with a variety of atrocities, including forced sterilization, human experimentation on concentration camp prisoners, and euthanasia. Brandt, regarded as the linchpin of Nazi medical crimes because of his illustrious rank and closeness to Hitler, lent his name to the Doctors' Trial (*U.S. v. Karl Brandt et al.*).

The prosecution's strategy was to portray the defendants as conspiring with the Nazi leadership to perpetrate their crimes. U.S. prosecutors presented a "top-down" model of medical criminality, linking the defendants with the SS, the High Command, the Luftwaffe, and the Nazi Party. On this theory, Nazism perverted German medicine by enlisting it in the crusade to destroy racial "inferiors" and expand Germany's borders through aggressive warfare. The prosecutors' hierarchical model played into the hands of a postwar German medical profession eager to deflect the charge that it was implicated in Nazi barbarism. In blaming a small number of zealots for delivering German medicine into the murderous hands of the Nazis, postwar German science—and Western science more generally—could pursue human experimentation with little more than a gesture to the Nuremberg Code's insistence on informed consent of the experimental subject, just as required by a Cold War ideology of preserving Western freedom from "totalitarianism."

Weindling has written a meticulously documented book destined to become a standard work on the ambiguous legacy of the Doctors' Trial. This notwithstanding, he fails to connect his thesis with scholarship in Holocaust research that addresses this issue of whether Nazi medicine was a perversion of Western science, an expression of the destructive potentiality lurking within normal science, or something else altogether—a social process possessing both archaic and modern scientific qualities. Mario Biagioli's seminal essay on this topic, "Science, Modernity, and the Final Solution" (in *Probing the Limits of Representation*, 1992), is conspicuously absent from his discussion of the historiography, nor does the book allude to the debate within the history of Nazi science between the "normalist" and "exceptionalist" schools of interpretation. By raising the issue of the "normality" of medicine and its involvement with Nazi crimes, Weindling could insert his work into this stream of scholarship as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of how easily the professions (and not just psychopaths within them) can be drawn by a genocidal state into wanton criminality. This shortcoming, along with occasional misspellings and syntactical errors,

marcs an otherwise richly detailed and important work.

MICHAEL S. BRYANT
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CONSTANTIN GOSCHLER. *Schuld und Schulden: Die Politik der Wiedergutmachung für NS-Verfolgte seit 1945*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, number 3.) Göttingen: Wallstein. 2005. Pp. 543. €38.00.

Although more than sixty years have passed since the end of the Holocaust, the topic of German reparations for the crimes committed by the Nazis and their supporters remains current. Originally discussions focused on restitution for confiscated property and on compensatory payments to Jewish victims of concentration camps. More recently, debates have centered on payments to former slave laborers in wartime industries. Constantin Goshler illuminates the complexities of what has been an ongoing process. In this comprehensive and nuanced work, he shows that numerous factors and groups have impacted the politics of reparations in both eastern and western Germany. Public debate on reparations has reflected domestic and foreign policy realities and changed with generational shifts. For Goshler, the process is as interesting as the result, and it is integral to the history of Germany since 1945.

Even before 1945, opponents of the Nazis discussed reparations to victims of Nazi persecution, but most rejected the notion of German collective guilt for the Nazis' crimes. There was also a fear that a new Treaty of Versailles might imperil any nascent German democracy. After the war, the western Allies (especially the Americans) pressed for restitution to Nazi victims, while the Soviets understood reparations to mean compensation for the damage caused to the USSR and Poland during the war. Meanwhile, within German society and politics, a fierce debate erupted between groups promoting their own claims to victimhood and demands for state support. These included Jews, political opponents of the Nazis, ethnic Germans expelled from eastern Europe by the Allies, Germans who had lost their homes through bombing, and war widows and orphans. In western Germany, Jews were seen as the principal victims of the Nazis, restitution and reparations were regulated strictly by the rule of law, and respect for private property relations remained the norm. In eastern Germany, the return of property to its former, Jewish owners was subordinated to the revolution of property relations. Even compensation in the form of state support was highly politicized as active "fighters" (i.e. Communist and Socialist resisters) rather than mere "victims" (i.e. Jews) received priority.

In the opinion of some, the passage of reparations legislation marked West Germany's transition from a postwar society to a new entity, but reparations remained unpopular. Domestic reparations laws and a reparations agreement with Israel transformed a moral issue into a political and fiscal one at a time when Germany was rebuilding its infrastructure and its civil society. Moreover, reparations became inextricably

bound with West Germany's drive for integration into the community of free nations and West German attempts to reintegrate former Nazis into society. Many Germans disparaged reparations as the result of foreign pressure, if not diplomatic blackmail or a quid pro quo.

By the mid-1960s, the Federal Republic had concluded reparations agreements with eleven other Western European states in exchange for those states abandoning all other claims on Germany. Significantly, West Germany viewed these accords as resulting from the German wartime occupation rather than from the Nazis' crimes. Additionally, the conditions of the Cold War precluded similar agreements with Eastern European states, which suffered considerably during the war and which were homes to millions of former slave laborers. The late 1960s and 1970s saw a shift in reparations politics. While a younger generation entered politics and seemed more interested in Germany's future than in its past, chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt continued the project through ad hoc and exceptional measures involving some East Bloc states. In the 1980s, groups of "forgotten victims," including Roma, Sinti, and homosexuals, received attention, and the focus shifted away from Jews exclusively. Indeed, reparations claims were a tool for socially marginalized groups to pursue recognition in the Federal Republic as that state underwent a debate on national identity.

With German reunification and the end of the Cold War, the reparations debate was internationalized. The American government supported and promoted new reparations claims, and Eastern European claims received a hearing. As a result of numerous bilateral negotiations, so-called reconciliation foundations were established in many Eastern European states, and the foundation "Memory, Responsibility, and Future" was created to handle payments to former slave laborers. During this process, the German state effectively served as a moderator between victims' groups and German industry. In the 1990s, the impression prevailed that matters of morality and money collided like never before. This resulted, in part, from the public course of negotiations, the overt use of popular opinion as a negotiation tool, and the involvement of the American courts in reparations cases.

With an insightful yet dispassionate tone, Goshler successfully explains his emotionally charged material. Although many other scholars have examined aspects of reparations, this book is likely to become the new standard work in the field and the natural starting point for anyone looking for basic background on the topic.

JAY HOWARD GELLER
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MARY FULBROOK. *The People's State: East German Society from Hitler to Honecker*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 350. \$35.00.

This book is a pleasure to read. The reason is not the content—the history of a dictatorship is never pleasant—but the way it is written. The text is ordered, easily

understandable, and contains a good mixture of vivid description, including concrete examples. Mary Fulbrook's evaluations are clearly outlined and well balanced. Her sincere attempt to cope with the very different memories of citizens of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) deserves respect. Familiar material is combined with new findings from the archives or interviews. The broad spectrum of topics covered is impressive. Looking back to National Socialist Germany, Fulbrook stresses its conceptual and ideological differences to the GDR and reflects on the consequences of the unequal duration of the regimes, which allowed the GDR to educate a generation of "its own" that integrated the rules of the "game" by concentrating the focus of all strivings on the "changeable."

The first part of the book focuses on the everyday life of various groups; the second part concentrates on "class in a classless society"; and the third part centers on "participatory dictatorship." Fulbrook has two main theses. The first is that the organization of daily lives followed a specific social logic that seemed "normal" for many people—although by far not all, as she stresses again and again. Without referring to Michel Foucault, she argues that people shaped their lives actively and gave these activities a positive meaning after having internalized the rules and regulations of what was permissible (p. 297). Fulbrook is reluctant to accept the thesis of progressive individualization of people during the last phases of the GDR as the only possible interpretation. Although she acknowledges that private matters gained more importance for people (p. 231) over the course of time, she argues the fulfillment of individual desires was seen as the way to change the system (pp. 137, 286).

Fulbrook's second thesis concerns the participatory democracy that characterized the GDR dictatorship. While the first thesis is well explored, the second is not. Neither do her examples convey the whole spectrum of participation, nor is the secondary literature on this central aspect of the book fully exploited. Among the subjects missing are the many participatory aspects of the media (e.g. the *Volkskorrespondenten* or the meetings and letters with media representatives). Moreover, the National Front, especially its many "doing together" (*Mach-Mit*) activities on the local level (above all the program "*Schöner unsere Städte und Gemeinden*"), the (local) festivals (partly organized by the press), the manifold activities in the Kulturbund and in the Kulturhäuser (e.g. *Bitterfelder Weg*) should have received more consideration. This does not mean I reject Fulbrook's characterization of the GDR as a participatory dictatorship, especially as she is brilliant in interpreting her chosen examples, including the procedures of participation in factories and with respect to people's *Eingaben*. Fulbrook's term is analytically attractive and should prompt further discussion, but any such discussion must question whether participation is really a peculiarity of the GDR dictatorship or a more general feature of all dictatorships, including the Nazi dictatorship. If so, the task will be to discover the spe-

cific features of participation in the GDR. Fulbrook avoids theoretical consideration of that issue, perhaps because corresponding investigations on the Nazi regime as participatory dictatorship are still diffuse, and because it is more important for her to stress the differences between the GDR and Nazi Germany. The author's strength lies in her very differentiated interpretations of what participation, including well-orchestrated discussions, meant for the majority of people (not for all) and their relations to the state and the party (p. 295). Emphasizing the extreme complexity of the GDR *Herrschaft*, she distinguishes between the party power center and the state, arguing that people had a feeling of the state as "their" own. Although there might have been differences in people's perceptions of both, it is questionable whether this thesis can be sustained, especially if one looks at the structural interconnectedness of the state and the many party organizations hierarchically linked to the party power center.

My final criticism concerns the author's comparisons of GDR industrial problems with those of industrialized democracies. Although such comparisons are plausible, the differences should also be elaborated. For example, in the case of pollution, while in democracies responsibilities are shared among relatively "autonomous" parts of the society (*Teilsysteme*), the abuses in the GDR had no such "filter" and therefore could solely be seen as a matter of the party-state.

Fulbrook has written an inspiring and creative introduction into GDR history. It should rank high on the list of syntheses on this topic.

ADELHEID VON SALDERN
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LANCE GABRIEL LAZAR. *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 377. \$80.00.

Lance Gabriel Lazar offers a sensitive account of the strategies employed by Jesuit missionaries campaigning for the conquest of souls within Europe. In Italy their targets were not for the most part heresy or paganism but immorality, superstition, ignorance, and the "misbelief" of Jews and Muslims. The book is a study of a new and fashionable form of charity, redemptive as well as supportive, not merely reactive but also aggressive and interventionist. The care of bodies was consciously subordinated to a higher end, the reclamation of endangered souls, and poverty was seen as a source of temptation that threatened to pitch vulnerable creatures—especially children and pubescent girls—into a state of mortal sin.

Lazar's focus is on three institutions established during the 1540s in Rome, the head and stomach of all Christendom, as Juan Polanco called it in 1547 (p. 29). These became models for other cities and were widely imitated, thus helping to establish Rome's authority over the Catholic world. Perugia, one might add, had provided the prototype for the famous Christian pawn-

shops, the Monti di Pietà; Bologna for beggars' hospitals; Milan and Venice for plague hospitals; Siena and Florence for large, centralized general hospitals that looked after pilgrims, sick people, orphans, and foundlings. But Rome now set the pattern for closed, quasi-conventual establishments that aimed at achieving through discipline a complete transformation of character and beliefs. The Casa di Santa Marta was originally a short-stay halfway house that enabled dishonored women to retreat from the world, obtain protection, and make decisions about their own future. Such refuges offered a gentler alternative to the penitential convents for "whores repenting" which had existed here and there in Italian cities since the thirteenth century. The conservatory of Santa Caterina dei Funari was designed to protect girls who entered at the age of ten to twelve years and were deemed to be at high risk, in view of the immoral habits or desperate poverty of their mothers. The Casa dei Catecumeni was a place of education and testing for Jews and Muslims who had expressed some interest in becoming Catholics. As Lazar argues, it provided for Roman eyes an enactment in miniature of the hoped-for conversion of the whole world to Christianity.

Lazar's work describes in precise detail, with the aid of archival research and some assistance from old literary favorites such as Gregory Martin's *Roma sancta* (1581), the process by which the Jesuits enlisted men and women of high social standing in the task of reclaiming social outcasts. For this purpose, as he shows, they resorted to a traditional form of organization, the confraternity. They used the familiar administrative structures, the arrangements for holding regular assemblies and electing officers, but redirected the brothers' and sisters' energies beyond accumulating merit for themselves and looking after each other in times of distress. Confraternities inspired by the Jesuits became more outward-looking, on the principle that the most altruistic actions were also the most meritorious. Lazar's studies provide a valuable complement to the well-known writings of Louis Chatellier on the Marian congregations and sodalities that centered on their priestly directors and reflected the Jesuits' more sedentary days as teachers in schools and colleges (see *The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society* [1989]; *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism, c. 1500–1800* [1997]). As Lazar explains, confraternities enlisted secular priests and lay persons in the task of following up a Jesuit mission and giving its results a certain permanency, repeating its lessons when the missionary himself had departed to another field of endeavor.

Scholars have been familiar with the ideals and outlines of Roman conversionist establishments at least since Pietro Tacchi Venturi published the first volumes of his history of the Jesuits in Italy (*Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* [1950–1951]). Lazar has fleshed them out, presenting them not merely as institutions responding to a social need, but as organizations for

conveying belief; their object, since the Jesuits were very conscious of rank and degree, was not the transformation of social structures (save by the elimination of their most disorderly components) but the transformation of the inner life and devotional practices of Christians at all social levels. Inevitably, given the nature of the records, the stress falls on the governors rather than the governed. But one or two figures emerge from the prevailing anonymity, such as Phantasilea, the common prostitute who hoped to embark on a better life if her daughter Elisabetta were admitted to the protection of Santa Caterina "and therefore the conservatory would save two souls at once" (p. 88).

BRIAN PULLAN

University of Manchester

ROBERT NEMES. *The Once and Future Budapest*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 247. \$38.00.

Robert Nemes's book traces the evolution of the twin towns of Buda-Pest into a major metropolitan center that, by the late nineteenth century, successfully challenged Vienna as the second imperial city of the Habsburg monarchy. The story of the making of modern Budapest (the unification of Buda and Pest took place in 1872) has many parallels with urban developments throughout nineteenth-century Europe. Budapest, too, underwent spectacular population growth, pervasive commercialization, and massive urban renewal that resulted in dramatic social and cultural transformations. Yet, as Nemes makes evident, the development of urban modernity in Budapest was inseparable from the process of Magyarization and the emergence of what he calls a "nationally-minded urbanism" (p. 168). Based on rich archival sources and an imaginative use of contemporary literature, Nemes traces how the multiethnic and polyglot towns of Buda and Pest were transformed into a unified and essentially Hungarian-speaking capital city by the turn of the century. As the statistics indicate, the transformation was both rapid and dramatic. In 1851, the population of Buda-Pest was one-half German and one-third ethnic Hungarian (Magyar), with the balance made up of Jews, Slovaks, Serbs, Greeks, and other nationalities; by the 1890s, the city had become predominantly Hungarian-speaking with German-speakers constituting only ten percent of the population.

Nemes is remarkably evenhanded in his treatment of this development, which he considers neither inevitable nor unproblematic. He perceptively argues that the nationalization of Buda-Pest was the work of a small minority of Hungarian activists, who skillfully exploited cultural as well as political institutions to recruit the population to their ideas. They founded Hungarian-language newspapers, theaters, economic associations, and social clubs that became the carriers of the Magyar national idea. Nemes focuses on such seemingly trivial phenomena as fashion, dance halls, horse races, street signs, and family names to illustrate the gradual spread

of national attitudes and sentiments among different segments of the population. The major point of the book is that nationalism was never simply a question of abstract politics or ideological convictions, but also a symbolic practice embedded in everyday life. Nationalism, viewed from the perspective of everyday experience, does not appear as a uniform and deterministic ideology but, rather, as a complex and contested phenomenon that had a great many variations and left room for multiple loyalties and self-definitions.

While being self-conscious about the concrete manifestations of political and cultural practices, Nemes is careful to embed his story within the broad trajectory of Hungarian and European nationalism. The Revolutions of 1848 played a decisive role in securing for Buda-Pest a leading role as the national capital of the eastern part of the monarchy. It was, however, in the course of the 1850s and 1860s that the administrative and cultural blueprints for a modernized Budapest were laid down. The new national capital was to reflect an essentially Magyar national culture that rejected not only the ethnic diversity of an earlier Buda-Pest but also the commercialism and consumerism of contemporary urban cities. As the political radical Mihály Táncsics put it in a programmatic book of 1864: "Do not let our capital be like Paris or London: that is, do not let it be a home to maddening luxury, vast wealth, and poverty, the nest of immorality and everyday vice. Let our capital be the homeland's altar, on which the flame of loyalty to the homeland will ever burn" (p. 168).

Nemes's work raises a number of intriguing questions about the development of a specifically Central European nationalism and urbanism. Perhaps the most important issue is why the Hungarian nationalist reformers were so successful in transforming Buda-Pest into a Hungarian-speaking metropolis. What, in other words, was the special appeal of Magyar nationalism to the German-speaking urban inhabitants of Buda-Pest that prompted them to abandon the language of imperial politics and administration for the obscure tongue of the Magyars. The question is of particular relevance in the case of Budapest Jews, who were to play a central role in the development of Budapest modernity. Unlike their counterparts in Prague, who resisted Czech nationalism and remained German speakers, the Jews of Budapest flocked to the Hungarian national cause and enthusiastically adopted the Hungarian language. Nemes's tentative suggestion that nineteenth-century Hungarian nationalism was progressive, open to different perspectives, and welcoming to recruits who found a public role in the national cause should provide important impetus for future research into the complexities of nationalism in this region.

The second major issue raised by this book is the historical viability of "a nationally-minded urbanism" that constituted the ideological basis of Budapest modernity. As Nemes acknowledges in the conclusion, the transformation of Budapest into a Hungarian-speaking national capital had a paradoxical outcome. Instead of becoming "the homeland's altar," as Táncsics had

hopefully predicted, fin-de-siècle Budapest came to be associated with cosmopolitan Jewish values and increasingly seen as a threat to, rather than an iconic embodiment of, Hungarian nationalism. Nemes's imaginative and carefully researched book provides invaluable insight into the complex worlds of nineteenth-century nationalism and urbanism in Central Europe and should be of great interest to both general historians of Europe and to Habsburg specialists.

MARY GLUCK
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ROBERT E. ALVIS. *Religion and the Rise of Nationalism: A Profile of an East-Central European City*. (Religion and Politics.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 227. \$34.95.

Is your theory of nationalism spiced with secularism or steeped in the sacred? Robert E. Alvis's engaging study of religion and the rise of nationalism in the Polish-German borderland city of Poznań addresses this question. Alvis views "modernists" such as Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm as apostles of a secularist interpretation emphasizing modern nationalism's break with earlier, divinely scripted teleologies. Only later in the nineteenth century does modernist theory permit religion to enter the nationalist tent, through the passage reserved for conservatives and proto-fascists bidding for the liberal-democratic nation-state's control. Yet the late twentieth-century fusion of nationalism and religiosity, alarmingly potent today, threatens to parochialize modernist claims.

Alvis qualifies as a moderate "primordialist," ascribing much of nationalism's strength to roots in "preexisting ethnic identities and historical and cultural legacies that are of genuine, compelling substance" (p. xxi), especially religion. He stresses the self-conscious religiosity of many important Polish and German early nationalists and their plebeian followers. His argument shows how "these two modes of identity, nationalist and confessional, had become integrally related" (p. xxvii).

Before Prussia's seizure of Poznań in the 1793 Polish partition, the Polish bourgeoisie was weak but Catholicism was strong, encompassing the city's Polish-speaking majority and a Polonization-susceptible German Catholic colony. Germanophone Protestants, economically muscular, comprised a persecuted minority that bowed to Catholic overlordship. The numerous Jewish community looked to the aristocratic Polish authorities to uphold their chartered liberties against sporadic violence of unruly Catholic priests and laity.

Following Ernest Gellner, Alvis argues that capitalist development and urban growth greased the rails for nationalist mobilization. About the province's Polish-speaking rural majority he writes uncertainly, underestimating the counterrevolutionary impact of the Prussian government's granting of landed property rights to freed serfs. Though Alvis's overarching argument does not highlight it, he shows that the great motor of social and political change in this era was the

Prussian government itself. It sought to secure the Polish-speaking majority's loyalty through the import of Prussian judicial, administrative, and self-governmental institutions; through linguistic Germanization in new public schools (in which—though Alvis underplays the point—limited instruction in Polish survived); and through “peasant emancipation” and other modernizing reforms.

The Berlin government reneged on its 1815 promises to maintain Poznań's Polish character. Nationalist-minded Polish officeholders, students, and clergymen found themselves out of jobs and career prospects. Though Alvis wants to view Prussia's goal as “Germanization,” his evidence supports instead the idea of Prussianization, aiming at a Germanization compatible with Polophone cultural-religious identities. More aggressive Germanization awaited Otto von Bismarck's day.

Alvis shows how central Catholic self-understanding and faith were to emergent Polish nationalism, both in its reactive anti-Prussian manifestations and its emotion-laden imaginings of an independent Poland. Alvis concedes that the early nationalist intelligentsia widely cultivated an anticlerical, secular-rationalist style, while many pre-1815 churchmen preferred conservative-monarchist Prussia to Napoleon Bonaparte and his Polish legions. But after the 1830 Polish rebellion's defeat in Russia, nationalists en masse—iconic Adam Mickiewicz among them—repaired to the communion rail, reformulating their hopes in the rhetoric of messianism, in which Poland figured (immodestly) as the “Christ among nations.”

In Prussian Poland, government policy favored strengthening of local Protestantism and a Jewish emancipation drawing the Jews into German self-identity. In Polish eyes, such trends worked to transform the Catholic Church into a Polish national institution, especially after the Berlin government imprisoned the Poznań-Gniezno archbishop (1838–1840) in a church-state struggle over confessionally mixed marriages. The German Protestants' identification with the Prussian state nationalized them, although urban liberalism thrived among them as well. As for the Jews, Alvis excludes them as subjects of religiously mediated self-nationalization, although they qualify as well as Catholics and Protestants, even if becoming German was a new experience. Alvis underscores the strength of Polish antisemitism.

Alvis's final chapter enriches a distinguished literature on the revolution of 1848 in Poznań. That Polish nationalists sought to mobilize the common people by depicting Protestant Prussian rule as inimical to Catholicism, and that the church had nationalized itself to the point that the Poznań archbishop advocated “reorganization” (Polish home rule), are Alvis's central points, underpinning his broader thesis.

Alvis's book usefully widens the thin English-language literature on Prussian Poland. It modestly forbears linking its analysis to better-known later issues, especially the *Kulturkampf* and Bismarckian *Polenpolitik*. I would have welcomed an empirically richer

account of Alvis's period. But for those interested in nationalist theory in general, and religion and nationalism in particular, his book is admirably concise and lucid. That religion lent itself to nationalization, and that nationalism gained strength through self-identification with nationally hued religion, one can hardly doubt. A question that Alvis does not pose, but that hangs over his book, is whether the religions of Christianity, by infusing themselves with nationalism, did not compromise their premodern claims to ethical and theological universality. Perhaps it was not so much religion that imposed itself on nationalism as it was nationalism that, at least for worldly purposes, subjugated religion?

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THEODORE R. WEEKS. *From Assimilation to Antisemitism: The “Jewish Question” in Poland, 1850–1914*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 242. \$40.00.

In this well-written, thoroughly researched, and carefully balanced exploration of the rise of antisemitism in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Poland, Theodore R. Weeks has ventured into a volatile field of study. Few topics have generated more heat (and less light) than this one, but Weeks succeeds in navigating the polemical reefs with admirable subtlety, sensitivity, and reason. Those who wish to see Poland as a land of either unmitigated tolerance or unrelenting prejudice will be disappointed; everyone else will appreciate the sobriety of this narrative account. Weeks begins with the recognition that modern forms of political antisemitism were somewhat late to arrive in Poland, and that until the very end of the nineteenth century most educated Poles presumed that some form of assimilation or acculturation was both possible and desirable. Even though they rejected the idea that culturally distinct religious communities could coexist within a single nation, they did avoid explicit hatred by imagining that Poles and Jews would progress together toward an enlightened, progressive, liberal future. Such optimism would fade by the start of the twentieth century, and before World War I the Jews were commonly depicted by Poles across the political spectrum as immutably alien and (by most authors) irredeemably hostile.

Perhaps the greatest virtue of this book is the balance with which Weeks approaches Polish discussions of the so-called “Jewish Question,” neither soft-pedaling expressions of prejudice nor overstating the level of hatred. It is all too easy to find examples of anti-Jewish stereotypes in Polish texts from those years, and presenting a disembodied litany of these can easily exaggerate the problem. Weeks takes care to contextualize the Judeophobic comments he cites, monitoring the frequency (or infrequency) with which particular periodicals discussed the Jews and distinguishing between passing prejudicial remarks and a systematic fixation on

imagined Jewish threats. The primary object of analysis in this book is not, therefore, the underlying foundation of prejudice that unites nineteenth-century liberals and twentieth-century nationalists. The idea that Jewish difference was somehow a "problem" for Poland was indeed a constant, but Weeks maintains that a variety of conclusions could be drawn from this starting point, not all of them worthy of the label "antisemitism." The descent toward the rhetoric of hatred that marked the immediate prewar years is thus portrayed as a contingent development rather than the inexorable flowering of always-latent prejudice. Stressing this contingency, Weeks does not offer a grand theory or monocausal explanation for the shift "from assimilation to antisemitism." The closest he comes to an overarching explanation is in his conclusion, where he briefly sets the Polish story before a pan-European backdrop and suggests that modern political antisemitism arose together with Jewish acculturation, because only with this development did Jews and Christians come into frequent (and often competitive) contact within common social, economic, and professional spheres. For the most part, though, the narrative in this book is cautious, and Weeks remains skeptical of any theorizing that might artificially smooth out the complexity of his story.

This book is primarily a work of intellectual history, focusing almost exclusively on published texts by prominent authors in the Russian partition of Poland (the German and Habsburg partitions are explicitly bracketed for the purposes of this study). Weeks casts "society" as a historical agent in this book, but he clarifies in the introduction that he is using the term as nineteenth-century Poles did, to refer to "the affluent, educated members of the Polish public" (p. 3). Thus he is able to assert, for example, that "in the years after 1907, the possibility of fusing Jews and Poles into a harmonious synthesis was overwhelmingly rejected by Polish society" (p. 152). In this framework, "society" can become a collective subject because Weeks is really referring to the literate, politically engaged upper crust of Warsaw—a relatively small, self-contained group that did indeed share a certain cohesion. By delineating his topic in this way Weeks brackets larger questions about identity formation, taking as a given the existence of "Jews" and "Poles" as separate communities and describing the divergent interests of the two groups as "inevitable" (p. 140). Weeks does not set out to challenge the familiar narratives of *fin-de-siècle* Polish history, nor does he offer any dramatic new findings or interpretations (most of the events and texts discussed in this book have been examined elsewhere, albeit sometimes only in Polish-language scholarship). What Weeks does offer, however, is a reliable, concise, and highly accessible account of the shifting debates over the "Jewish Question" in Poland in the decades leading up to 1914.

BRIAN PORTER
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WENDY LOWER. *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 307. \$49.95.

The Nazi occupation of the Ukraine has a particular claim on our attention. For one thing, it was murder's heartland. The Holocaust consumed more lives here than anywhere else in Europe except neighboring Poland. Non-Jews died in the millions, too, and few areas under German occupation saw a larger proportion of the population wiped out by war. For another, the Ukraine, and particularly the territory in right-bank (West) Ukraine that forms the subject of the present study, was one of the regions in which Nazi fantasies of colonial settlement were most powerfully awakened and articulated. Although in recent years other authors have taken advantage of newly available archival materials to illuminate aspects of the Holocaust in the Ukraine, Wendy Lower's study is distinctive not only in focusing specifically on the Zhitomir commissariat but above all in posing questions about the interrelationship between colonial and genocidal elements in Nazi policy.

Lower tests the colonial precedent on multiple levels. She begins by reminding us that the Nazis were not the first to dream of German settlement in the East. In the years prior to World War I, *völkisch* thinkers had begun to substitute dreams of eastern expansion for the failed nineteenth-century project of an overseas colonial empire. For a brief heady period in 1918, the army established a military administration over vast swathes of foreign territory and talked of cementing German control over spaces and races. As well as inheriting this *völkisch* program, Adolf Hitler and his henchmen also made frequent recourse to overseas colonial precedents and images. Hitler's famous dicta—such as "What India was for England the territories of Russia will be for us"—either explicitly referred to Ukraine or were voiced on the occasion of his visits there. Reich Kommissar Erich Koch described the Ukrainians as "Negroes." The reader misses a more explicit analysis of the contradictory character of colonial precedent and of the eclectic and unsystematic character of Nazi borrowings. When Lower asks specifically how far the violence of Nazi occupation was shaped by previous colonial experience, the question is posed imprecisely, with the military precedent cited including the antipartisan warfare of the Franco-Prussian War and World War I.

By contrast, Lower's examination of the way Nazi administrative practice precluded any stable imperial relationship with Ukrainian subjects is immediately convincing. The Germans had no vision of comfortable subordination to offer their newfound subjects, and no civilizing mission. The style of governance was exploitative, demoralizing, chaotic—and above all violent. The army's commitment to ruthless pacification actions created a partisan problem more than it responded to one. And the Ukrainian witnessing of the Holocaust undermined any confidence in the occupier's humanity and rendered all talk about German culture absurd.

Most striking in Lower's account is that divisions and lack of common purpose in the administration prevented even Heinrich Himmler's dreams of German settlement from being coherently and purposefully advocated by the entire administration. It is all the more remarkable, then, that in its most destructive innovation—the Holocaust—the German administration in Ukraine was able to work relatively harmoniously.

Lower's examination of a relationship between the Nazis' imperial dreams and the Holocaust is surprisingly limited. We may well agree with her that the Holocaust cannot be seen as simply the result of Himmler's Generalplan Ost, yet we would have expected more extensive reflection on the degree to which settlement plans and economic considerations provided the context for the killings—even if Lower argues persuasively that anti-Jewish actions operated on a different track and were invested with a different energy than other measures in the Ukrainian colony.

Leaving the colonial dimension aside, the study offers an excellent regional account of the Holocaust, carefully unpicking the interaction between higher orders and lower level initiatives in the unfolding of genocide. Both Hitler and Himmler had their advance headquarters in the region, and Himmler was frequently present to offer exhortations and reprimand those who had not been aggressive enough. Echoing other recent studies, Lower draws particular attention to the role of the Higher SS and Police Leader, in this case Friedrich Jeckeln, who seems to have been crucial in designating women and children as fair game for murder. Again mirroring recent work, Lower dramatically highlights the Wehrmacht's importance in aiding and abetting operations against Ukraine's Jews. Particularly well sketched here is the mixture of competition and cooperation in driving policy forward. On the one hand, aggressive middle-ranking SS and police leaders could sideline overly passive or squeamish civilian commissars. On the other hand, Lower shows that it would be wrong to overstate the role of competition between ambitious satraps. Instead, the smoothness of the operation revealed the willingness of a variety of thinly stretched and understaffed administrative and police units to cooperate with each other. As others have noted before, the Nazis proved masterful when it came to organizing murder, but were unable to put anything constructive in place.

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JOHAN DIETSCH. *Making Sense of Suffering: Holocaust and Holodomor in Ukrainian Culture*. Lund: Lund University Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 280.

One outcome of the larger research project, *The Holocaust and European Historical Culture*, at Lund University, this book analyzes how "Ukrainian historical culture" in independent Ukraine has constructed, narrated, incorporated, and used the Holocaust. Historical

culture is defined as "the historical product, a societal context and the interaction between the two" (p. 19). Johan Dietsch focuses on history textbooks and, because those must be approved by the Ministry of Education, he actually focuses on "the Ukrainian state as producer of historical narratives, or in a figurative sense as author" (pp. 39–40). The book applies Klas-Göran Karlsson's somewhat artificial distinctions between social uses of the past: scholarly use, existential use, moral use, ideological use (including "non-use"), and political-pedagogical use.

What Dietsch finds is deliberate neglect of the Holocaust, indeed its "absence" (p. 147). He does not mean omission of the Nazi killing of Jews but a refusal to mention and explain a Jewish tragedy that resulted from diverging Nazi policies toward ethnic and political groups. The textbooks also fail to mention Ukrainian perpetrators and they assert that Ukrainians suffered more than Jews from the Nazis. All this has nothing to do with insufficient awareness of the nature of the Holocaust, Dietsch argues, and everything to do with a fear in government circles that proper attention to the Holocaust is harmful to a Ukrainian national consciousness: it counters Ukrainian ethnocentrism, subverts the glorification of Ukrainian nationalists, and allows Jews as well as Ukrainians to claim victim status. Remarkably, Dietsch adds that the Ukrainian government was right. "Recognition of the Holocaust" in the textbooks "could create a trauma or a catastrophic crisis" (p. 230).

The author's conclusion regarding textbooks in world history is more hopeful. At first those books were silent about the Holocaust (for reasons unexplained), and subsequent surveys mention it while suggesting that it took place elsewhere, not on Ukrainian territory. But in 2003 a world history textbook appeared that mentioned the Holocaust in Ukraine. Dietsch tentatively concludes that this "points towards a gradual change" due to a policy of "positioning Ukraine within a European community" (pp. 194, 233). He does not reconcile the apparent contradiction with the justified fears in government circles of trauma or crisis, so that the reader remains unsure whether or not to conclude that the Ukrainian state has been changing its mind.

The Great Famine of 1933, known as the Holodomor, also draws Dietsch's attention, because in his view no other past tragedy gets as much attention in independent Ukraine. In passing, he calls the Holodomor—a term not explained—a "genocidal act" (p. 103). He finds that the textbooks do not mention the Ukrainian activists who seized the grain and thus helped produce the famine; once again, Ukrainian perpetrators are absent. Including them, he believes, would preclude portrayal of the famine as an anti-Ukrainian genocide. (Strictly speaking, that is incorrect, for many genocides take place with the participation of members of the victim group.) Possibly due to time constraints, the analysis is less thorough than the recent articles about Holodomor remembrance by Wilfried Jilge, Iurii Shapoval, Valerii Vasil'ev (all in *Osteuropa* 12 [2004]), Heorhii Kas'ianov (in *Ab Imperio* 3 [2004]), or O. M.

Veselova (in the edited volume *Holod 1932–1933 rokiv v Ukraini: Prychyny ta naslidky* [2003]). More can be said about the film *Holod-33 (Famine-33, 1991)* than that it depicts a suffering family and won first prize in the first all-Ukrainian festival: it was shown on Ukrainian television on the eve of the referendum about the declaration of independence. There is no mention of the proclamation in 1998 by President Leonid Kuchma of the Day of Commemoration of the Victims of the Holodomor. The Ukrainian parliament declared the famine a genocide “as late as in 2003,” but the reasons for the delay remain mysterious.

Throughout the book, Ukrainians outside Ukraine, who played an important role in letting the world know about the famine but also coined the dubious concept of “Ukrainian Holocaust” to describe it, receive little sympathy. Dietsch barely acknowledges that for years the diaspora was right to perceive the world as being unaware of the famine or in denial of its artificiality. A more nuanced survey of its role, by Frank Sysyn, can be found in Levon Chorbajian and George Shirinian, eds., *Studies in Comparative Genocide* (1999).

One hopes that other researchers will be as interested as Dietsch in the topic of Ukrainian memory of mass atrocities and will draw on his work to create a more compelling monograph. They can also trace noteworthy articles that Dietsch published under the name Johan Öhman, in Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, eds., *Echoes of the Holocaust: Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe* (2003) and in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 37, no. 3 (2003).

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TIMOTHY SNYDER. *Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 347. \$35.00.

The narrative of Timothy Snyder's previous book, *Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (2003), scans the Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian borderlands giving a bird's-eye view of centuries of history. In his new book, Snyder's gaze plunges earthward to the quiet terrain of Polish Volhynia in the eastern borderlands in the tumultuous interwar years. His narrative lands on one man, Henryk Józewski, an artist, intellectual, governor of Polish Volhynia from 1926–1938, and subsequently a secret agent in the Polish underground until his imprisonment in 1953. This micro view, placed always within its larger historical and philosophical context, makes for an enticing read. Snyder uses the biography of Józewski to illustrate the momentous turning points in Poland regarding the role of state in society, and competing definitions of nation, nationalism, and modernism. Like the spies he writes about, Snyder frequently crosses the borders of Polish and Soviet Ukrainian history, but he does so more fruitfully than his hapless Soviet and Polish agents.

Józewski was born in the Ukrainian hinterland of the Russian Empire to a Polish family, the kind that had traditionally ruled as the Polish *pan* (lord) over the local peasantry. Snyder teases out a portrait of a tolerant internationalist who spoke Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian interchangeably, who understood and in part supported the Ukrainian quest for nationhood, but who was, above all, a Polish patriot. Józewski was one of the chief architects of Poland's Promethean Project, which tried to steal the thunder from Soviet Ukraine's Ukrainization program of the 1920s by promoting Ukrainian culture in Polish Volhynia and trumpeting Poland as the vehicle for Ukrainian national liberation. Such liberation, of course, would not cede any Polish territory to a potential Ukrainian state, but would lend support to Ukrainian liberation from Soviet rule across the border. This foreign policy objective coincided with greater Polish objectives in the 1920s to undermine Soviet communism and win back lost territory. Józewski's plan, in fact, copied Soviet programs on the other side of the border that promoted Ukrainian and Byelorussian languages and cultures in order to entice Ukrainians and Byelorussians in Poland to rise up, renounce the oppressive Polish *pan*, and join the Soviet revolution. Both countries used Ukrainians as supposed unwitting pawns in a great power game. Both countries dismantled these policies when they realized that promoting Ukrainian culture in fact promoted separatist Ukrainian nationalism.

Snyder envisions the Polish nation-building project as inherently more legitimate and noble than the Soviet socialism-building project. Despite this underlying assumption, he points to a surprising similarity in tactics between the Soviet communists and Polish nationalists. Lazar Kaganovich, Jewish by nationality and appointed general secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party by Joseph Stalin, promoted the establishment in Soviet Ukraine of Ukrainian village schools, universities, and technical institutes, developed Ukrainian publishing houses, cultivated Ukrainian writers, and oversaw the gradual switch from Russian to Ukrainian language in government offices. Józewski, Polish by nationality, and appointed governor of Volhynia by Józef Piłsudski, promoted Ukrainian language schools, the Ukrainization of Orthodox churches, godfathered a Ukrainian political party, and had loyal Ukrainians elected to the parliament.

Both Kaganovich and Józewski had a particular view of Ukrainian national liberation: it was to be cultural, not political, and subordinate to the larger interests of the master nation. Their vision was of top-down, state-led enlightenment and modernization. Neither leader had patience for disorderly democratic processes. Kaganovich had Ukrainians arrested and tried for sympathizing with Ukrainian “bourgeois” nationalism. Józewski arrested and cleaned out the ranks of the very popular Ukrainian wing of the Polish Communist Party in Volhynia. As Kaganovich shut down Ukrainian literary circles, Józewski closed Ukrainian cooperatives believed to harbor communist agitators. As Soviet

Ukrainians filed in to vote for single-candidate elections to local positions, Polish Ukrainians had their votes swept away in rampant electoral fraud.

Both leaders found, however, that building the rudiments of national cultural autonomy opened the way to manipulation by the other side. Ukrainian nationalists funded by German sources infiltrated Ukrainian-language high schools. Polish espionage snuck into Ukrainian and Polish cultural institutions in Soviet Ukraine. With nationalism perceived as an increasing threat, both sides in the second half of the 1930s boarded up their cultural programs for national minorities and imprisoned national minorities who resisted—and, in the Soviet case, those who did not.

After the war, the tables turned, Józewski found himself on the wrong side of government in postwar communist Poland, hunted as an underground agent for the Polish government in exile. Snyder at this point asserts that Józewski was a “democrat.” More accurately, Józewski became a democrat in the postwar years, for the first time in his career, protesting against communist rule, particularly the nepotistic appointment of officials, censorship, domestic surveillance, flagrant electoral fraud, and arrest of the opposition—none of these tactics new to the Polish political landscape, many of them mastered by Józewski himself. Józewski, who once arrested communists by the thousands, landed in a communist prison in the 1950s. It was now his turn to call the communist government illegitimate, settle in, read philosophy, and contemplate his whirlwind career.

While many of Józewski's contemporaries in the complicated wartime Polish terrain capitulated to Soviet, Nazi, British, or American interests, Józewski held fast to his convictions. Snyder paints a critical and sometimes romanticized portrait of Józewski, which illuminates in a captivatingly immediate way the narrow and treacherous catwalk for central Europeans who tried to build more inclusive, enlightened societies.

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RICHARD PIPES. *Russian Conservatism and Its Critics: A Study in Political Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 216. \$30.00.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, scholars in Russia have devoted increasing attention to the history of Russian conservatism. *Russkii konservatizm XIX stoletii: ideologiya i praktika* [Russian Conservatism of the Nineteenth Century: Ideology and Practice], a collective monograph under the editorship of V. Ia. Grosul (2000), provided the first systematic survey of the phenomenon. Recently, a group of scholars in Voronezh headed by Iu. A. Minakov produced a fascinating study of early nineteenth-century conservatives, *Protiv tekhenii: istoricheskie portrety russkikh konservatorov pervoi treti XIX stoletii* [Against the Current: Historical Portraits of Russian Conservatives in the First Third of the Nineteenth-Century] (2005). Andrzej Walicki has also

published magisterial chapters of conservatism and Slavophilism in his *Zarys myśli rosyjskiej od oświecenia do renesansu religijno-filozoficznego* [Outline of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to the Religious-Philosophical Renaissance] (2005). Richard Pipes's new book is, therefore, a contribution to a lively subdiscipline in Russian political history.

Pipes claims that “the dominant strain in Russian political thought throughout history has been a conservatism that insisted on strong, centralized authority, unrestrained either by law or parliament” (p. 1). This conservatism was a logical response to Russia's political system, a patrimonial form of monarchy whose “powers exceeded anything known in the West even in the age of absolutism” (p. 13). In Pipes's opinion, Russian autocrats regarded the entire realm as their property and all subjects as their slaves; he insists that there existed in Russia no organized society to serve as counterweight to the crown, and that therefore Russian politics had a peculiarly personalistic, dictatorial character, which political commentary tended to reflect and to ratify. This theory of Russian history has the unfortunate effect of flattening the Russian past into a series of virtually unbroken tragedies, and it transforms Pipes's promising book into a narrowly political excursus. Pipes misses or understates the subtleties of those conservative thinkers who defended religious beliefs against secular attack, preferred collectivist property regimes (like the peasant commune) to industrial capitalism, attacked bourgeois ethics in the name of human dignity, or endorsed art for art's sake.

Russian conservatism took shape between the late fifteenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries. Thinkers such as the abbot Joseph of Volokolamsk, the secular courtier Ivan Peresvetov, tsars Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great all defended undivided state power. Episodic attempts by Russian aristocrats to limit tsarist authority proved unsuccessful, largely because they lacked broad support from other elite groups. Between 1730 and the peasant reform of 1861, conservatism fell under attack by early Russian liberals. Pipes offers brief sketches of these so-called “liberals”—the journalist Nikolai Novikov, the statesmen Nikita Panin and Mikhail Speransky—emphasizing their inability to constitute an effective counterweight to the patrimonial tradition. Pipes' portraits of the era's conservatives are uneven. He rightly depicts the historians Mikhail Scherbakov and Nikolai Karamzin as advocates of a partnership between government and nobility. He treats the writer Alexander Pushkin after 1826 as a strident monarchist and defender of censorship, a view that Pushkin scholars will likely find simplistic. He stresses the religious conservatism of the philosopher Petr Chaadaev, but does not reconcile that conservatism with Chaadaev's opposition to serfdom and government arbitrariness. Pipes ignores most of the interesting conservatives in Alexander I's post-1812 government and offers only a cursory treatment of the classical Slavophiles.

After 1861 a “new conservatism”—nationalistic,

populist, anti-Western, shrill, and defensive—appeared in Russia. Pipes accuses the journalist Mikhail Katkov of worshipping power as an end in itself, and indicts the second-generation Slavophile Iury Samarin and the writer Fedor Dostoevsky for their virulent antisemitism. He attacks the journalist Ivan Aksakov as a “paranoid nationalist, visceral anti-Semite, and zealous Pan-Slavist” (p. 135). In Pipes’s view, the Procurator of the Holy Synod Konstantin Pobedonostsev, Russia’s most influential conservative, lacked original ideas and was animated by fear. Meanwhile, the writer Konstantin Leontiev based his highly original conservatism on cruel asceticism and on a severe version of Byzantine Christianity. Pipes is less censorious about the statesman Sergei Witte, who saw as disastrous the prospect of representative government in Russia. He has little to say about the geopolitician Nikolai Danilevsky, and nothing about the “revolutionary renegade” Lev Tikhomirov.

The brief final chapter on liberalism between 1861 and 1917 discusses the “conservative-liberals” Konstantin Kavelin, Boris Chicherin, Petr Struve, and Petr Stolypin. It depicts the October 1917 revolution as a “new form of autocracy . . . far more despotic and lawless than the previous one” (p. 173), thus hinting that the Bolshevik dictatorship resembled the Muscovite patrimonial state.

Pipes’s book, in some respects narrow, superficial, and unoriginal, is nevertheless worth reading for the author’s trademark erudition, clarity of mind, and forcefulness.

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NIKOLAI M. DRONIN and EDWARD G. BELLINGER. *Climate Dependence and Food Problems in Russia 1900–1990: The Interaction of Climate and Agricultural Policy and Their Effect on Food Problems*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 366. \$45.95.

Agriculture is tough in the Eurasian heartlands occupied by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. This is why, although agriculture flourished early in much of Eurasia, it made little headway in the heartland until some 1,500 years ago, when a sustained migration of peasants from Eastern Europe laid the demographic foundations for the first powerful agrarian states in this region.

This book is a thorough and systematic attempt to assess the impact of climatic difficulties on Russian and Soviet agriculture since the late nineteenth century. It is written by two environmental historians, Nikolai M. Dronin and Edward G. Bellinger. Chapter one describes the general difficulties that an unpredictable climate posed for farmers in this region. Growing seasons were short, soils were poor in the forest zone, rainfall was erratic in the black earth zones, and difficulties in fodder production combined with the need to keep stock indoors during the long winters limited the pos-

sibilities for livestock farming. The climatic factors that most directly determined output were variable rainfall and regular droughts. These go a long way to explaining the “great fluctuation in yields” (p. 4). The authors conclude that “During the last hundred years the country went through at least 30 years of severe drought” (p. 335). Throughout this period, agricultural output correlated closely with rainfall levels (pp. 7–8).

Chapter two discusses the reliability of Russian and Soviet statistics. The authors conclude that, except for the Stalin era, for which official statistics are unusable, most official statistics can be used, although they were subject to several kinds of distortion and must be interpreted with care. Furthermore, since the collapse of the Soviet Union, much more information is available on the methods used to construct Soviet-era statistics, and new information has appeared on specific episodes, such as the long-ignored famine of 1924.

The next seven chapters describe the evolution of agriculture between 1900 and 1990, focusing on the impact of climatic variations. Each chapter has three sections: an overview of “Major developments in agriculture”; a section summarizing “Weather variations and agricultural production”; and a final section on “Food Problems.” Each chapter also includes a short summary. Although this structure makes for some repetition, it allows the authors to separate the differing impacts on agriculture and food supply of climatic variations on the one hand and government policies and other factors on the other.

The authors conclude that climatic variability had a very significant impact on fluctuations in harvest levels; but climate alone cannot explain the mass famines of the early Soviet period, which were caused largely by predatory government policies. “Thus the history of famine in the 1920s and 1930s supports the idea that ‘Droughts are a natural phenomenon; famines are not’” (p. 13). Nor does climatic change alone explain the chronic food supply problems of the final decades of the Soviet period.

The book’s most important contribution is its thorough and systematic overview of climatic changes, year by year, and their impact on the performance of Russian and Soviet agriculture. Some readers will be irritated by the poor copyediting. Too often, the word, “Russia” is used interchangeably with “the Soviet Union”; there are too many minor typos; and a major quotation is set as part of the text (p. 264). However, the book’s main limitation is its failure to discuss the long-term impact of the command economy on Soviet agricultural history. While the book analyzes the impact of government agricultural policy in great detail, it avoids the larger question of whether or not an efficient agricultural sector was even possible under the conditions of a planned economy. The authors are aware of how Soviet pricing policy could misdirect resources (above all in their many discussions of the imbalance between the livestock and cereal sectors). They also show how the poor quality of Soviet statistics could mislead the government as well as its subjects. Yet the very

structures of the command economy ensured that prices could not provide accurate information about relative scarcities, and would therefore encourage economically irrational behavior on the part of government, producers, and consumers. Unrealistic pricing also compromised the information contained in Soviet economic statistics, even when they were not subject to deliberate distortion. One of the secret delights of studying the Soviet Union was that the irrationality of its economic system provided such fertile ground for humor. Perhaps it was this irrationality, rather than the failure of specific policies, that explains why Soviet agriculture failed to cope adequately with the challenges posed by a difficult climatic environment.

But such criticism is not entirely fair, as the primary aim of this book was to assess the impact on Soviet agricultural history of climatic factors, and this it does extremely well. Given the profound impact of food supply problems at so many critical junctures in Russian and Soviet history, this thorough and rigorous survey deserves to be welcomed by all historians of Russia and the Soviet Union.

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BRIAN BONHOMME. *Forests, Peasants, and Revolutionaries: Forest Conservation and Organization in Soviet Russia, 1917–1929*. (East European Monographs, No. DCLIV.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. 252.

Referring to the vast forests that have played an elemental role in their history, Russians like to use the adjective *neob“iatnye*, meaning unencompassable or unimaginably large. The very vastness of the Russian forest may help explain why its role in Russia's past has not yet received due attention from historians. So fundamental is the forest, so thoroughly intertwined with Russia's culture and economy: where does one start? One inroad in recent years involves the question of forest conservation. Publications by V. K. Teplakov, Jane T. Costlow, and Douglas R. Weiner have contributed a great deal to our understanding of the destruction and preservation of Russian forestland. Brian Bonhomme's monograph marks a new level of interest in the subject in terms of its willingness to narrow the focus to a specific period (the early years of the revolution) and to the specific topic of forest-related legislation and its impact on Russia's natural and socio-economic landscapes.

Not surprisingly, the book sets its argument within the larger context of Russian conservationism, the current terms of which have been established in part by Weiner. While Bonhomme seems to suggest that this book provides a fundamental corrective to Weiner's work, it would be more accurate to say it offers a useful addition, narrowly focused on the forest as opposed to Weiner's more comprehensive approach to Russia's natural environment. The book develops one essential theme, summarized by the author as follows: "In forest protection as in so many aspects of early Soviet life, the

basic reality was that government and local populations—state and society—were pursuing very different, perhaps irreconcilable, interests" (p. 226). While the state sought to manage and control the wealth and potential of Russia's forests, local populations living in or near forests believed that those blessings belonged to them and exploited the forests to satisfy their own pressing needs. An initial policy of centralization at the time of the Russian Revolution and Civil War proved ineffective because it alienated and angered locals and was difficult to enforce, while a revised NEP-era policy that afforded greater local control offered too little to appease the peasantry and resembled, in Bonhomme's phrase, "having the fox guard the hens." In an inevitable irony, the book tends to recapitulate some of the problems faced by its main subjects, those conservationists and Bolsheviks trying to preserve and manage the forests from the "commanding heights" at the center. These two subsets of educated Russia, in an attempt to force the peasantry to cooperate with a national forest plan, created the values and legislation on which the book's source material is largely based. Although peasants constitute one side of the dispute that the book chronicles, they appear here only in the distance, somewhat blurred. We do not know them. The reader will, however, feel much more familiar with those members of the Soviet bureaucracy and intelligentsia in a position to leave a paper trail.

One of the great strengths of this book is that it discusses an isolated historical theme for which we might expect a unique trajectory, but instead the story it tells supports surprisingly well the broad and familiar outlines of Soviet history. Bonhomme's meticulous scrutiny of conservation legislation winds up demonstrating that forestry officials, although partly for their own reasons, followed rather closely the centralizing patterns of War Communism and the subsequent decentralization of the NEP era. The parallel underscores the general dilemmas faced by the modernizing Soviet Union, the familiar difficulty of harnessing a recalcitrant and far-flung population to modernizing, centrally directed policies. In retrospect, moreover, the dilemma corroborates another of Bonhomme's themes: that Soviet conservation dealt with the same problems, in much the same way, as conservation efforts made during the late imperial period.

While the tight focus and limited ambitions of this small monograph allow it to make an important, well-supported and convincing contribution to the history of Russian forest conservation, its self-imposed restrictions also limit its potential impact outside of its immediate field. Bonhomme seems to accept from the outset that his subject will interest only specialists. The book begins with an introduction that assumes a great deal of specialized knowledge on the part of its readers, and it adds a misplaced and unnecessary chapter criticizing patently exaggerated Soviet visions of V. I. Lenin as an ecologist. Most importantly, it neglects to offer the necessary context with which to draw in nonspecialists. The audience for this book could have

been larger than its author anticipated. Those interested, in general terms, in woodland ecology, environmentalism, Russian history, and revolutionary movements would all have something to learn here. To address this larger audience, however, the book would need to contain more supporting and contextual information on the science of forestry, on comparative conservationism, and on the history of the revolution. Still, while readers will remain limited to those specifically interested in Russian forests and environmentalism, for them it will be mandatory reading. It provides a valuable contribution toward shaping future discussions of these subjects.

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ANDREW L. JENKS. *Russia in a Box: Art and Identity in an Age of Revolution*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 264. \$38.00.

This book by Andrew L. Jenks tells the history of an object, the Palekh box, familiar to every tourist who has visited Russia. Black lacquer boxes ornamented with stylized fairytale scenes, these are—at their best—dazzling feats of craftsmanship, and even mass-produced imitations are redolent of legendary Russia. Despite their traditional appearance, however, Palekh boxes are modern in origin: they date from 1922, when two painters from the village of Palekh—long a center for icon painting—devised a secular product that would enable the village painters to remain in their studios and earn a living from their art, even as atheism became state policy under the Bolsheviks.

Jenks reveals the extent to which Palekh painters became “folk artists” by fiat and against their own wishes. First in the late imperial period, then under Soviet rule, they were conscripted to serve the national interest, and their efforts were monitored by powerful bureaucrats. The book begins with a useful account of nineteenth-century icon collecting that draws attention to the ways that early scholarship on icon painting served the agenda of state-sponsored nationalism so memorably described in Richard Wortman’s *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (1995). Under Alexander III and Nicholas II, Palekh painters were positioned as representatives of “true” peasant Russia, adhering to the old ways and loyal to the Orthodox faith that fused tsar with people in a single, sanctified whole.

This view from above ignored some salient points. For one thing, Palekh icon painting was not a static tradition but a thriving craft industry, highly responsive to market demand. A prospective purchaser could choose from a range of stylistic options that included “Italian,” “Byzantine,” or “*friaz*,” this last a combination of Western and Byzantine techniques in the manner of seventeenth-century Muscovite art. Palekh’s market orientation and failure to adopt a consistent style were constant irritants to the bureaucrats charged with “im-

proving” contemporary icon painting through imposition of a canon of correct, historically authentic models.

How did a group of skilled craftsmen trained in the production of religious objects survive and flourish in the Soviet era? Jenks gives credit, first of all, to Ivan Golikov, the Palekh master who, by trial and error, developed a unique and appealing product. Following the example of painted wooden boxes from Fedoskino, Golikov devised the now familiar decorative formula of delicately curvilinear ornament on a black background. The new enterprise found powerful supporters among the Bolshevik elite, including the esteemed writer Maxim Gorky, but a powerful factor was undoubtedly the new regime’s appetite for foreign currency. Throughout Palekh’s post-1917 history, sales to Western Europe and the United States accounted for much of its production. (Palekh boxes regularly won prizes at foreign exhibitions, where they were exhibited as examples of a thriving Russian craft industry.) At the same time, Palekh artists were continuously under pressure at home, forced to fend off campaigns against kulaks (to which, as peasant entrepreneurs, they were highly vulnerable) and attempts by the “Red Palekh” collective farm to absorb the painters’ labor and assets. Attacks that stressed the lack of socialist content in Palekh painting were frequent, and these escalated dangerously in the 1930s, when the Great Terror claimed the lives of several prominent patrons and supporters.

Subject matter was a perennial point of contention. The socialist themes that artists were urged to adopt had little viewer appeal, even within the Soviet Union. There was even potential danger in the incongruous—or laughable—images that could result when modern political events were represented in quasi-medieval style. Lacking guidelines for resolving their problem, Palekh masters fell back on an established repertoire of subject matter: fairytale motifs and scenes of peasant life.

Throughout this book Jenks argues a larger thesis. Palekh constituted, he says, “a privileged site for the production of Soviet ‘Russianness’” (p. 124). This assertion is supported by the material he presents, but Palekh’s consistently embattled position should also be kept in mind. It would be possible to read Jenks’s account as one of miraculous survival against all odds, a happy accident that could easily not have been. As Jenks points out, it was only in the Brezhnev era that Palekh painting achieved unequivocal status as a cultural treasure.

Jenks does valuable work, however, in charting the uses of Russian nationalism during the Soviet period and in bringing to light the persistent vein of nostalgia beneath the bland surface of Soviet cultural policy. Officially sanctioned modernization never eliminated a lingering conviction that the soul of Russia lay in its rural past and in the “poetic” love of beauty manifest in Russian icons, fairy tales, folk art, and folk songs. Despite its status as invented tradition, the Palekh box embodies this rich vein of national sentiment and pack-

ages it for us in conveniently miniaturized and marketable form.

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DIANE P. KOENKER. *Republic of Labor: Russian Printers and Soviet Socialism, 1918–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 343. \$49.95.

Few historians would question the premise that workers and bosses are at loggerheads under capitalism. Yet what constitutes labor relations under socialism in a workers' state purportedly dedicated to workers' interests? In this deeply researched, fascinating study of Soviet printers from 1918 to 1930, Diane P. Koenker examines every aspect of the printers' world, from culture to material life. Drawing widely on the theories of European, American, and Russian labor history, she explores critical issues of class, skill, gender, and identity that cut across national lines. Koenker's study also offers new insights into the major political questions of Soviet history: the development of a one-party dictatorship, a command economy, and Stalinism.

Koenker's study is built around a central contradiction first observed by the Mensheviks soon after the revolution: workers' short term demands for better wages, higher consumption, and less work were sharply at odds with the larger economic goals of the state and the Communist Party. "Socialist accumulation" remained an oxymoron to workers who expected the revolution to yield rapid improvement in living standards. It also posed a challenge to party leaders who recognized that economic development was impossible without long-term sacrifices from workers and peasants. And if greater prosperity was ultimately dependent on increased productivity, were democratic unions representing workers' interests even possible?

Koenker begins her narrative after the revolution, in the dark, hungry days of the Civil War. Printers, primarily male, skilled, and well paid, suffered along with other workers from starvation and unemployment. As print shops closed for lack of ink and paper, a variety of state, military, and Communist Party agencies seized the shops and competed for resources. Workers, Mensheviks, and party members hotly debated the role of trade unions. Were workers' interests identical to those of the state? In the Printers' Union, Mensheviks advanced "workerism," the notion that trade unions should be strong advocates of workers' needs, and party members countered with "productivism," the idea that material prosperity could only result from state-sponsored economic development. Printers, sympathetic to the Menshevik view, resisted "the politics of sacrifice" that development required (p. 48).

Yet the lines of struggle were messy, and Koenker challenges much received wisdom about the Bolshevik usurpation of power. Bolshevik printers, for example, tended to be more "productivist" than their leaders. When Bolshevik printers tried to set up their own red

union as an alternative to the Printers' Union, party leaders counseled cooperation with the Mensheviks. The rout of the Mensheviks from the union was not the result of a "general assault" by central party leaders but rather efforts of workers within the union itself (p. 45). Scarcity of resources and economic collapse also encouraged workers to support "authority and central structure" (p. 112). Print shop managers and union leaders were both eager for a strong central authority to coordinate orders, distribute supplies, and set prices.

Yet little else united managers and union leaders, despite the presence of party members in both groups. In the 1920s, union leaders adopted the position of the defeated Mensheviks, defending workers' interests, while "red directors," promoted directly from the working class, assumed the position of bosses everywhere. The state implemented a string of campaigns to encourage workers to increase productivity, but workers aimed to maximize pay and minimize production. The union proved adept at solving problems through arbitration, offering outlets for grievances, and minimizing strikes. Labor relations were peaceful, yet printers never became the active, production-oriented partner the party hoped to create. Workers became increasingly apathetic despite party and state efforts to stimulate their interest. When Joseph Stalin and his supporters engineered a purge of rightists from the unions in 1929, few workers were willing to fight for their leaders. Koenker insists throughout that "the interests of workers were not those of their bosses," even though both printers and bosses supported the socialist project (p. 130).

Printers' culture was also at odds with the new proletarian culture that the party sought to build. Printers enjoyed drinking, dancing, brawling, attending movies and the theatre, and other individual pursuits despite party insistence that politically conscious workers should be devoted to collective recreation, production, sobriety, and self-improvement. Although printers rejected the enforced collectivism of the new proletarian culture, Koenker argues that class remained central to their identity. Their understanding of themselves as workers sometimes overlapped with the views of the party, and sometimes differed, but they remained firmly identified as workers.

In the end, what lessons does Koenker draw from her study of Soviet printers? First, it was difficult if not impossible to create democratic socialism in a poor country that required the extraction of capital for development. Second, printers judged the system by what it delivered, not by what it promised. Their willingness to sacrifice on behalf of an ideal was limited. Third, they keenly understood the difference between participatory democracy and what Koenker calls "participatory dictatorship" (p. 4). Sham forms of participation did not fool them for very long. And finally, the printers wanted a socialist system that would enable them to realize their individuality, not suppress it. They wanted to drink, dance, banter, and live comfortably, without being told they were "selfish," "Philistine," or "backward." In other words, they wanted a "we" that would

make an "I" fully possible. These lessons emerge through Koenker's painstaking research and her brilliant illumination of party policies and workers' responses. Her book stands as a model for the next generation of labor histories, a fascinating combination of structural, cultural, and linguistic analysis, informed throughout by an abiding respect for her subjects and the lessons they have bequeathed.

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FRANCINE HIRSCH. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. (Culture and Society after Socialism.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 367. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$27.95.

Having written extensively on the topic of the book under review, and having read a spate of recent works that cover the same ground while offering few new insights, I must admit that I began Francine Hirsch's study with just a bit of skepticism. Was there anything more to say on the topic? This concern quickly dissipated. Hirsch has produced a first-rate piece of scholarship that not only breaks new ground but does so in a highly compelling and readable fashion. It is a most welcome addition to the literature, and one that I highly recommend both to those who have long studied ethnonational identity construction in the USSR, as well as to newcomers to the field.

Using the "census, map, museum" framing found in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), as well as a Foucauldian approach to biopolitics and the art of governing (i.e. governmentality) in the production of knowledge, Hirsch investigates the construction and institutionalization of ethno-national identity categories in the USSR. Rather than study political elites and their pronouncements on the "national question," Hirsch focuses her attention on the anthropologists, geographers, and ethnographers involved in the discussions regarding the boundary formations around these identity categories as they were debated and reconfigured in censuses, on maps, and in museum exhibits from 1905 to 1941.

The brilliance of the work lies in the rich archival resources through which Hirsch reconstructs the story of ethnographic knowledge production as a technology of rule. She uncovers and explores the continuities and disjunctures between the prerevolutionary actors and institutions charged with the categorization of identity, and the specialists charged with the same tasks in the USSR during the 1920s and 1930s, as the latter worked toward the goal of what Hirsch defines as "double assimilation: the assimilation of a diverse population into nationality categories and, simultaneously, the assimilation of those nationally categorized groups into the Soviet state and society" (p. 14). Double assimilation, she argues, was an interactive process of identity construction that, through census, map, museum, and historical narrative strengthened Soviet rule. This is the first study to provide us with this kind of detailed in-

formation on the inner workings of how ethnographic knowledge was produced in the USSR as a set of cultural technologies of rule.

Hirsch places this detailed archival study within a number of broader contexts. First, as noted above, she expands the time frame of the study, and especially assesses the role of experts from the late imperial period in the production of Soviet ethnographic knowledge. Second, she explores the broader geopolitical context and traces the direct role that German ethnography played in the USSR during the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the indirect effect that Nazi science—with its emphasis on race and blood purity—had on Soviet efforts to prove that developmental differences among peoples was due to socioeconomic inequities. Third, Hirsch investigates the impact of alternative sources of ethnographic knowledge production, such as the creation of an internal passport that identified people by nationality, as a new mechanism of population control. Finally, Hirsch looks at the sovietization of folk culture, including a priceless series of photos depicting the "Dance of the Collective Farm Brigade Leader."

As with any study ranging so widely, Hirsch's study comes up a bit short in a few areas. Perhaps the most serious weakness concerns the question of double assimilation. Hirsch argues that this was happening and offers the fact that local elites were adopting the official discourse in their presentation of identity. However, hers is not a social history of the public and its engagement with "double assimilation." We know from her study what experts intended and that local elites had incentives to nationalize and sovietize their identity narratives. But this is a far cry from assimilation, singular or double, and the study does not provide convincing evidence that either occurred among the publics so categorized. Second, because this is such a broad-based work giving us an insider's view of how ethnographic knowledge was produced, it is not able to provide us with an equally detailed picture of the way that these cultural technologies of rule played themselves out in particular places and among specific peoples. While Hirsch does offer numerous examples from across the USSR to illustrate the points made, a focus on one ethno-territorial setting would have given us a more in depth understanding of the interactive processes at work. On the whole, however, this is not a serious shortcoming, and the deep institutional history more than compensates for the lack of ethno-territorial depth of analysis. The biggest disappointment of the work is the epilogue, which Hirsch uses to trace through the post-World War II period of Soviet history. The coverage here is superficial, especially when compared with the thick, rich text that precedes it. I would have much preferred a summing up, coupled perhaps with an equally deep analysis of ethnographic knowledge production from the end of the war to Joseph Stalin's death in 1953.

Overall, Hirsch's book is a must read for anyone interested in ethnographic knowledge production in the USSR, and it is a most welcome addition to the broader

fields of ethno-nationalism and the politics of identity.

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MOSHE GAMMER. *The Lone Wolf and the Bear: Three Centuries of Chechen Defiance of Russian Rule*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 252. \$27.95.

Moshe Gammer's new study aims at "presenting a concise introductory history of the Chechen defiance of Russian power since the sixteenth century" (p. xi). The book performs this task admirably and, in so doing, breaks new ground. It should be noted, however, that Gammer's recitation essentially concludes in 1991 with the fall of Soviet communism and the collapse of the USSR. There is only the briefest coverage of the post-communist 1994–1996 and 1999–2006 Russo-Chechen wars.

Gammer's book provides a path-breaking analysis of four hundred years of military and spiritual struggle between the tsarist and Soviet regimes and ethnic Chechens. The story that Gammer tells is a grim one of unrelenting aggression on the part of the Russian and Soviet leaderships that, on at least two occasions, resulted in genocide of the Chechens. In 1865, Gammer notes, the tsar's brother, Grand Duke Michael, quite plausibly estimated that the "the most hostile tribe, the Chechens" had lost twenty percent of their population in the course of their struggle against Russia (p. 80). Under Joseph Stalin, the Chechens once again lost some twenty percent of their population. (Gammer's section on the Stalinist genocide of the Chechens, incidentally, strikes me as too short.) This double genocide occurring under the tsars and communists serves as a background for the two most recent Russo-Chechen wars, over the course of which the Chechens have once again suffered heavy population losses.

At the beginning of his book, Gammer devotes several pages to discussing why the Chechens have put up such a prolonged and usually futile struggle against an opponent who vastly outnumbered them in both manpower and weaponry. He underscores that "*Marsho*—freedom" is a central concept in both Chechen culture and the Chechen psyche. While these introductory pages are suggestive, I would have liked to see this introductory section expanded. It would also have been helpful if Gammer had at least briefly discussed the root causes of the extraordinarily aggressive nature of Russian imperialism and colonialism. Under the Soviets, traditional tsarist imperial aggression was admixed with Marxist-Leninist fanaticism and a complete indifference to human life.

Gammer's narrative frequently touches upon the peoples of Dagestan and Ingushetiya, two regions adjacent to historic Chechnya. The leaders of the major nineteenth-century rebellion, or *Gazavat*, against the Russians were Avars from Dagestan, the most famous

being, of course, the great Shamil. The slowly developing Chechen national identity was often overshadowed by and subsumed into a broader sense of being Muslim Mountaineers.

Gammer is a distinguished academic specialist on the subject of Islam, and his discussion of the two Sufi *tariqas* (paths) that animated the principal rebellions against tsarist and early Soviet rule are pioneering and useful. The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya sparked the great nineteenth-century rebellion that was led by Avar imams. After that rebellion had been suppressed by the tsarist military, the Qadiriyya, whose founder in the North Caucasus region was a Chechen, Kunta Hajji, replaced the Naqshbandiyya as the dominant Sufi *tariqa* in Chechnya.

Gammer also sheds light on the various branches or suborders that the Qadiriyya split into within Chechnya, the largest being the one established by Bammam Giray. These suborders, Gammer remarks, served to reinforce the people's self-isolation and to fuel the rebellions that flared up against both the Whites, when they sought to subdue the North Caucasus, and then the Reds. Under the communists, the "parallel communities" established by the Qadiriyya enabled the Chechens effectively to resist state-sponsored atheism and also helped to foster a steady emergence of Chechen national identity.

At the end of his book, Gammer notes that the "Wahhabis," led by a Saudi who had earlier fought in Afghanistan, Samir Silah 'Abdalla al-Suwaylim ("Emir Khattab"), arrived in Chechnya during the course of the 1994–1996 war. The separatist president of Chechnya, Aslan Maskhadov, proved incapable of suppressing this pan-Islamic radical tendency. Gammer believes that Wahhabism has already succeeded in replacing the Qadiriyya as the core belief system of the Chechen resistance to the Putin regime. While there can be little doubt that the Wahhabis have increased their influence among the separatist fighters, traditional Sufis continue to maintain a presence among them. Public opinion polls taken in Chechnya by the Validata polling organization reveal that most of the populace has little sympathy for the Wahhabi extremist tendency. Traditional Sufi Islam may yet prove more resilient than Gammer appears to believe.

The book's ample footnotes and rich bibliography constitute a goldmine for readers.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DAVID BRAKKE. *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 308. \$49.95.

This timely book deals with a neglected topic vital for understanding the true nature of monastic spirituality from the second century to the seventeenth. Demons today have, for the most part, been reinterpreted as psy-

chological imbalances or the results of childhood trauma, but they were not so for the early monks. Demons were as real (and almost as common) as people, and infinitely more dangerous. Jesus of Nazareth, after all, had spent much of his ministry casting them out. David Brakke examines both demons and monks, and argues "that neither can be understood apart from the other as they developed over the course of the fourth and early fifth centuries in Christian Egypt" (p. 5). Why Egypt? Because, "although demons tempted and frightened monks in other areas of the ancient Mediterranean, the literature from Egypt shaped subsequent Christian demonologies in both the Byzantine East and the medieval West" (pp. 5–6). This is a little limiting (we miss some spectacular Syrian demons), but it does not imperil the author's essential thesis.

After an introductory chapter that sets the scene, the book opens, justly, with the demons who appear in Athanasius's *Life of Antony*, and then moves on to examine the case of Evagrius Ponticus, to whom the author refers, perhaps unwisely, as "The Gnostic." By this, however, he means no more than a man whose knowledge, "attained through his ascetic labors and with God's grace" (p. 77), enabled him to avoid slipping into ignorance and from becoming a demon himself. Chapter four is dedicated to demons who tempted Pachomius and his community, and chapter five to Shenoute the Great. This is a laudable chapter, for Shenoute was a figure of major consequence in the history of native Egyptian monasticism, and he has been too often overlooked by too many scholars—partly, I suspect, because so few of his writings have been satisfactorily translated. Chapter six deals with the demons who appear in the lives and sayings of the Desert Fathers, and chapter seven with Ethiopian demons. These, however, are not demons who appear in Ethiopian sources (a subject not within the author's purview), but demons who appear as Ethiopians, since the idea that "black skin symbolized the sin that Christian grace removed was pervasive" (p. 150). This is followed by an interesting if somewhat predictable chapter dealing with "Gender in Combat"—it concerns monastic misogyny and demons who appear in female form—and there is then a final chapter that shows how the Christian monk "fashioned himself in part through a simultaneous acknowledgment and disavowal of his religious cognates, the priest and the magician, fellow adepts in the ways of the gods, now held to be demons" (p. 239). This final chapter is followed by a brief afterword.

By the end of the study we can be in no doubt as to the significance of this spiritual combat, and its fundamental importance in the making of a monk. But if there is a fault, it is that the author does not always make a sufficiently clear distinction between the struggle with Satan/evil in general (which is a commonplace of the Christian tradition) and the struggle with demons in particular. This is especially the case with Shenoute. In his *De certamine contra diabolum*, for example, the real interest lies not in the struggle with Satan, which is no more than standard, but in Shenoute's quite in-

dividualistic interpretation of the "Christus Victor" theme (see David N. Bell, "Shenoute the Great: The Struggle with Satan," *Cistercian Studies* 21 [1986], pp. 177–185, for an annotated translation). Nevertheless, the demons who do lurk between the covers of Brakke's study are quite sufficiently numerous to prove his point.

The book is provided with an excellent index, but the "selected bibliography" (pp. 291–294) is disappointing. It is true that a multitude of other studies are mentioned in passing in the notes, but a more comprehensive bibliography, with especial reference to translations of Latin, Greek, and (especially) Coptic texts, would have been convenient and helpful.

As the author points out, the theme of spiritual combat did not cease with the close of the fifth century. Cistercians were seeing and struggling with demons in the Middle Ages (see Tom Licence, "The Gift of Seeing Demons in Early Cistercian Spirituality," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 39 [2004], pp. 49–65), and in 1653 and 1660 the great French orator Jacques Bossuet preached two sermons "sur les démons." Demons, he said (strongly supported by Tertullian and Augustine), are everywhere, and always have been. Nothing is more dangerous than to think that they have lost anything of their power and malice. Not one of the monks who populate the pages of Brakke's valuable book would have disagreed.

DAVID N. BELL

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Wael B. Hallaq. *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law*. (Themes in Islamic Law I.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 234. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.99.

Wael B. Hallaq's most recent analysis of Islamic legal history is not meant to be a detailed scholarly analysis of source texts or a rigorous and critical debate on the scholarship. It is, instead, the first installment in a new Cambridge University Press series (edited by Hallaq) meant to provide readers with overviews of Islamic legal history. Hallaq begins his examination by arguing that Arabia, and especially the "cosmopolitan" trading center of Mecca, the city in which Muhammad was born around 570 C.E. and began to preach in the early seventh century, enjoyed an abundance of cultural, religious, political, and legal influences from all corners of the world. During the early development of Islamic law, first under the guidance of Muhammad and then by his political and religious descendants, Muslims drew on these multiple influences, combined them with indigenous ideas and norms indicated in the Qur'an, and developed an original and dynamic approach to legal thinking.

The next stage of legal development began with the rise of "proto-qadis" (judges) who, though appointed by political authorities, quickly achieved a measure of independence from the "state." These proto-qadis, ac-

cording to Hallaq, began as arbitrators, administrators, even storytellers, but they quickly began to create specific legal administrative structures. As time progressed, judges developed into a fully independent cultural and religious institution that, while dependent on political authorities for financial support, stood outside political control.

As the judgeship became increasingly regularized, a parallel class of legal specialists developed who became members of, or worked to advise, the judiciary. These legists first came together in small discussion circles in the decades following Muhammad's death in 632. The leaders of these discussion circles began to develop reputations for "embodying" religious knowledge, thereby developing "epistemic authority" and concentrating within themselves the sole power to interpret the texts of revelation. According to Hallaq, epistemic authority became the hallmark of Islamic law and allowed jurists to remain independent of state power. When intellectual communities formed around these authorities in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, two dominant intellectual/religious trends materialized: one, largely antirationalist, promoted "tradition(al)ism" that emphasized Muhammad (his actions and sayings) as the normative model for behavior, and another that sought to promote human reason as the primary tool for interpreting revelation. Following the failed inquisition, or *Mihna* (833–850) of traditionalist scholars by the Abbasid Caliphate (encouraged by the rationalists), a "Great Synthesis" emerged that combined aspects of traditionalism with forms of reason. Synthesizing scholars discouraged religious radicalism on either extreme and promoted a "middle path" between reason and traditionalism. Synthesizing scholars also promoted the formation of doctrinal schools (*madhhabs*) and sought to couch their ideas and opinions in a corporate identity as increasing levels of epistemic authority became focused on them. With the establishment of these doctrinal schools, Islamic law reached its full maturity and remained, according to Hallaq, one of the most unique experiments in mediating the relationship between religion and "state" until being dismantled by postcolonial governments in the twentieth century.

Hallaq's analysis is cogent, original, and more detailed than this review can completely describe. The book also exhibits his characteristic proclivity for "Hallaqisms" such as the aforementioned term "tradition(al)ism," meant to depict the two natures of "traditionalist" scholars who also advocated the "traditions" (*hadith*) that detailed Muhammad's life. It also displays a rather tiresome tendency to ignore or devalue the contribution of other scholars to the study of Islamic law. Hallaq, as is usual in his work, focuses much of his criticism (at times unfairly) on Joseph Schacht. He is also rather dismissive of Christopher Melchert and almost completely fails to acknowledge the valuable contributions of George Makdisi, Roy Mottahedeh, Jonathan P. Berkey, Michael Chamberlain, and others to the field, as well as their influence on his views.

Most problematic, however, is the almost complete

absence of historical context for the events he describes. Hallaq is a master of describing process but is lacking in explaining the difficult "whys" of history. Throughout the text the reader is left wondering at the reasons for legal development; and except for a few instances, there is no attempt to explain the causes behind the dramatic developments of this new and original system of legal thought. For instance, the middle chapters of the book describe events that occurred just before, during, and immediately following the Abbasid Revolution (738–750). This revolution is widely considered to have been extremely traumatic for Muslim culture and to have brought about a complete shift in philosophies of governance, religious authority, and the role between caliph and scholar. Yet Hallaq never mentions the revolution, its violence, or the role legal scholars played in it. It seems from his analysis that the changes in legal thinking that occurred during this period do so in a void, above the violence of the time, and beyond its influence. He is more careful in his discussion of the *Mihna*, arguing that the great synthesis discussed above arose from its conclusion, but why this was the inevitable result is nowhere stated.

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ALICE CHERKI. *Frantz Fanon: A Portrait*. Translated by NADIA BENABID. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 255. \$59.95.

There are a variety of books in French and English on the life and works of Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), the radical from Martinique who worked for the Algerian revolutionary organization, the FLN, and was a leading exponent of *Tiersmondisme*, the doctrine that the socialist revolution will come from the Third World. The chief originality of Alice Cherki's contribution (translated from the French) comes from the fact that she is a practicing psychoanalyst and worked under Fanon in psychiatric hospitals in Algeria and Tunisia during Algeria's war for independence. The chapters on Fanon's activities in the hospitals of Blida and Tunis are fascinating and the best in the book. Cherki paints an enthusiastic picture of Fanon's therapeutic contributions, models of the integration of political with psychotherapeutic perspectives. She also stresses (sometimes exaggerates) his connection to Freudian thought and keeps telling us that Fanon had read Jacques Lacan and would have undergone psychoanalysis if he had lived. The book does an excellent job of delineating the connections between Fanon's psychiatric innovations (both intellectual and practical), colonial realities, and his political radicalism.

Cherki underlines Fanon's close relations with Jewish anticolonial circles in Algeria and Tunisia as well as the antisemitism prevalent in the mostly Muslim FLN. Fanon was even briefly accused by some FLN members of being a Zionist agent; under investigation, the charges were dropped.

Unfortunately, the book's appeal, beyond that to political groupies, is limited by the ragged translation. Dropped articles and incorrect conjunctions make the reader feel like a tourist at the Place Clichy, and some translations force the reader to find the French lying just behind the prose to make sense of all too many passages. The *Metropole* (European France) is consistently rendered as the metropolis. The phrase civil service does not refer to a government bureaucracy but is a mistranslation of *service civil*, a Peace Corps-like alternative to then compulsory military service in France. These problems are magnified by characteristics of the French original. Cherki writes as if her readers were French (which is understandable) but also as if they were all old enough and politically aware enough to remember the major episodes and the transient political organizations of the Algerian war (which is less so). Annotations in the notes help somewhat, but they are too few and often do not accompany the first reference to the item in question.

Several chapters examine Fanon's works, including *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), *Studies in a Dying Colonialism* (1965), and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1966). Cherki's discussions are intelligent and subtle, but they lean far more often to the apologetic than to the critical. Some of Fanon's predictions have not worn well, like his claim that the revolution had effectively liberated women from the veil and other aspects of traditional patriarchy. Faced with the fact that the opposite has happened, Cherki argues that Fanon was expressing a wish for the future, not a description of reality. The author is not blind to the fact that the forty years since independence have not been kind to Fanon's revolutionary hopes. The FLN government has been especially corrupt (even by the standards of the region); it has crushed the movement for democracy and become involved in a savage civil war with the Islamic opposition. Cherki argues effectively that much of the extreme revolutionary position of Fanon's last work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, can be understood as a desperate attempt to block a more reactionary outcome, to keep the revolution from stopping too soon. Cherki defends Fanon's controversial praise of violence, arguing that everyone else got it wrong, including Jean-Paul Sartre, and that Fanon was only describing a reality, not prescribing action. But Cherki's own presentation of Fanon's discussion shows clearly that violence for Fanon, the killing of the colonist by the colonized, had the result, both necessary and essential, of allowing the colonized to escape his complex of inferiority and attain full humanity. Like Georges Sorel before him, Fanon saw violence as a means to keep the revolution on track toward its maximalist goals. This is, in fact, the principal function of terrorism and similarly theatricalized violence: to make compromise impossible. And just as Sorel can be connected (causation would be too simplistic a term) to the use of violence by fascism, there is a line running from the terrorism Fanon defended, through that of Black September and Yasser Arafat, to

the practices of an Abu Musab al-Zarqawi or a Muhammad Atta.

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JULIE PETEET. *Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps*. (The Ethnography of Political Violence.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 260. \$55.00.

Perhaps no facet of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been as important, or has bedeviled diplomatic efforts as much, as the ongoing exile of the Palestinian refugees from the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948. While serious scholarship has emerged over the years that analyzes skillfully myriad aspects of the refugee experience, one regrettably still encounters, within the public sphere and in academia, tendentious treatments and sweeping generalizations that purport to explain (and explain away) the refugee phenomenon and solve "the refugee problem," not to mention essentialize the refugee experience. Fortunately, the book under review offers a sophisticated and compelling antidote, and goes far in explaining the complicated, interlocking processes that shape Palestinian refugee identity and experience, as well as illuminating questions (such as the refugees' insistence on their right of return) that feature so prominently in Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking.

Few academics today write with the insight, firsthand fieldwork experience, and theoretical sophistication as Julie Peteet. Her book looks at a specific but important dimension of the refugee experience: the "relationship between place and identity" in the context of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, locales that, as her title suggests, carry a "contradictory meaning . . . sites of poverty, marginalization, and terror as well as remarkable creativity" (p. 1). Drawn in particular upon Peteet's various periods of fieldwork in the Shatila refugee camp in southern Beirut, her book "explores how Palestinian refugees imprinted the camps with a landscape of hope for the future" (p. 31) despite the suffering and despair life in those camps has entailed. In so doing, Peteet offers a sophisticated and nuanced study of how Palestinian refugees have negotiated notions of identity, and visions both of their past and their future, amidst the various coercive forces inherent to refugee camp life. She skillfully balances the symbiotic relationship between refugee agency and the various constraints refugees have faced—including physical constraints associated with living in camps, what she calls "biopower" (p. 221)—when discussing questions of refugee identity.

Thankfully for historians, Peteet approaches her subject historically. Following chapters discussing the broad parameters of modern Palestinian refugee history and the theoretical tools she uses, the author anchors her study around two overall topics: how relief aid, and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency

for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), have featured in the construction of the concept of the Palestinian refugee; and how refugee history, which she approaches chronologically, has shaped the refugees' construction of identity and notions of place. She periodizes the refugee experience in Lebanon in terms of reference employed by the refugees themselves. The first period was the "days of UNRWA," from 1948 until the late 1960s. It is here that her discussion about UNRWA and how the international aid regime helped shape refugee identity comes into particular focus. She also discusses how refugees tried to weather their initial exile by replicating parochial tribal and village connections in the camps. Following this, Peteet notes how the "days of the revolution," when the Palestinian resistance movement embodied by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) ruled the camps, changed the camps from "landscapes of despair" to "landscapes of hope." Camp dwellers eschewed the term "refugee," which signified to them hopelessness and disempowerment; now they were "fighters" and "Palestinians," not to mention members of a new generation that began transcending the earlier tribal basis of exilic camp society. Peteet discusses how, following Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and expulsion of the armed Palestinian presence in the camps, the refugees have yet again reshaped their visions of self and concepts of space and place amidst massacres, sieges, and isolation.

Throughout, Peteet's portrait of Palestinian refugees stresses the powerful sense of agency they employ in shaping notions of identity and place against a host of coercive powers and limitations. In discussing this social production of place, she notes, "The social activities and relationships enacted in them [refugee camps] and the organizing and naming of units of space produced place, attesting to the remarkable human capacity to create new cultural and social forms of daily life in the face of monumental loss. These landscapes of despair are spaces of bereavement for the loss of the homeland over five decades ago" (p. 95).

Finally, one of this book's important contributions that transcends academia and moves toward diplomacy is that it shows that even as they act out this bereavement, the refugees are keenly aware that their original villages were destroyed long ago by Israel. Their insistence upon the right of return to Palestine therefore is a much deeper and more complex yearning than many political pundits are willing to concede. For the refugees, "Palestine is envisioned in the desire for the security that place can provide and the rights entailed in being a citizen" (p. 219). Negotiators would do well to understand this fact.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JAMES C. MCCANN. *Maize and Grace: Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500–2000*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 289. \$27.95.

Natural resources, minerals, and tropical crops have proven to be powerful vehicles for the exploration of global history. There have been a spate of monographs recently—on diamonds, salt, coal, petroleum, and rice, for example—charting the social life, the biography as it were, of a natural commodity in its historical journey into and across the world market. Tracking this journey from the point of production to the terminus of consumption has been more or less formalized as "commodity systems analysis" tracing the networks of exchange, the production of value and meaning, and the exercise of power along the length and breadth of the commodity chain. In his important new book on the social history of maize in Africa, James C. McCann does not attempt systematically to analyze the entire maize commodity system in Africa but instead takes a number of slices—themes, problems, and processes—that shed light on the remarkable African encounter with a New World crop over half a millennium. In this sense he follows the path blazed by Judith A. Carney's brilliant book *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (1999), which charts the relation between rice and the modern history of the Black Atlantic, linking indigenous peasants in West Africa, the slave trade, and the rice-growing regions of the U.S. South.

The remarkable rise of maize—it now totally dominates the diet of much of southern and eastern Africa and will become the world's most cultivated crop by 2020—is the story of an agrarian transformation that has supplanted many African staples (sorghum, millet, rice). As McCann shows, the maize revolution is also a story of African initiative, cultural adaptation, and politics. The first half of the book traces the introduction of maize into Africa in the fifteenth century and its subsequent adoption and incorporation into African farming systems. Despite the crop's centrality in the contemporary African diet, this history remains shrouded in mystery, and McCann undertakes a heroic reconstruction—from various linguistic, botanical, and historical materials—of the diffusion process. He compares the contrasting trajectories of maize in Ghana and Ethiopia, which turn on the role of class structures and the relative autonomy and flexibility of African cultivators. He charts the striking rapidity of maize expansion in southern Africa, which is almost wholly a story of the adoption of white flinty maize (at the expense of local varieties of many hues), a process that is in McCann's view the product that "powerful influence of southern Africa wields over research on improved maize" (p. 117).

The second half of the book turns to the ways in which "maize became a part of the institutional life of colonial Africa" and "the subject of an emerging global development science" (p. 120). The American rust epidemic in the 1950s provides a theater for these pro-

cesses, but it is in two extraordinary chapters that reconstruct the lost history of SR-52, a locally bred maize hybrid developed in southern Africa (and widely adopted in eastern and southern Africa, albeit in very different agrarian structures) half a decade before the so-called Green Revolution, and the unanticipated health consequences of maize introduction in Ethiopia, that McCann is at his very best. Working with Ethiopian scholars, he undertakes a fascinating piece of scientific detective-work, making a compelling case for how the consequences of maize adoption (its effects on settlement, on the breeding micro-environment for mosquitoes, and on the agro-ecology hybrid maize planting strategies in highland Ethiopia) conspired to produce a perfect storm for the incubation of a deadly malaria epidemic in 1998. The book concludes with a reflection on the variety of circumstances—social, political, and ecological—into which maize inserted itself in Africa and with some suggestive ideas on the possible costs of standardization, monocropping (“Global maize as Jurassic Park”), the harnessing of local farming practices, and the ability of maize to support the planet of the slums that is urban Africa.

McCann has written a compelling, meticulously documented, and elegant book. One of its great strengths is that it weaves a wealth of historical, botanical cultural and ethnographic information into a narrative that displays unexpected surprises and connections. At its heart is a tale of African ingenuity and initiative in the seemingly inexorable march of maize across the continent. While not triumphalist or Panglossian, McCann is, on balance, bullish about the process that Michael Pollan (*The Omnivore's Dilemma* [2006]) dubs—in the U.S. context—“cornification.” The darker side of the crop's history emerges (its relation to malarial epidemics in Ethiopia, the cost of monocropping, and the loss of genetic diversity), but the book ends with the potent image of maize waiting “its full expression” (p. 215).

The story of maize in Africa might have taken different points of reference, beginning with slavery, moving through the violence of the imperial food orders, the organized interests of maize growers in South African apartheid, the structure of postcolonial agronomic research and crop breeding, the enormous power of the now-transnational industrial maize complex, and concluding with what McCann in passing calls the influence of the new seed and life science companies. McCann's excellent book touches upon these things, but the tenor of the text is decidedly upbeat. I look forward to his further excavations in the hope that his keen analytical sensibility can delve deeper into the darker, more ominous aspects of the African maize commodity chain.

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GARETH AUSTIN. *Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807–1956*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Dias-

pora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 589 \$75.00.

Gareth Austin describes his long-awaited book on the changing economic conditions in the precolonial and colonial world of the Asante as representing a “personal act of persistence” in an “academic environment” that “discourage[s] the kinds of projects which require a long time . . . and . . . substantial space for proper presentation and analysis” (p. xvii). It is the result of a quarter of century of research, portions of which he has already published in journal form as well as in edited works. This work goes significantly beyond these contributions, however, and in its length and scope it compares with other pioneering and magisterial works on Ghanaian history such as Ivor Wilks's *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (1975), and David Kimble's *A Political History of Ghana 1850–1928* (1963). Although the focus is the Asante world, the work shares an important similarity with Kimble's study of the rise of Ghanaian nationalism in that it links the precolonial and colonial worlds. This particularly innovative aspect of the study allows Austin to trace how precolonial economic institutions, under both internal and external forces, adapted to the increasingly more commercial and export-oriented economy of the colonial period.

Similar peasant-based economies developed during the colonial period in other parts of Africa, but the cocoa cultivation in the rain forest region of southern Ghana, which began around the turn of the twentieth century, was spectacular and unique enough in many ways to have generated a great deal of interest on the part of scholars. The result to date has been primarily synchronic studies, the best known of which has been Polly Hill's pioneering *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana* (1963). When there has been a more diachronic approach, it has linked the colonial with the postcolonial period. Austin exploits the richness of both the nineteenth and twentieth-century sources, “one of the richest ethnographic and historical literatures on any part of Africa” (p. 14), to take the very different tack of extending his focus backward to encompass a much larger historical period. He argues that 1807 represents the beginning of this period, as the Asante extended their “kingdom's dominion down to the coast” and established a monopoly over the use of the “forest rent” from this rain forest zone. Equally important, the date also coincides with Great Britain's abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, which “had underpinned” the Asante state's domination of the economy (p. 13). From this time onward there developed an “indigenous private sector, from small producers and petty traders to rich masters, [who] enjoyed relative freedom to make money” (p. 13).

Until the turn of the twentieth century, when the British finally conquered Asante, the broad mass of commoners shared, albeit unequally, in the acquisition of wealth through their participation in the trade of predominantly forest products like kola and wild rubber.

They used both family labor and pawns and slaves from the savanna areas to the north of Asante. At the turn of the century, however, cocoa came to replace these semicultivated products. Initially precolonial institutions contributed to the establishment of the new economy, but the reward from cocoa farming, particularly as transportation systems improved during the colonial period, was significantly higher than from either gold mining or the semi-cultivated forest crops of the nineteenth century—so that there was no longer a need for this labor to be coerced. Indeed, Austin argues that “cocoa enormously smoothed the way” to the suppression of pawning and slavery (p. 439). Initially it seemed as if a system of paid labor would emerge, but instead a sharecropping arrangement developed that Austin argues was “a reluctant compromise” on the part of farmers and an advantage to laborers as it guaranteed the latter an income. The fact that this system continued to the end of the colonial period was an indication that labor remained the critical factor in the cocoa economy, and its relative scarcity presented northern migrants with an important bargaining tool.

There were also important links between how the traditional Asante system of land tenure worked and the later development of the “tree farm” cocoa economy. Traditionally ownership of the land belonged to the stool, and individuals only obtained “use-rights” or “surface rights.” It was a system that gave “virtually everyone access to land for cultivation,” even foreigners who in contrast to Asantes were forced to pay a substantial tribute or rent (p. 433). Here once again Austin sees this nineteenth-century system facilitating the dramatic expansion of cocoa farming as land continued to be relatively abundant throughout the colonial period, particularly in more outlying areas like Brong-Ahafo (p. 333). In the nineteenth century farmers had obtained loans by pawning family members. In the twentieth century, this shifted to pledging cocoa farms.

Austin’s discussion of how the use of land and labor changed in Asante from the precolonial to the colonial world is by far the most complete description of what he describes as not “a story of creation but of change” (p. 446). It is destined to become more than an extremely rich lode of information about changing factors of production and the impact of actors as varied as Asante women and the agents of the colonial state on this changing history. In addition, Austin uses the vast amount of information that he compiles to test the applicability of the many economic theories that have been advanced about economic change in the Asante world and in the larger context of West Africa and Third World economies in general. His preference is for “New Institutional Economics,” also known as “rational choice political economy,” but overall his approach is “deliberately eclectic” (p. 8). As Austin describes it, “generalizing claims and explanations are considered as tools for analyzing history and are themselves critically evaluated in the light of evidence” (p. 9). By using these he is able to familiarize Africanists with important developments in economic history as

well as combat the marginalization of African economic history that, like so much in African studies, has fallen victim to a preoccupation with contemporary problems. The result is a work that is as rich and diverse in its offerings as the rain forest environment that it describes.

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NWANDO ACHEBE. *Farmers, Traders, Warriors, and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900–1960*. (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2005. Pp. xii, 274. \$29.95.

The 1929 Aba “women’s war,” in which Igbo (eastern Nigeria) women applied physical sanctions to a British-appointed warrant chief, has long been a central motif in the scholarship on African women. Drawing on extensive oral research, Nwando Achebe enriches the portrait of Igbo women that has emerged in the eighty years since those colonial authorities famously misunderstood women’s power. Her focus is on a different area of Igbo country, the northern-most Nsukka District. The core of the book consists of three chapters on women’s religious, economic, and political activities, respectively. Those chapters are flanked by the two best chapters, both previously published. The first introduces the author and her methods, while the last provides an extended case study of Ahebi Ugbabe, the only woman ever made warrant chief.

Born in Nigeria and reared in the United States, Achebe is simultaneously insider and outsider, Nigerian and American, Igbo from the south researching northern Igbo country. She honors her “collaborators”—those individuals she interviewed—by using extensive quotations and employing their markers to order historic time: the period before the white man came, the time of the missionaries, the time of the Great Influenza Epidemic, and so on. Her commitment to alternative indicators of time often muddies her narrative, for she also refers to her 1900–1960 time frame as a three-fold precolonial period up to the 1920s, middle colonial period from the 1920s to the late 1940s, and final decade before independence (1960). Achebe rarely aligns these systems for reckoning time. Sometimes she uses the Igbo phrase (untranslated, which forces the non-Igbo reader to a footnote or the glossary) when she could easily also specify dates. Elsewhere, she vaguely terms practices “precolonial” when greater specificity would have been possible.

The material incorporated in the three chapters organized around religious, economic, and political activities shows Achebe to be a talented field researcher. The first begins with a case study of a female-gendered protective medicine later elevated into a goddess. In discussing devotees of this goddess, the author describes various servile statuses in Igbo culture, forms of shrine “slavery” that prompted British colonial authorities and later a Charismatic Church leader to attempt

to destroy the goddess. The shrine was ultimately wiped out (in the 1990s) by a twenty-two-year-old woman prophet whose life story Achebe recounts. She notes that the goddess and god-destroyer share "the superhuman role of savior, deliverer, protector and healer" (p. 68), which she links to spiritual roles that Igbo women play in their communities. This is powerful stuff, but unsettling too, for diviners, priests, prophets, and deities in Igbo culture were also male. How can we "[redefine and extend] the boundaries of received orthodoxies on the extent of female religious involvement in northern Igbo society" (p. 95) when we look at single cases without consideration of a religious whole? In short, while Achebe richly documents the actions of a handful of individual women, she leaves us unable to relate life history to broader gender patterns.

The chapter on economics centers on four occupations: farming, trading, weaving, and potting. Here Achebe offers new evidence to demonstrate that the agricultural division of labor, with male control over the prestigious yam crop, was not so rigid as earlier believed. She similarly shows that women participated in long-distance trade, and describes women's use of their wealth to marry women and buy titles. The descriptions of the technologies of weaving and pot-making are fascinating. She recounts changes in the women's weaving industry with the colonial introduction of weaving cooperatives for men, the flooding of markets with factory-produced cotton textiles, and the coming of second-hand clothing—yet crucial shifts such as these are left without indications of time period. Achebe argues that there was wide variation in who could pot in different villages of northern Igbo country, with only "foreign slaves" permitted in some areas, but unfortunately she never analyzes these prohibitions.

"Women in Community Politics" extends previous work on what has been called a dual-sex system of government, with women's organizations having authority over aspects of their lives and the power to enforce their decisions. Here we learn more of institutions such as the *otu umuada* (daughters of the lineage) and the less-powerful *otu ndiomu-ala* (wives of the lineage). Achebe notes female power in spiritual matters and the importance of women's title-taking organizations. A section on women's sanctions against men includes new material on additional incidents of the "sitting on a man" that confounded the British in Aba, and highlights the hostility that Igbo felt toward the opportunists who sought the warrant chief positions invented by the colonial state. This chapter thus sets the stage for the absorbing biography of "king" Ahebi Ugbabe, the single female warrant chief, that follows.

The book has weaknesses. Achebe never fully augments her rich oral evidence with archival material that would have given even more depth to her biographies. Her stated desire to have her work accessible to a broad audience is thwarted by the lack of rigorous copyediting. Nevertheless, Achebe's rich field data personalizes the literature on Igbo women, and will be invaluable as

a source for others trying to take the analysis further.

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EDWARD I. STEINHART. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya*. (Eastern African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 248. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$26.95.

I have long since forgotten the substance of my one visit to the Harvard Club in New York, but the exotic animal trophies on display there made an indelible impression. These trophies are part of the legacy of President Theodore Roosevelt's famous 1909 African safari: remnants of the more than 500 animals bagged by Roosevelt and his son as they cut a bloody path across the African savanna in the name of science and sport. These trophies and others like them, as well as a host of big game memoirs and later accounts of photographic expeditions, have shaped impressions of East Africa for generations. But as Edward I. Steinhart passionately argues, the result has not only been a romantic distortion of white hunting practices but the virtual erasure of the history of African hunting.

The simple genius of this fascinating study is that it integrates the histories of hunting by African people in Kenya and hunting by white residents and visitors to the colony. The result is a book that offers a fresh angle on the late precolonial and colonial Kenyan history, as it engagingly challenges stereotypes surrounding hunting and more soberly traces the sad process through which African hunting was marginalized. A long list of hunter-authors have romanticized the culture of the white safari and celebrated its evolution from blood sport to tourist enterprise; a much more recent, critical scholarship links this enduring fascination with African wildlife and white hunting to issues related to a larger imperial ideology. But Kenya historians (including this reviewer) have largely ignored African hunting and the role of African hunters in the history of white hunting in East Africa.

Steinhart reminds us first that hunting was an integral part of the economies and cultures of many of the mixed farming and pastoral peoples who dominated much of the Kenya landscape. Focusing his attention on the Meru and Kamba-speaking communities on the dry, eastern margins of central Kenya and on Kwale in the Mombasa hinterland, Steinhart describes the hunting practices of communities, many of which would ultimately find themselves on the edges of a vast national park: Tsavo. Hunting was critical in the lives of these communities at a time when Kenya was hardly imagined as a state. Men honed their hunting skills to defend their fields and to supplement family diets during times of scarcity. Even today, makeshift bows and arrows are common toys for boys, as they rehearse the remembered cultures of masculinity in hunts for small animals. In a somewhat defensive introductory statement on hunting and gender, Steinhart apologizes for his lack of attention to women's involvement. He might rather

have developed more the ways in which hunting defined gender roles and masculinity, among both Africans and whites.

In the nineteenth century, several leaders in the Kitui district of Kamba country built substantial commercial organizations that hunted down elephants and transported tusks to the Indian Ocean. As Arab-Swahili competitors pushed the Kitui merchants out of trade, these merchants and their successors struggled to remain involved in elephant hunting as herds were pushed further to the north and east. Steinhart reminds us that there is no evidence that these African hunters were in any sense conservationists.

The remainder of the book explores the nature of white hunting and its importance in the development of white settler culture in Kenya, the emergence of safari hunting as tourism, and, finally, several fascinating chapters on gamekeepers, conservation, and the eventual demarcation of national parks. Steinhart stresses repeatedly the importance of experienced African hunters in "white" hunting and notes their absence from most accounts. Unfortunately, we do not learn too much more here about their roles. In fact, at times these chapters threaten to digress into yet more tales of the exploits of Kenya's peculiar white population, people whose dedication to uneconomic farming never seems to have prevented them from dashing off for several weeks of luxury hunting. Where Steinhart's narrative is absolutely clear is in demonstrating the persistence of rapacious hunting practices among whites and the critical role of their land-use practices in degrading wildlife habitats. This narrative takes a tragic turn as "conservation" triumphs in the waning days of colonialism and the police powers of the state are turned aggressively on "native poachers": people struggling to maintain traditional hunting practices even while the forces of settler colonialism continued to undermine animal habitats. Comparisons with wildlife protection elsewhere in the British Empire and beyond might have strengthened his analysis of the plight of peoples who see little to gain from wildlife conservation. Steinhart's occasional personal intrusion into the narrative and his affection for the conditional past tense over the simple can be irritating, but his determination to expose the hypocrisy of white hunting mythology and give African hunters their due makes this a very useful and provocative study.

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GWYN CAMPBELL. *An Economic History of Imperial Madagascar, 1750–1895: The Rise and Fall of an Island Empire*. (African Studies Series, number 106.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 413. \$90.00.

No scholar interested in Madagascar's history or slavery in the southwest Indian Ocean is ignorant of the copious work of economic historian Gwyn Campbell, and

for the first time the bulk of his efforts in these domains is available in a single monograph. This book commenced as a doctoral dissertation and passed through article versions to final appearance here. With some revisions, the separately published pieces are now gathered as chapters three through twelve of this twelve-chapter work. One has to know Campbell's long efforts to recognize this, for nowhere in the volume is the history and provenance of the book's *heft* acknowledged. A number of difficulties flow from this structure.

But like Campbell's articles over the last twenty years, the essays gathered in this, his first monograph, speak to critical issues in the history of Madagascar and the slave trade in the southwest Indian Ocean. The unifying interpretation is that the kingdom of highland Madagascar with its capital at Antananarivo became an island empire in the course of the nineteenth century, one whose pretensions to territorial hegemony were never fully realized. This interpretation has much to offer. Campbell argues forcefully and correctly for continuities between the early nineteenth-century regimes of sovereigns Radama and Ranavalona, amplifying the work of predecessors and showing how each leader sought to domesticate European technologies to create an autarkic and self-sustaining economy. Campbell's most original argument, it seems to me, is his claim (chapter five) that forced labor became the backbone of Madagascar's "imperial" economy, whereas slavery was much more marginal. There are also detailed outlines of the island's foreign trade, its transport and communications systems, its currency and finance, and the role of Madagascar in the scramble for colonies in the Indian Ocean.

This book is an economic tour de force around "Imperial Madagascar." The assortment of archival sources in European languages on which the work draws is breathtaking, a testimony to Campbell's broad excavation of collections. What strikes this reader, though, is that despite a diversity of foundations Campbell's vision remains uniquely state-focused and elite-oriented while at the same time aspiring to a "comprehensive economic history of precolonial Madagascar." What the author means by "Imperial Madagascar" is the polity whose capital was Antananarivo. It was for the constitution and maintenance of this state that forced labor became more important than slavery, that transport and communications were directed, and that trade policy was formulated. What we do not understand from these essays is the more "comprehensive" constellation of economic issues facing different entities and affecting everyday lives, from households taking decisions about agriculture and trade, to descent groups concerned about the loss of members to *corvée*, to the economic calculations of polities outside "Imperial Madagascar." We learn of trade in those regions "independent" of Antananarivo, but from the European archive and without an eye to the intentions of the people making economic decisions. There is data aplenty, but the perspective and explanatory apparatus seems inflexible.

This characteristic of the book sits oddly with its interpretation of the expansive state at Antananarivo as an empire, for one would like to learn about the economic life of that empire in more specific ways in its various locations and among its many peoples, inquiries that might lead away from the state as a near-exclusive focus. But the author ignores a vast literature on empire. One concludes that "empire" appears here merely as a descriptive term. In part, Campbell's eye on the state at Antananarivo may stem from the polemical conflict he enters with scholars he believes form a "Nationalist School" (p. 3) and who, he claims, refuse to consider Antananarivo as having been the center of an exploitative empire. The unity and perspectives of these "nationalist" scholars is dramatically overstated. And rhetoric for and against empire serves to continue focusing historical narratives on the state of highland Madagascar or on resistance to it, a circular project that defeats the purpose of advancing the histories of those who were not at that state's pinnacle or who organized their lives by other principles. This is a collective predicament of Madagascar's historians that Campbell's book brings to the fore.

For an economic history, there are serious problems with numbers. The chapter on population (six) draws fitted curves to foreign estimates of Imerina's population, producing a figure of under 25,000 in the late 1820s for the region as a whole, while the single city of Antananarivo—within this region—is shown at nearly 800,000 (Figures 2 and 3). Besides presenting an impossibility, the numbers are wildly incorrect. Similar anomalies pop up in comparisons across Campbell's numerous tables, which seem not to have been internally reconciled. A recourse to the censuses conducted beginning in the early 1840s by Antananarivo and currently in the precolonial section of the National Archives of Madagascar would have begun to clear things up here and elsewhere in the book. But Campbell seems not to have read in the records of the very state his book considers, or to have discounted them without explanation. Only reference to a single item in this huge and unique archive for the nineteenth century graces his bibliography. It is like writing the history of the Cape without recourse to the Cape archives.

One of Campbell's most original contributions is his work on the slave trades between Madagascar and southeast Africa (chapter nine), poorly known before. New global estimates of East Africa's and Madagascar's external trades will have to reckon with them. But in his figures for additional slave trades in the western Indian Ocean also developed there, Campbell charts a lonely course, failing to link or to reconcile his calculations with the work of many other scholars. He finds more than two million departing the Swahili coast and Portuguese East Africa in the nineteenth century (Table 9.3), whereas Paul E. Lovejoy discerns 849,000 (see *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* [2000], p. 156). Figure 12 suggests fewer than 25,000 Africans departed southeast Africa for the Atlantic in the nineteenth century, whereas calculations from the

Transatlantic Slave Trade Database by David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert Klein supply a figure of more than 400,000. And how does Campbell reconcile his estimated nearly 400,000 arrivals in the Mascarene islands in the nineteenth century (Table 9.3) with the work of Richard B. Allen, who finds maximum arrivals in that period of less than half that figure? Campbell's numbers here and elsewhere often float unmoored to other scholarship, like snowflakes twirling in a storm. His many estimates are unlikely to be taken seriously until internally reconciled, explicated in greater detail, and carefully compared to those of colleagues laboring in the same field.

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HEIDI GENGENBACH. *Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Electronic Book. Site access \$49.50.

Magude was a dangerous and difficult place to work when Heidi Gengenbach arrived there in 1995. It took some courage to undertake nearly eighteen months of fieldwork in this part of southern Mozambique so soon after the end of the civil war. It also took some courage to compare the discipline of history as it is taught in American universities with the way the past is conceived by elderly women in this part of rural Mozambique. The book's electronic format provides exciting sound bites and visual images but it also challenges existing narrative traditions. Its unorthodox approach will appeal to the adventurous but it might prove frustrating for those in search of the social history of a global underclass.

The thirteen elderly women at the center of Gengenbach's eighty-odd informants stressed the importance of female networks and family ties in their view of the past. Unlike their male partners, they showed little concern for politics, work, or chronology. Gengenbach attempts to capture this worldview in chapters that may be read independently of each other. The structure of this book does not turn around documents that "recapture" the past or a narrative that "unfolds" seamlessly. It views the records of missionaries and colonial officials, and even the oral testimony of male informants, as expressive forms that share few of the concerns with the past held by Magude's women. Professional historians are also guilty of arranging oral or textual evidence into narratives that follow their (male, western, elite, professional) concerns with the chronology of economic and political change, impersonal structures, and modernity rather than those of the rural women at the center of the study. These women talked about the past in ways that served to reinforce social ties of kinship and experience; and they inscribed their memories in activities such as pot making, naming, tattooing, and life storytelling.

The book is made up of a grid of twelve sections that includes a long introduction and separate chapters on

historiography and methodology. These are followed by six chapters that, clearly linked on the screen, investigate the ways in which elderly women remember the past in rural Magude. The first focuses the reader's attention on Magude as a geographical area and on the various forms of knowledge that have "mapped" its social contours. The author's informants build their notions of history and identity against this background and establish themselves as makers of history. In the next chapter we follow the author to Magude and experience some of her confusion when confronted by the ways in which women conceive of themselves and of their place in the past. This includes a long and interesting section on the naming practices through which women situate themselves in shifting social networks. In the following chapter verbatim interviews provide the life histories of three individuals who talk about their experiences as girls and women and who recall stories recounted by their mothers and grandmothers. Through these life stories women educate the youth, lay claim to specific identities, and stress female agency.

Chapter four examines the webs of community constructed through pottery. Pots are embossed with decorative markings that constitute forms of "female storytelling about the past." As women marry out, or move for political or economic reasons, their historical memories are embodied in their pottery styles. The next chapter examines another form of marking controlled by women: body tattoos. Women adopt(ed) tattoos, like names, at various stages of their trajectory through life and, like shared pottery styles, shared tattoos serve(d) to outline the contours of community and experience. The final chapter turns to the struggle amongst women for land, particularly in the period following the end of the civil war. Land alienation, new and modern forms of land allocation, as well as the demands made by internal refugees undermined the authority of women in Magude and eventually gave rise to serious disputes and a spate of witchcraft accusations. As elder women

lost their ability to mobilize "webs of female relationship," they scratched field boundaries into the soil that divided the land into ever-smaller lots. Like the proliferation of tattoos and puberty-names, the division of the land into smaller units marked a shift in power from older women to the younger generation. Through their life stories and their attempts to conserve traditional ways of making pots, older women attempt to limit the forces of change and maintain their authority.

This book provides a valuable lesson in the way "history" may be read from actions and artifacts. Borrowing heavily from the methodologies of anthropology and archaeology, it creates a powerful picture of the very subjective ways in which rural women negotiate their visions of the past. But the author's picture of herself as a "conduit" for the views of her informants, and of her book as some kind of coproduction, seem exaggerated. Like any historian, she has chosen to stress certain forms of evidence at the cost of others. There is nothing in this book on women's songs as a genre of historical evidence, and no attempt is made to examine gendered linguistic practices as expressions of history. Gengenbach's sympathy clearly lies with the elderly women who guard "tradition" rather than with the movers and shakers associated with evangelical Christianity or disturbing urban practices. Nor does she show much concern for the structures that drive agency or for the experiences of the men who infringe on the world of women.

The strength of this book lies in the very subjective experiences of its informants and in its vivid portrayal of women as both makers and tellers of history. It is an innovative and courageous work that will appeal to African historians, gender specialists, and historiographers. But its evangelical novelty will deter readers and its high price will, I fear, deprive the women of Magude of an important view of their past.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MARIA WYKE, editor. *Julius Caesar in Western Culture*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2006. Pp. xvii, 365. \$34.95.

CHRISTOPHER PELLING, Judging Julius Caesar. MARK TOHER, The Earliest Depiction of Caesar and the Later Tradition. CHRISTINE WALDE, Caesar, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and Their Reception. JACQUELINE LONG, Julian Augustus' Julius Caesar. RICCARDO SANTANGELI VALENZANI, The Seat and Memory of Power: Caesar's Curia and Forum. JOHN OSBORNE, St. Peter's Needle and the Ashes of Julius Caesar: Invoking Rome's Imperial History at the Papal Court, ca. 1100–1300. NICHOLAS TEMPLE, Julius II as Second Caesar. LOUISA MACKENZIE, Imitation Gone Wrong: The "Pestilentially Ambitious" Figure of Julius Caesar in Michel de Montaigne's *Essais*. MARGARET MALAMUD, Manifest Destiny and the Eclipse of Julius Caesar. MARIA WYKE, Caesar, Cinema, and National Identity in the 1910s. GIUSEPPE PUCCI, Caesar the Foe: Roman Conquest and National Resistance in French Popular Culture. NICHOLAS ROYLE, *Julius Caesar* and the Democracy to Come. NIALL W. SLATER, Shaw's Caesars. JANE DUNNETT, The Rhetoric of *Romanità*: Representations of Caesar in Fascist Theatre. JORIT WINTJES, From "Capitano" to "Great Commander": The Military Reception of Caesar from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries. OLIVER BENJAMIN HEMMERLE, Crossing the Rubicon into Paris: Caesarian Comparison from Napoleon to de Gaulle. MARIA WYKE, A Twenty-First-Century Caesar.

STEVEN G. REINHARDT and DENNIS REINHARTZ, editors. *Transatlantic History*. (The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, Number 37.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 216. \$29.95.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL, Transatlantic History in World Perspective. CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS, Economy and Society in the Iberian Atlantic: The Seventeenth-Century Crisis. DENNIS REINHARTZ, Establishing a Transatlantic Graphic Dialogue, 1492–1800. DAVID BUISSET, Urbanization in the Old World and in the New. STANLEY H. PALMER, The Power of Numbers: Settler and Native in Ireland, America, and South Africa, 1600–1900. ALUSINE JALLOH, In Search of America: The New West African Diaspora.

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The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- AKERMAN, JAMES R., editor. *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 372. \$55.00.
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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

In his letter to the editors in the October 2005 *AHR* (p. 1318), Richard Crane, M.D., responded to the article from Dr. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm" (*AHR*, June 2002, 703–738), making the argument, in part, that humans can acquire immunity to modern plague. Dr. Cohn, in his response to Dr. Crane's arguments about immunity to plague, stated that "humans possess little if any natural immunity to this pathogen [*Yersinia pestis*]." In both his *AHR* article and his book *The Black Death Transformed*, Dr. Cohn makes impressive arguments about the nature of the Black Death and how the causative agent could not have been *Yersinia pestis*. Despite the excellent historical research, Dr. Cohn is mistaken on the issue of immunity and ultimately the causative agent of the Black Death.

Dr. Crane writes about acquired immunity; that is, the immune response upon a second encounter with the same pathogen prevents another onset of acute illness. Natural immunity, in contrast, keeps someone from getting an infection at all. Leprosy is a good example of this, as it is estimated that 90 percent of people cannot acquire an infection from *Mycobacterium leprae*.

The binding molecules on B cells and T cells have for all practical purposes an unlimited number of genetic variations to adapt to any pathogen. Thus, assuming that a person survived the infection, the next encounter

with that antigen would result in a massive secondary immune response, and that pathogen's specific immunological memory would last for a considerable period of time. Due to the stability of the pathogen, a person who encountered *Y. pestis* again would have the ability to fight off the disease without showing any symptoms—the hallmark of a healthy immune system. This explains the second pandemic as a children's pandemic, since most of the older people would have acquired immunity, whereas the children, never having encountered the antigen, would be vulnerable. Passive immunity may be passed on, but not acquired immunity. Whereas the first wave of the Black Death affected the majority of the population, making immunity to the pathogen apparent, the research of the Indian Plague Commission did not reveal immunity because the percentage of the population infected was too low for a reoccurrence of plague to show any effects of immunity.

Dr. Cohn's argument about effectiveness of the vaccine and how it proves that humans cannot get immunity stems from the way in which the vaccine was created. The vaccine, offered until 1999, was made from whole-cell, killed *Y. pestis* bacteria. Its ineffectiveness comes from the poor immune response the vaccine would have aroused and the fact that the F1 antigen, which is expressed at 37° C and not 26° C, would not be expressed in a manner to create long-term immune cell memory. In 1978, A. Wake and his colleagues used live, virulent strains of plague to create long-term, cell-mediated immunity—as opposed to short-lived humoral immunity. A severe, acute infection creates a strong acquired immunity.

Unfortunately, none of this science proves much about the Black Death. What, then, caused the Black Death? Unreliable DNA evidence from the work of Didier Rault and Michel Drancourt points to *Y. pestis*. One group of scientists, led by Carsten Pusch in 2004, pursued a different course to prove that *Y. pestis* caused the Black Death, so rather than using DNA, they used a dipstick assay for plague's F1 antigen. The results were positive for the F1 antigen in ten of twelve bodies tested. Had the people died of systemic infections of typhoid, the result would have been the same, but descriptions of the Black Death are more similar to plague than typhoid. It is still possible that a pathogen other

than *Y. pestis* caused the Black Death, but the scientific evidence is currently in favor of plague.

Dr. Cohn is right in how unlikely—impossible—it would have been for the Black Death to have been a vector-borne transmitted disease. The rat flea (*X. cheopis*), which is the most reliable vector for plague, probably did not exist in Europe in the fourteenth century, and the human flea (*P. irritans*) does not transmit plague efficiently. It certainly was not pneumonic plague. How *Y. pestis*—or whatever pathogen caused the Black Death in the unlikelihood it was not plague—caused such high mortality in nearly four centuries of reoccurring epidemics still remains a mystery to be solved.

ANDREW WHITE
Northern Michigan University

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. does not wish to respond.

TO THE EDITOR:

Regarding Atlantic history (*AHR*, June 2006, 741–757), a bit of historiography. When the Atlantic surfaced as a topic in and of itself in the 1970s and early 1980s, previous accounts of United States history all too often tended to stop at the coasts. As for Latin American history, its practitioners, having worked hard to wrestle it free of Eurocentrism and make it a distinct subject, were shortly thereafter faced with the need to consider a certain amount of reintegration in the lead-up to the five-hundredth anniversary of 1492. Yet reconsideration also evoked recognition of a need to pay greater attention to the history of this nation's cultural diversity, the histories of pre-Columbian inhabitants and the coming of Africans, black slavery, and its aftermath throughout America, and also to the background of the United States' assertion of Free World leadership. It

seems to me that the embarking on Atlantic history in that generative time provided a capacious framework within which to introduce (or re-introduce) some broader vistas into consideration of all America's history, as well as into the history of the Western world, and even into the then-burgeoning field of world history.

For my part, it was borne in on me while teaching courses in the histories of both the United States and Latin America that an understanding of the dissolution of old imperial ties throughout America could be improved by examining the interconnections of two then-neglected topics, trade and ideational currents, particularly in their crisscrossing of the Atlantic and their travel along its coasts and between its ports.

Since those earlier days, the Atlantic has obviously fared well as a vantage point and organizing device for the practitioners of many sorts of history; and not least for historians of British Atlantic history and its traditional offshoot, the United States, increasingly viewed as the new empire. Moreover, no one has better demonstrated the value of an Atlantic purview, both directly and indirectly, than J. G. A. Pocock and J. H. Elliott. In effect, John Pocock broke the mold, most notably in *The Machiavellian Moment* of 1975, freeing us from seeing the Atlantic as a barrier to the continuity of a broadly Western history, and he has most recently made some trenchant observations within current reevaluations of the nature and extent of British empire. And John Elliott, within a comparison of the Spanish and British Atlantic empires, has just produced an extraordinary, a monumental, synthesis and analysis in his *Empires of the Atlantic World* of seemingly most, if not all, of the work done on the history of the Atlantic world between 1492 and 1830.

PEGGY K. LISS
Washington, D.C.

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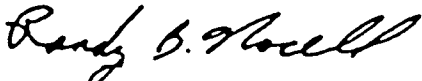
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10/4/2006

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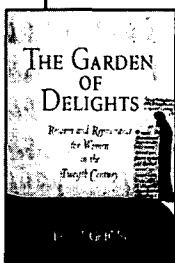
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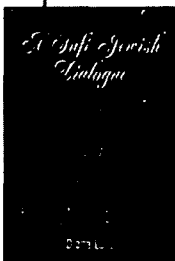


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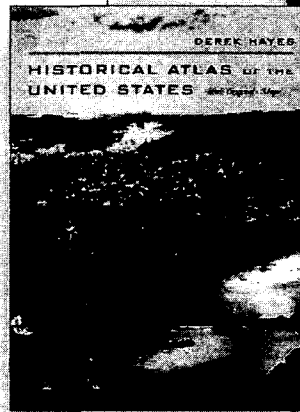
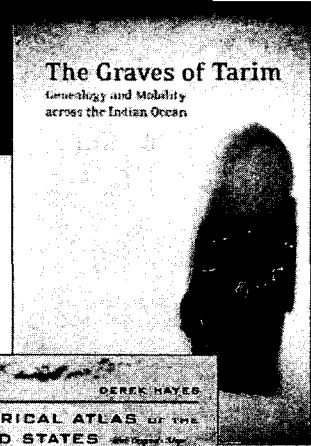
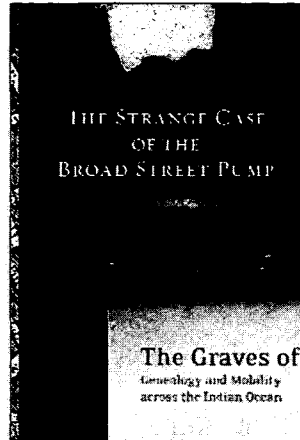
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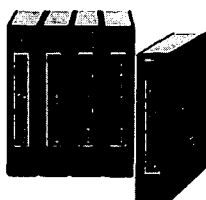
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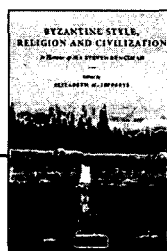
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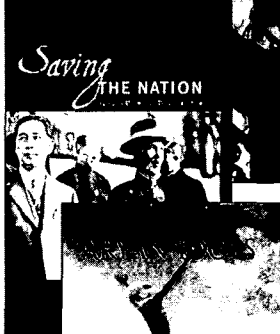
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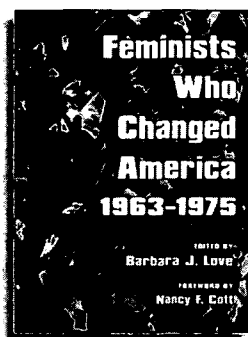
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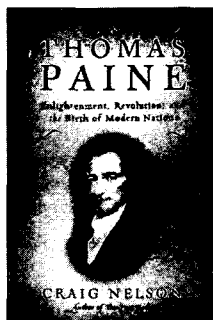
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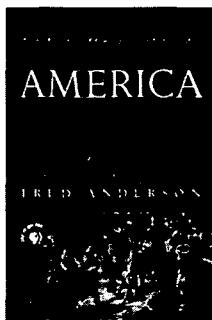
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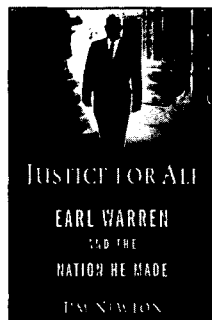
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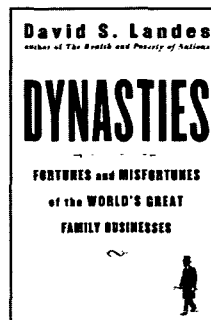
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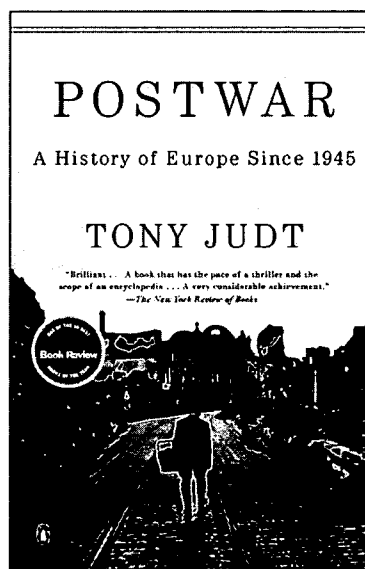
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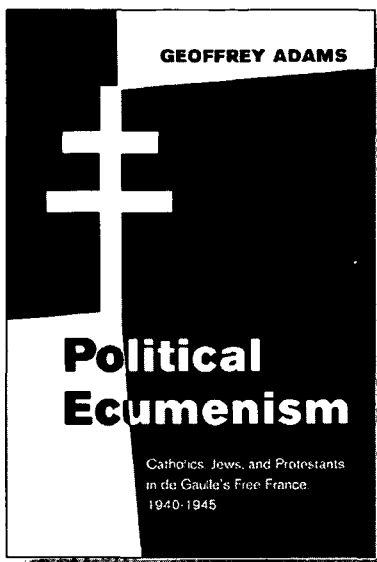
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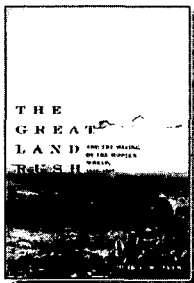
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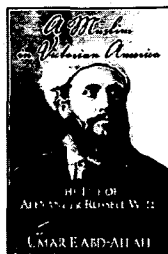
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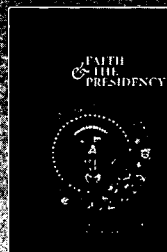
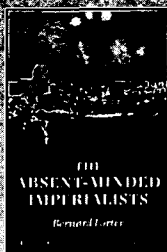
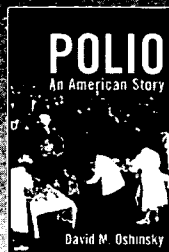
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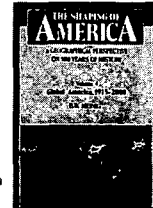
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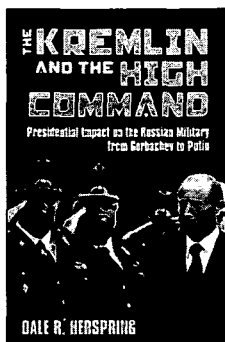
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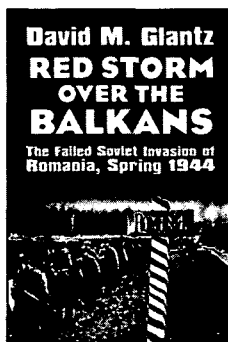
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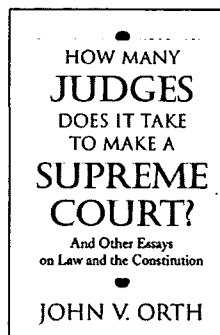
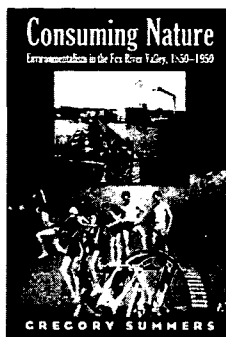
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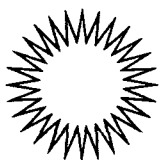
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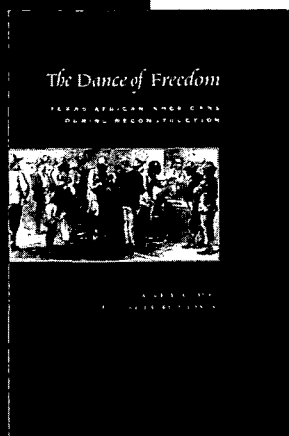
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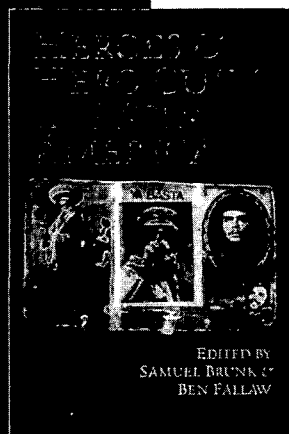
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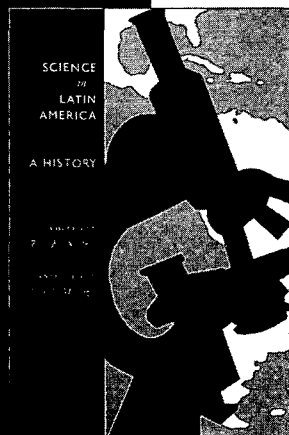
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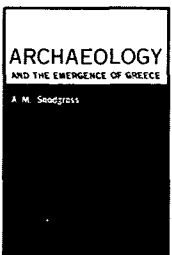
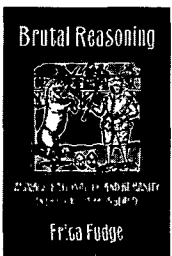
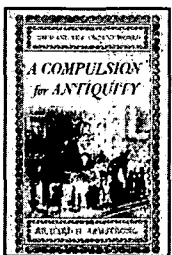
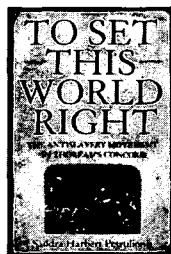
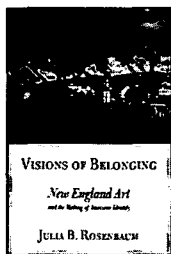
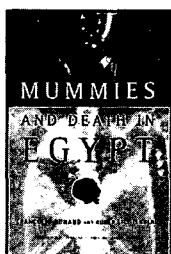


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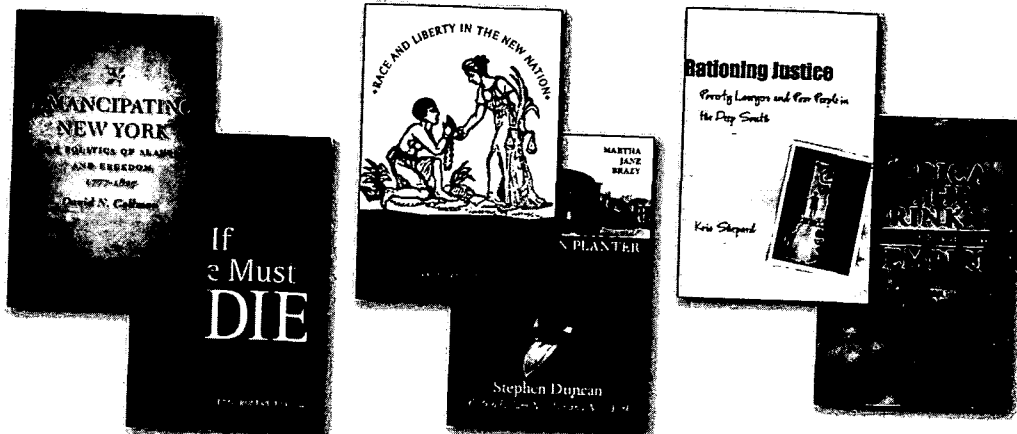
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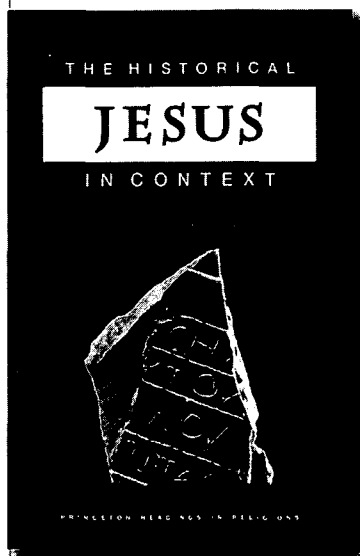
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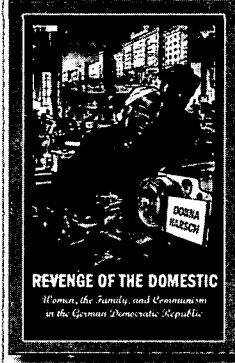
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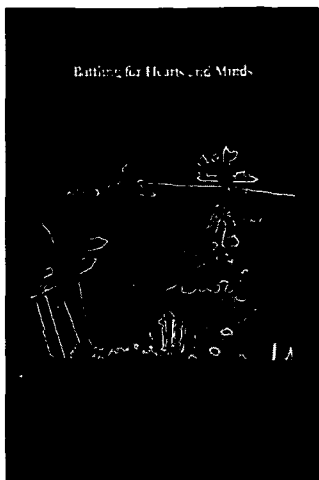
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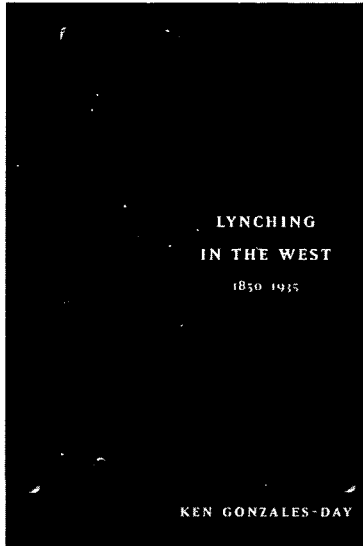
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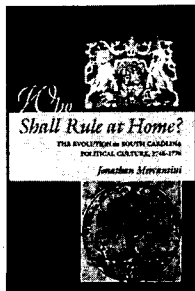
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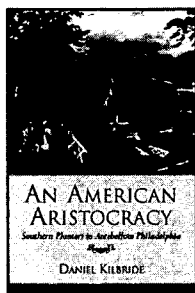
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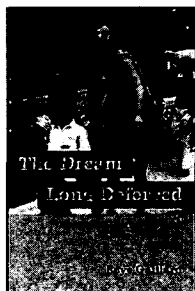
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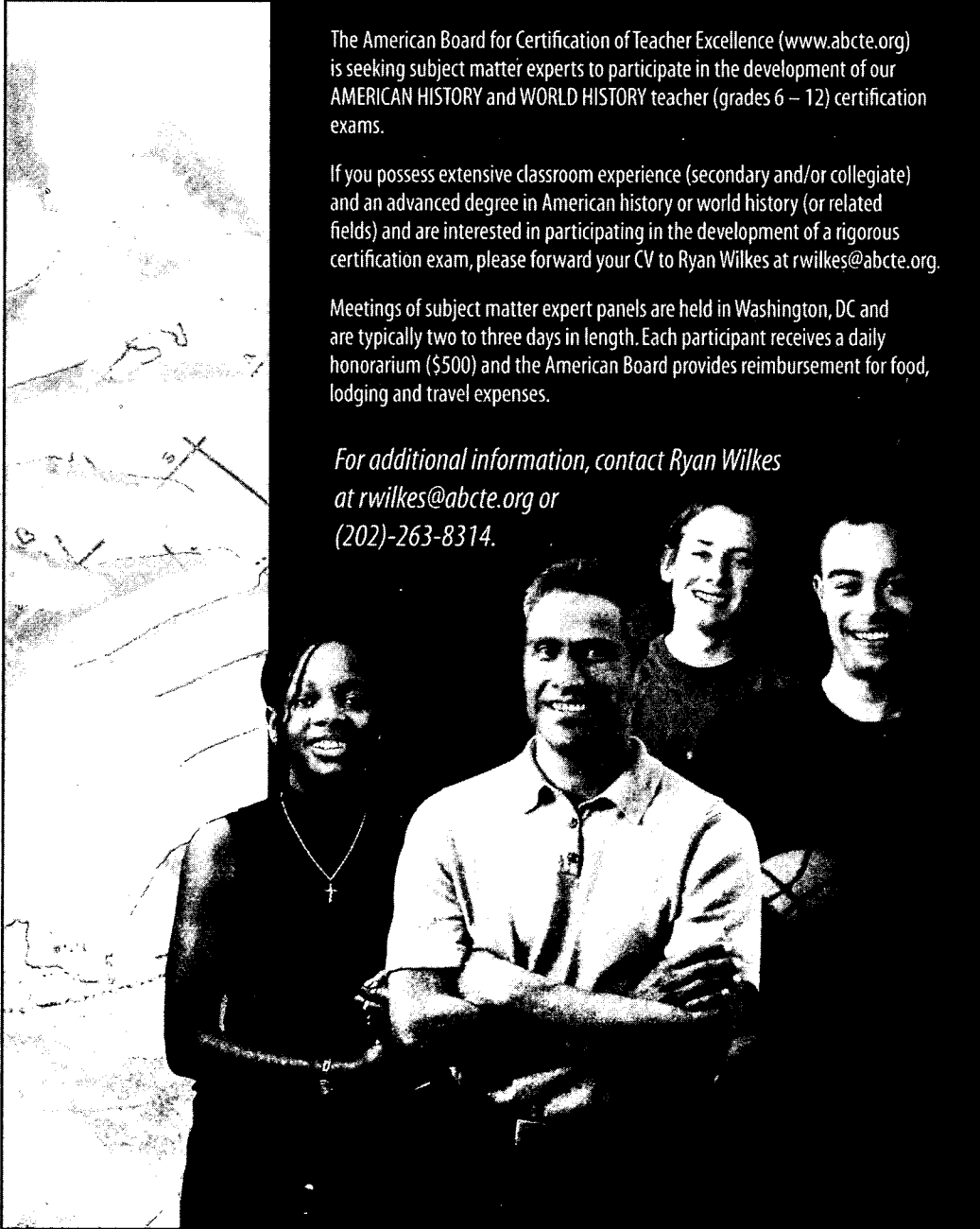
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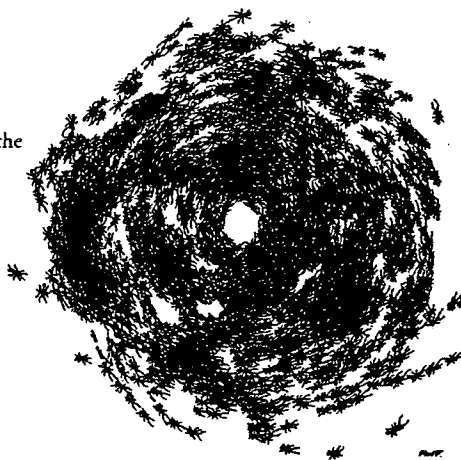
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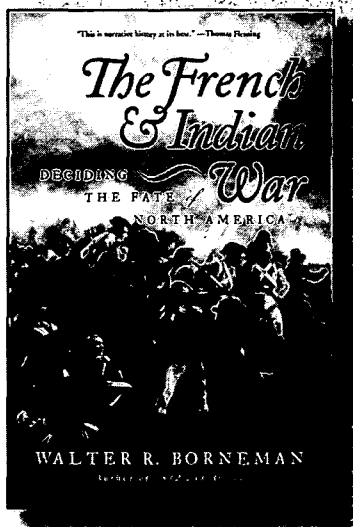
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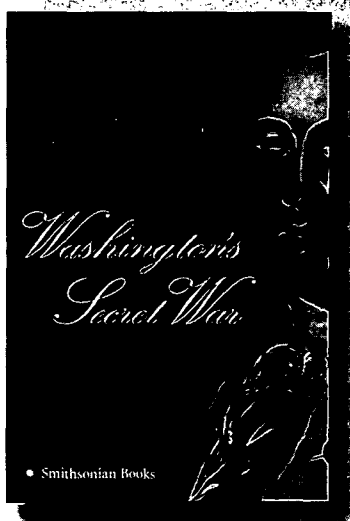
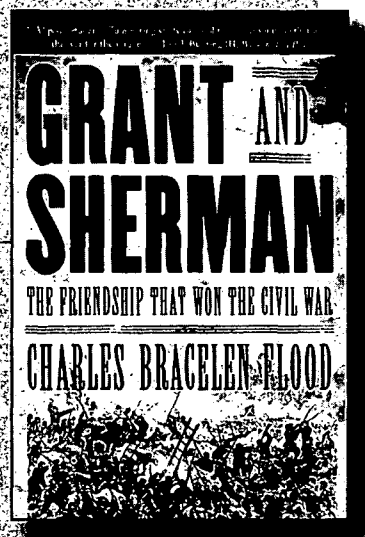
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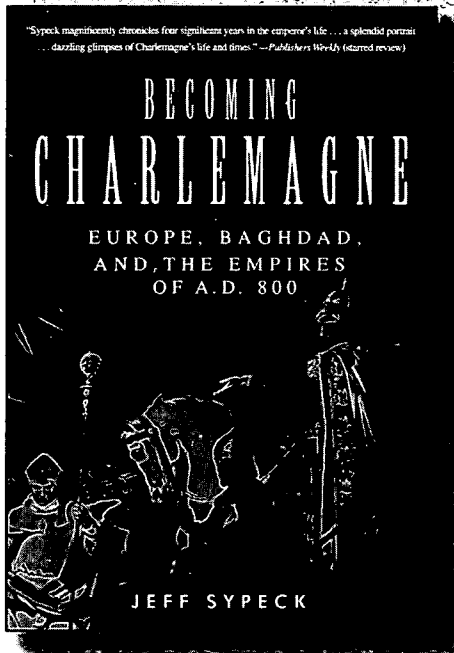
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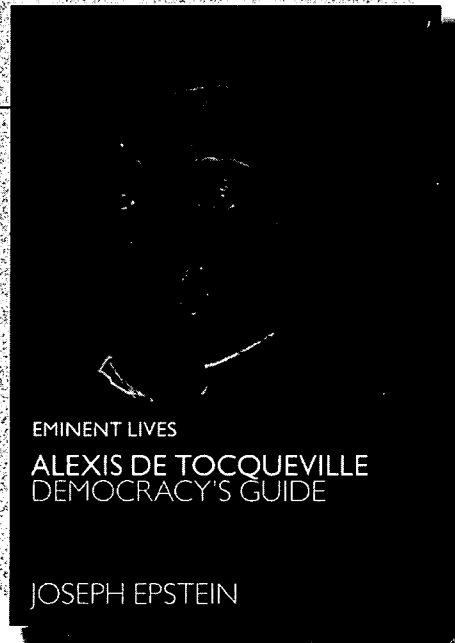
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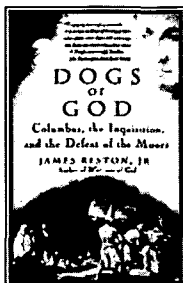
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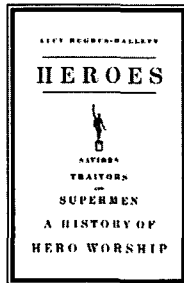
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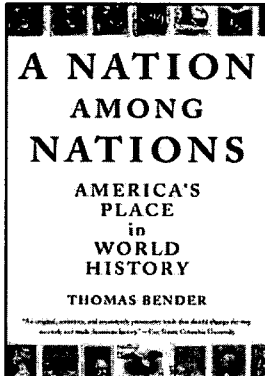
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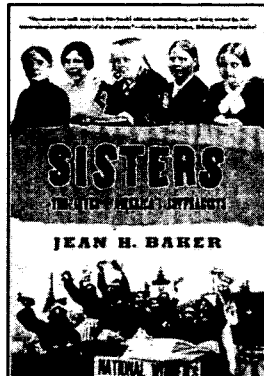
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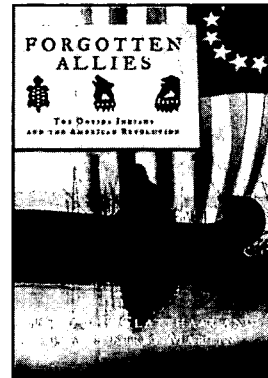
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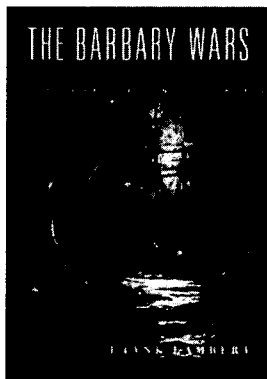
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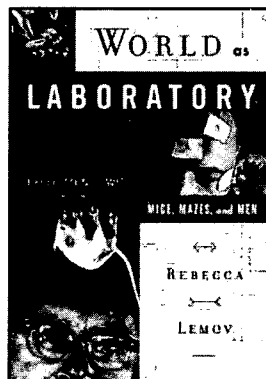
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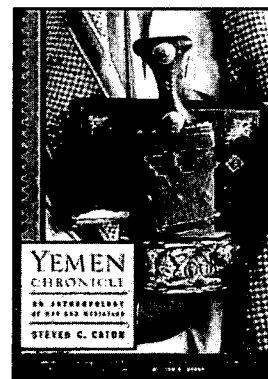
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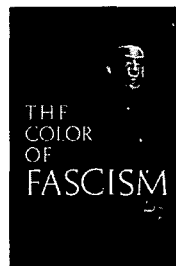
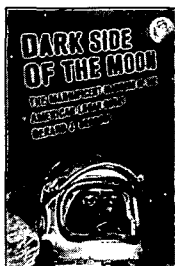
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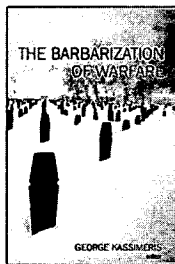
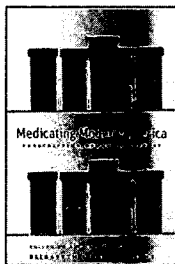
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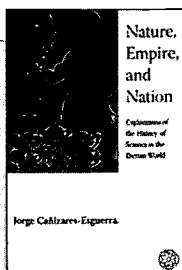


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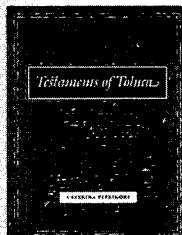
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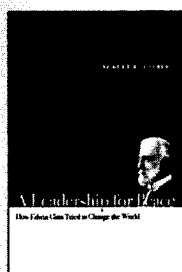
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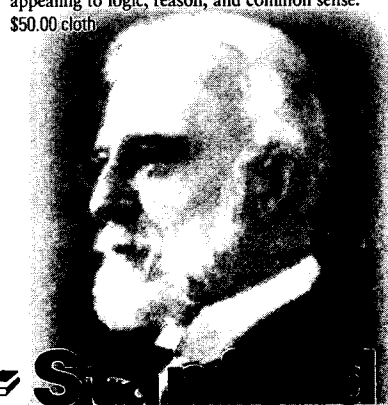
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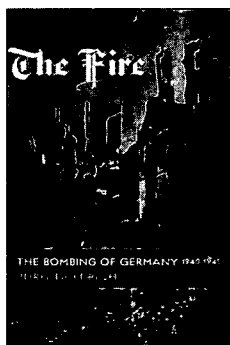
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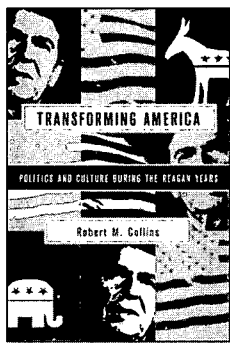
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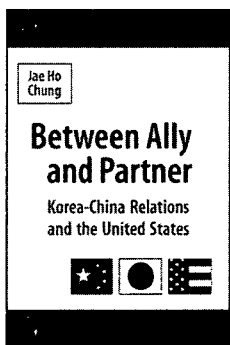
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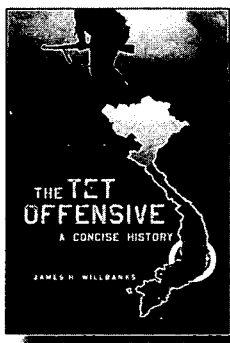
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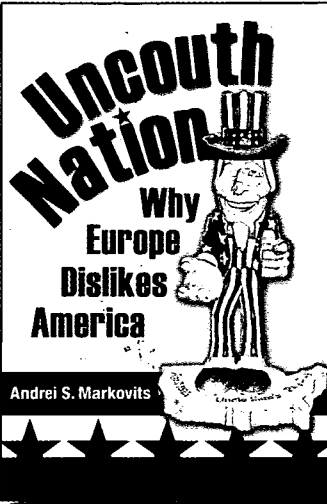
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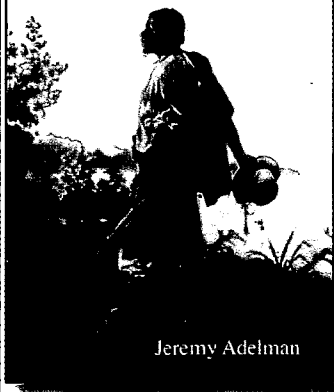
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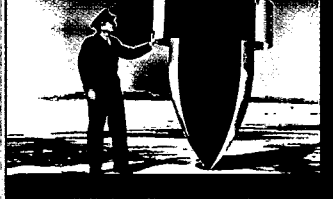
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